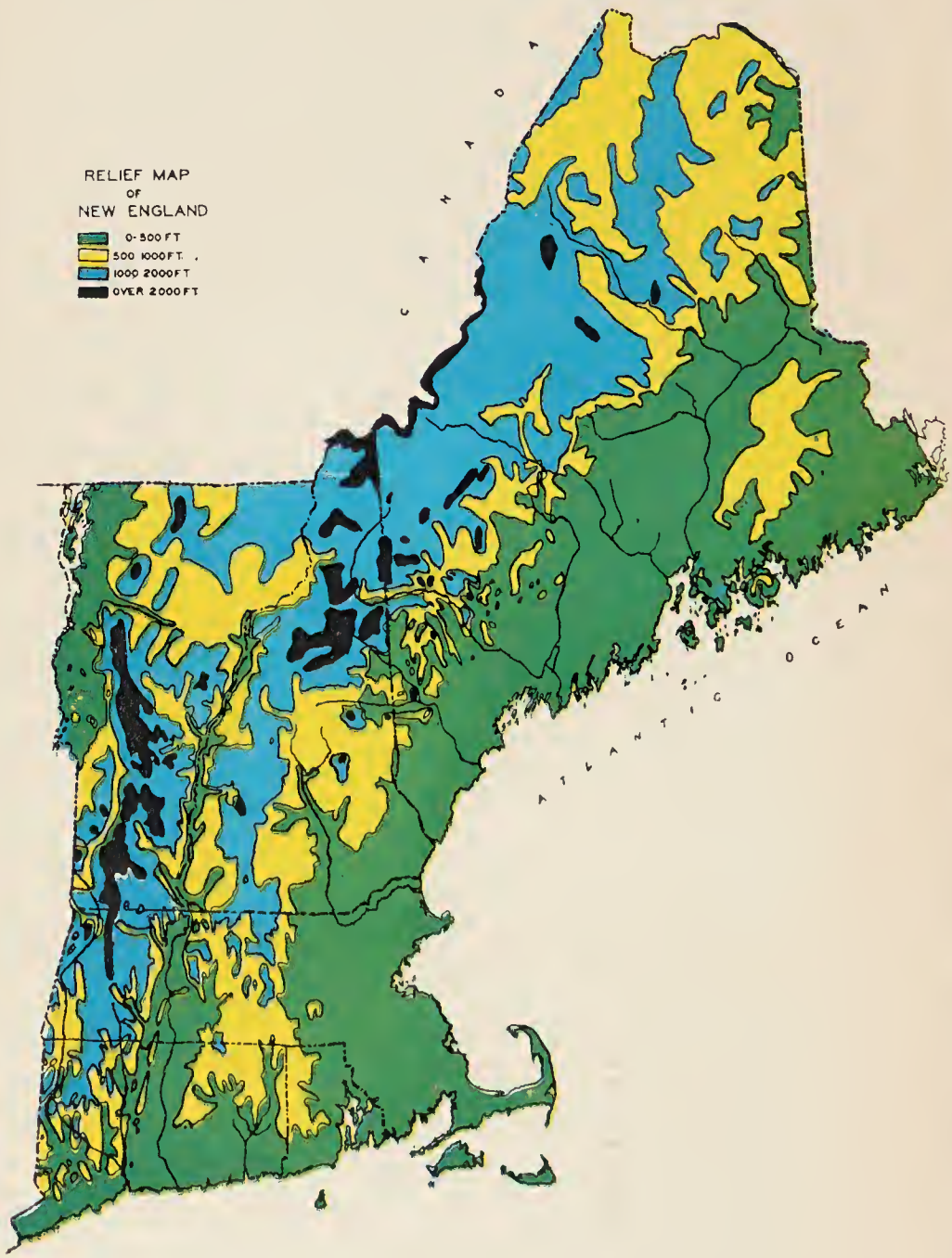
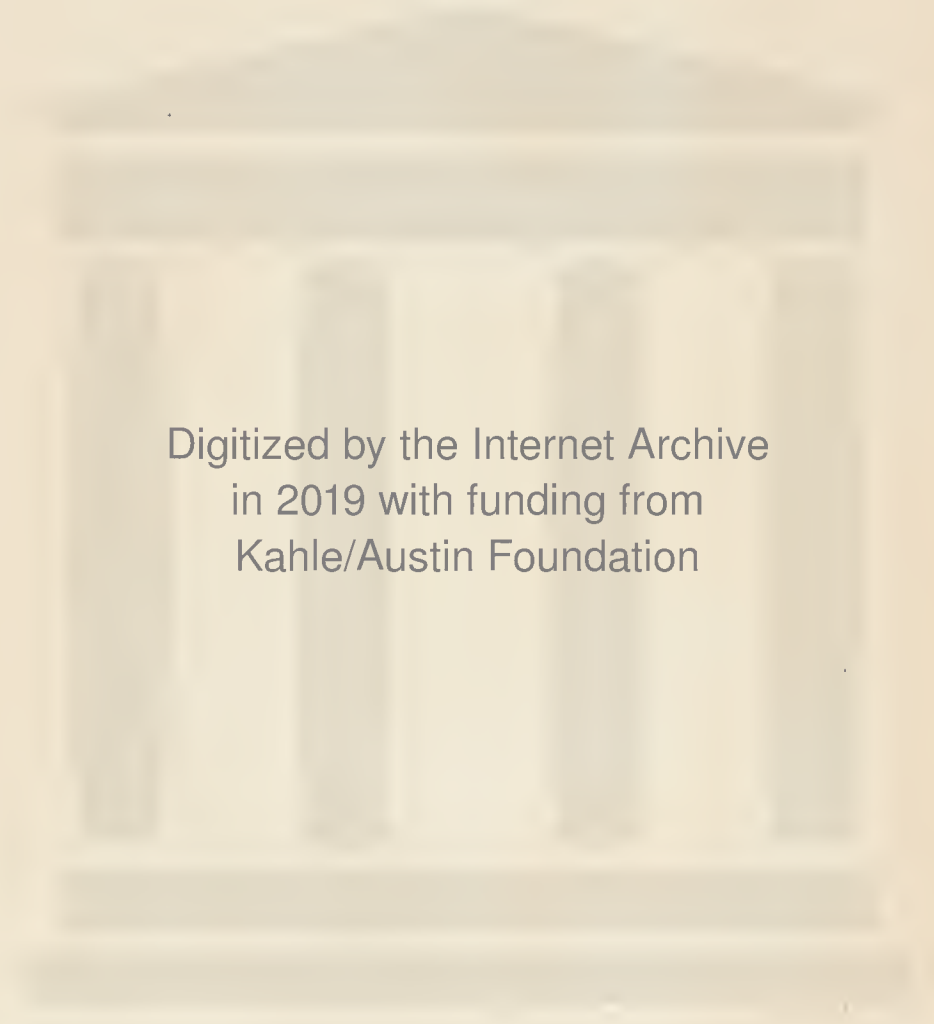


PREPARED AT CLARK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY BY G.H. BURNHAM

NUNC COGNOSCO EX PARTE

TRENT UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/commonwealthhist0001hart

Jo: Winthrop:

GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP

From the original portrait in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP

From the original portrait in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

COMMONWEALTH HISTORY *of* MASSACHUSETTS

COLONY, PROVINCE AND STATE

EDITED BY

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

WITH THE COOPERATION OF AN ADVISORY BOARD
OF FORTY-TWO LEARNED BODIES

IN FIVE VOLUMES

NEW YORK
THE STATES HISTORY COMPANY
(1927-1928)

F64 .H32 v.1

COMMONWEALTH HISTORY *of* MASSACHUSETTS

EDITED BY

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

A. B., LITT. D., LL. D., PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; MEMBER OF MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY; HISTORIAN OF THE UNITED STATES GEORGE WASHINGTON BICENTENARY COMMISSION; DESCENDANT OF STEPHEN HART, FREEMAN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY IN 1632

VOLUME FIRST

COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

[1605-1689]

THE STATES HISTORY COMPANY
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK
1927

COPYRIGHT, 1927, BY
THE STATES HISTORY COMPANY

Printed in the United States of America

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS

REPRESENTED ON THE ADVISORY BOARD

1. American Academy of Arts and Sciences,
   Albert Bushnell Hart.
2. American Antiquarian Society,
   Waldo Lincoln and Clarence S. Brigham.
3. Amherst College,
   George A. Plimpton, Trustee.
4. Boston College,
   Rev. Martin P. Harney.
5. Boston Public Library,
   Charles F. D. Belden, Director.
6. Boston University,
   Professor Frederick A. Cleveland.
7. Clark University,
   Professor George H. Blakeslee.
8. College of the Holy Cross,
   Rev. John F. X. Murphy.
9. Colonial Society of Massachusetts,
   Professor Samuel E. Morison.
10. Concord Antiquarian Society,
    Allen French.
11. Connecticut Valley Historical Society,
    Henry A. Booth.
12. Danvers Historical Society,
    Charles H. Preston.
13. Daughters of the American Revolution,
    Mrs. James C. Peabody.
14. Framingham Historical and Natural History Society,
    John W. Merriam.
15. Harvard College Library,
    W. C. Lane, Librarian.
16. Harvard University,
    Professor Arthur N. Holcombe.
17. Lexington Historical Society,
    Dr. Fred S. Piper.
18. Maine Historical Society,
    Dr. Alfred Johnson.
19. Massachusetts Agricultural College,
    Edward M. Lewis, President.

129243

20. Massachusetts Historical Society,
    Lawrence Shaw Mayo.
21. Massachusetts Institute of Technology,
    Professor Davis R. Dewey.
22. Massachusetts Medical Society,
    Dr. Walter L. Burrage.
23. Massachusetts Society of Sons of the American Revolution,
    Frederick G. Bauer.
24. Massachusetts State Chamber of Commerce,
    Samuel H. Thompson, President.
25. Massachusetts State Library,
    E. H. Redstone, Librarian.
26. Military Order of the Loyal Legion,
    George O. S. Perkins.
27. Mount Holyoke College,
    Mary E. Wooley, President.
28. New England Historic Genealogical Society,
    Henry Edwards Scott.
29. Old South Association,
    G. I. Wolkins.
30. Radcliffe College,
    Dean Bernice V. Brown.
31. Simmons College,
    Professor Harry M. Varrell.
32. Smith College,
    Professor Harold U. Faulkner.
33. Society of Colonial Dames of America,
    Mrs. Ernest W. Bowditch.
34. Society of Colonial Wars,
    Walter K. Watkins.
35. Society of Mayflower Descendants,
    W. B. H. Dowse.
36. Society of the War of 1812,
    H. F. Wallace.
37. Sons of the Revolution,
    Wellington Wells.
38. Tufts College,
    Professor Halford L. Hoskins.
39. Wellesley College,
    Ellen F. Pendleton, President.
40. Williams College,
    Professor Arthur H. Buffinton.
41. Worcester Free Public Library,
    Robert K. Shaw, Librarian.
42. Worcester Polytechnic Institute,
    Professor George H. Haynes.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

To produce a history of Massachusetts is a great responsibility. No state in the Union has had a richer and more varied experience; none but Virginia has enjoyed so long a history; none certainly has been the subject of such varied and detailed accounts of particular areas and of selected periods. The titles of the published books relating to Massachusetts and its subdivisions—counties, cities and towns—in general and local histories, in biographies, topographical works, accounts of special epochs or activities, etc.—taken together they count up to thousands.

As for historical writers, has not Massachusetts been for years the most fruitful garden of American historiography? The hundred writers of the *Commonwealth History* have partaken of the historical training which began with Bradford's *Plimouth,* Winthrop's *New England,* Hutchinson's *Massachusetts,* Cotton Mather's *Magnalia,* Bancroft's *United States,* Parkman's works on French relations, Motley's *Dutch Republic,* Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella,* Barry's *Massachusetts,* James Truslow Adams's *Founding of New England,* Palfrey's *New England,* Prince's *Chronology,* Neal's *New England,* Sparks's biographical series, Felt's *Ecclesiastical History,* Lodge's *Colonies* and *Washington,* Channing's *History of the United States,* and many others.

In truth, Massachusetts is at the same time affluent and indigent in historical literature. Of the great names mentioned above, some have chosen fields entirely outside of America; most of them have dealt with American history in the large; and the few who have undertaken to write the history of Massachusetts specifically, have paused in their task at a date a hundred years before their pens took to paper. A great part of the remaining historical fervor has gone into local histories and into biography. So with the large number of active historical societies in Massachusetts, several of which

are noted throughout the world; they deal with the source materials or with limited periods and phases of Massachusetts history. When collections are examined and catalogues are scanned, the fact is realized that there is not now and never has been a work on Massachusetts history embracing the whole field of the experience of the state, either chronologically or topically.

This does not diminish the service of the four principal works on Massachusetts history. Governor Thomas Hutchinson was the first writer on American history in any field whose work may be called genuinely scientific, that is, based on research, on documents, and on a comparison of materials. John G. Palfrey's *New England* is to a large degree an account of Massachusetts people and Massachusetts issues, but he stops at the year 1775. Barry laboriously carried his work through the Revolution with considerable critical spirit, but he then ceased action. Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* is particularly rich on Massachusetts events and bibliography, but is not a consecutive history.

Aside from those four writers no history of Massachusetts has ever been written which is long enough and accurate enough and readable enough to be of service to the present generation. None even of these works, on a scale deserving the name of History of Massachusetts, has dealt in detail with the Commonwealth since the end of the Revolution, near a century and a half ago.

Existing Massachusetts history is also defective because the growth of material and of historical training has of late years called for rewriting. A modern school of history has arisen which rightfully looks upon the Americans, early, revolutionary and later, as men of much the same character, confronting much the same problems as ourselves. Notwithstanding the vast changes brought about by occupation of the frontier, improvement in transportation, and the use of machinery, the political problems of the twentieth century are not so different from those of the seventeenth. Immigration, conservation, combination among controllers of natural resources, distribution of land, employment of unearned increment, control of labor and of wages, the suffrage, the place of the educated

and the rich in political life,—all those problems arose in Massachusetts before 1689 and in every period since.

Hence the experience of three hundred years can be used to make clear the controversies completed three hundred years ago. We have ceased to look upon the earliest colonists as wholly virtuous and disinterested and wise. For instance, we are aware that our forbears in Massachusetts and elsewhere were not at first united in their opposition to Great Britain; and that the Revolution was not free from tumults and irregularities such as have troubled other times and countries in revolution. Hence there is room for a new history of Massachusetts built upon the materials and following out the general historical progress of earlier writers; but consciously departing from most of the previous histories of Massachusetts in the following respects.

This is a cooperative history. The subject is too vast and various for a single historian in one lifetime—and that is why no historian of the Commonwealth except Hutchinson has ever brought his narrative down to his own times. To be completed in any reasonable time, the work must be subdivided among many minds. The editor feels just pride and satisfaction in the cooperation of twenty writers in Volume First, who all unite in the spirit of cooperation which makes a composite history possible.

The process of bringing together into a sustained narrative so many different contributors has been difficult. Throughout the work the editor has been under deep indebtedness first of all to the members of the Advisory Board whose suggestions as to the organization and point of view of the *Commonwealth History* have been so valuable. Along with them have stood the writers who have always been ready to make and to accept suggestions in their fields.

On the general task of editing the work the editor desires to record his obligation to the publishers and particularly to Mr. Gurth Williams who has been most closely in touch with the enterprise, for his cordial willingness to do all that a publisher can do to make the book attractive and, if possible, a standard.

The twenty-one chapters in the first volume could not have been put through the press but for the literary interest and the

experience in cooperative publications of Mr. John Gould Curtis, who has acted as the right hand man and coadjutor of the editor, and has borne special responsibility for the maps and illustrations.

This is a complete history in the sense of including the whole chronological reach of Massachusetts. It begins where the Commonwealth began, in the England of the Elizabethan and Stuart period, and especially in Puritan England. It extends to events and personalities of the year 1928—almost reaching the tercentenary year of 1930.

This is a comprehensive history, which recognizes from the start the political, constitutional and religious history of Massachusetts in its first century was far from being the whole story. The Table of Contents reveals the editor's purpose to deal with "all sorts and conditions of men"; and the great variety of topics brings in not only narrative but criticism and comment on social, economic and religious life, as well as political matters. Throughout the work the physical geographic basis is emphasized: thus placing in relief the unity of Massachusetts as chartered, as first settled, as expanded, as reduced to the present boundary. Social life is described and connected with political events in many chapters, covering the origins of the settlers, women's life and work, education and literature. Economic and commercial chapters discuss the Puritan's skill and success in business. The constitutional development of a self-governing commonwealth goes alongside the narrative. The relations with other colonies and with other cities is also disentangled. So in each of the later four volumes, alongside the frame and exercise of the colonial or state government appear discussions of Massachusetts political philosophy, of public opinion, of town life, of business, of military affairs, of education, art, journalism; of the notable epochs in Massachusetts history. In the Revolution, in the nineteenth century, in the twentieth century—the intent is to tell the whole story, including all social classes and describing all types of enterprise that have aroused men's minds.

This is a history about the people who made history. Hence, besides the study of groups and classes, in each volume one man has been carefully selected who may be considered the most representative of his community in his time. Thus, John

Winthrop, Cotton Mather, John Adams, Daniel Webster and Charles William Eliot, stand out each as spokesman for his fellow Massachusetts men and women in his own period.

This is a people's history of Massachusetts and hence it has been made available for people interested in this state, whether accustomed or unaccustomed to read history. After each chapter is printed a brief list of books useful on that subject, with a few words of comment. At the end of the whole work, will appear a chronology of Massachusetts and a select bibliography. The reader is thus enabled, if he so desires, to confirm or to refute the writer of each chapter.

This is an educative history which keeps in mind the intellectual interests and advancement of young and old, of the average man and woman, of those eminent in the community, and also of the students and writers of Massachusetts history. The long and honorable experience of the colony and state in self-government necessitates chapters dealing with the philosophy of popular government, and with the laws made from period to period to frame and carry on legislatures and executive departments and courts and town meetings. These chapters are, however, written in plain common terms, avoiding abstractions and technicalities.

This is a diversified history. The subdivision into one hundred and eight chapters for the complete work is intended to meet the needs of the average reader from the high school age onward. Most of the chapters are interesting in themselves, to any citizen and lover of Massachusetts. The subdivision into sections is an aid to the understanding of the course of description and argument. Many of those subtopics will make excellent subjects for elementary research work in high schools and more elaborate treatment by college students. For that purpose the chapter bibliographies will be found very helpful, since the titles are intended to be the best and most useful on their particular subjects. The extended bibliography at the end of the fifth volume will be helpful to all the libraries in the state as a check list of the most important publications on Massachusetts history.

This is a truthful history, which believes in Massachusetts and aims to develop its early struggles and successes, yet conceals no significant movement or epoch in which Massachusetts

has been interested. For Massachusetts is a great community with a notable history, the mother of other states, a commonwealth which has welcomed many race elements, and is renowned throughout the Union for preserving its individuality. The more vivid the searchlight of historical truth, the clearer is it revealed that this Commonwealth, though sometimes harsh, sometimes slow, and perhaps sometimes unjust, has always looked up to the star of democracy, the star of justice, the star of education, the star of public service and the star of truth.

The Widener Library,
Cambridge,
June the tenth, 1927.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

WESTERN WORLD MOVEMENT (1500-1600)
By Wilbur Cortez Abbott 1

Pre-Colonial England 1
England in the Colonial Field (1578-1598) 2
The Company Era (1599-1608) 4
English Colonial Beginnings (1606-1619) 5
English Religious Controversies (1540-1557) 6
The Church and Elizabeth (1557-1602) 7
King James and the Puritans (1602-1625) 9
Influence of Sandys (1602-1619) 11
The Pilgrims in Holland (1607-1616) 12
Plans of Puritan Emigration (1617-1620) 13
The Pilgrim Settlement (1620) 15
Other Settlements Preceding Massachusetts (1608-1627) 16
Council for New England (1620-1628) 18
The Massachusetts Character (1620) 19
Education 21
Select Bibliography 23

CHAPTER II

THE GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND (1630-1689),
By John Gould Curtis 25

Geography Defined 25
Geological Foundation 26
Coastline 27
Erosion History 27
Glaciation 28
Landscape 29
Climate 31
Allurements to Colonists 31
Handicapped Agriculture 33
The Commercial Trend 34
Fishing and Whaling 35
Shipbuilding 37
Cordage and Sailcloth 39
Iron 40
Forest Products 41
Mineral Resources 42
Manufacturing Industries 43
Trade 45
Summary 46
Select Bibliography 48

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHIC ORIGINS OF THE FOUNDERS OF MASSACHUSETTS,
By G. Andrews Moriarty 49
English Social Classes (1620-1650) 49
Aristocracy and Democracy (1500-1630) 51
Social Classes among Emigrants (1620-1650) 52
General Character of Emigration (1620-1650) 54
Parent Towns and Sections (1620-1650) 56
Sources of Colonial Towns (1628-1650) 57
Plymouth Towns (1620-1650) 60
Slackening of Emigration (1642-1689) 61
Other Race Elements (1650-1689) 62
Numbers of Emigrants (1628-1642) 63
Select Bibliography 64

CHAPTER IV

PLYMOUTH PLANTATION (1617–1660)
By Theodore E. Busfield 66
Preliminaries (1617-1620) 66
The Agreement (1620) 67
The Voyage and the Compact (1620) 68
The Landing (Dec. 21, 1620) 69
Foundations (1620-1621) 70
The Indians (1621-1623) 73
Troublesome Fellow Countrymen (1622-1624) 75
The Turn of the Tide (1625-1630) 76
The Pilgrim Church (1620) 79
The Plymouth Government (1620-1640) 82
Neighbors of Plymouth (1620-1643) 84
Economics and Life 87
The Great Achievement 89
Select Bibliography 91

CHAPTER V

THE MASSACHUSETTS CHARTER AND THE BAY COLONY (1628-1660),
By John Dickinson 93
Origins 93
The English Trading Companies (1553-1648) 94
Massachusetts Charter in England (1629) 96
The Dorchester Adventure (1623-1627) 97
The Massachussets Company (1628-1629) 98
The Charter in Massachussets (1629-1630) 100
Organization of the Government (1630) 102
Early Legislation (1630) 103
Controversy Over Suffrage (1631-1660) 104
Controversy Over Deputies (1630-1634) 106
Representative Government (1634-1660) 108
The Negative Voice (1630-1660) 110
The Aristocratic Constitution (1634-1660) 112
Power of the Clergy (1630-1660) 114
The Colonial Judiciary (1630-1664) 114

Body of Liberties (1632-1641) 116
General Laws of 1649 118
Magisterial Power (1644) 119
Local Government 120
Town Suffrage (1630-1647) 121
Rule by Church Members (1630-1648) 122
Select Bibliography 124

CHAPTER VI

THE WILDERNESS AND THE INDIAN,
By Charles C. Willoughby 127
First Acquaintance (1605-1635) 127
Indian Tribes (1620-1675) 130
Indian Society (1620-1675) 131
Tribes and Chiefs (1620-1675) 132
Villages (1630) 134
Forts (1620-1675) 134
Habitations (1620-1675) 136
Interiors (1620-1675) 138
Indian Physical Appearance (1524-1630) 140
Indian Apparel (1630-1675) 142
Implements and Ornaments (1620-1675) 144
Beads and Wampum (1620-1675) 145
Gardens and Fields (1620-1675) 146
Agriculture (1620-1675) 147
Food in General (1620-1675) 149
Hunting, Trapping and Fishing (1620-1675) 151
Weapons (1620-1675) 152
Canoes (1620-1675) 153
Utensils (1620-1675) 154
Games (1620-1675) 157
Select Bibliography 158

CHAPTER VII

JOHN WINTHROP, COMMONWEALTH BUILDER (1588-1649),
By Albert Bushnell Hart 159
The Winthrop Heritage 159
The Englishman (1600-1628) 160
The Puritan 162
Winthrop's Journal (1630-1649) 164
Private Life in Massachussets (1630-1649) 165
The Charter (1628-1684) 168
The Freeman Question (1630-1649) 168
The Suffrage (1631-1649) 170
Magistracy and Governor (1630-1636) 171
The General Court 173
Political Controversies (1630-1649) 173
Suffrage Question Reviewed (1645) 175
The Antinomians (1633-1637) 176
Toleration and Intolerance (1631-1640) 178
Government by Ecclesiastics (1630-1649) 180
Social Control by the Colony (1630-1649) 183
Democracy and Liberty 184
Service of John Winthrop (1630-1649) 187
Select Bibliography 189

CHAPTER VIII

SISTER NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS (1620-1660),
By Abner L. Braley 191
Political Divisions to 1689 191
The Gorges Grant (1620-1625) 193
Levett's Grant in Maine (1632-1639) 195
Laconia, Lygonia and Other Grants (1629-1636) 196
Gorges in Maine (1635-1649) 197
Maine in Relation to Massachussets (1652-1659) . . . 200
Massachussets in Control in Maine (1653-1658) 201
Foundations of New Hampshire (1621-1640) 202
The Mason Colony (1631-1640) 203
Annexation of New Hampshire to Massachusetts (1636-1644) 205
Roger Williams in the Narragansett Country (1631-1644) 207
Gorton Episode (1640-1652) 209
Charter Difficulties of Rhode Island 211
The Hegira to Connecticut (1632-1639) 214
Earliest Connecticut (1631-1636) 216
Connecticut in Relation to Massachusetts 218
New Haven Colony (1637-1664) 221
Colonial Boundaries in 1660 222
Select Bibliography 223

CHAPTER IX

NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION,
By Constance McLaughlin Green 226
Preliminaries (1637-1642) 226
Articles of Confederation (1643) 228
Machinery of the Confederation 230
Relations with the Indians (1643-1653) 231
External Relations 233
Social and Religious Betterment 236
Economic Affairs 237
Impost Controversy (1646-1650) 238
Interpretation of the Articles (1645-1658) 240
Nullification Controversy (1653-1654) 241
Conclusion of Dutch Affairs (1653-1664) 245
Indian Wars (1654-1658) 246
Civilizing the Indians (1643-1664) 246
Quaker Controversy (1660-1667) 249
Boundary Questions (1657-1667) 250
The Revised Constitution (1665-1672) 251
Revival of Activity (1673-1691) 252
End of Confederation 255
The Services of the Confederation (1643-1686) 255
Select Bibliography 258

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL LIFE (1630-1689),
By James Ford 260
Population 260

Standards of Living 262
Economic Basis of Social Life 264
Labor Problems 266
Slavery 268
Wages 270
Luxury and Fashion 271
Religion and Culture 273
Strong Drink 274
Crime and Punishment 275
Marriage 278
Marriage Laws 278
Protection of Women 280
Morals 281
Child Life 281
Education 284
The Poor 285
Settlement Rights 286
Outstanding Values 288
Select Bibliography 290

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN OF MASSACHUSETTS (1620-1689),
By Harriet Sylvester Tapley 293
Housing 293
Dress 294
Family Life 296
Family Troubles 298
Family Affection 300
Courtship and Wedded Life 301
Marriage 303
Children and Child Life 304
Schools 305
Child Religion 307
Child Offenses 307
Status of Women in the Church 309
Anne Hutchinson 310
Deborah Moody 311
Punishment of Independent Women 312
Women in Church 313
Quaker Women 313
The Scarlet Letter 315
Educated Women 316
Women Workers 317
Literary Women 319
Select Bibliography 323

CHAPTER XII

HARVARD COLLEGE (1636–1660),
By Arthur O. Norton 325
English Origins of New England Schools 325
John Harvard's Parents 327
John Harvard's School Life 328
Influence of the Bible 329
Cambridge: Colleges and University 330
John Harvard Enters Emmanuel College (1627) . . . 333

Academic Exercises at Emmanuel 334
Recreation at Emmanuel 336
Degree Requirements at Emmanuel 337
Educated Emigrants (1630-1650) 337
Educational Beginnings in New England (1635) . . . 339
Purposes of Education 340
First Schools (1635-1650) 340
Beginning of Harvard College (1629-1636) 342
Newetowne (Cambridge) in 1636 345
John Harvard in Massachusetts (1637-1638) 346
The First Harvard Hall 349
Dunster and Chauncy (1640-1672) 349
New England's First Fruits (1642) 351
Requirements for Degrees 355
Summary of Early History 357
Select Bibliography 358

CHAPTER XIII

MASSACHUSETTS IN LITERATURE: THE 17TH CENTURY,
By F. J. Stimson 360
Literature of Soul-Saving 360
Travel 361
John Smith 362
William Bradford 365
Descriptive Works 366
Nathaniel Ward 367
Theological and Sermons 369
Verse 370
Diaries 370
Narrative and Historical 370
Censorship 372
History 372
Science 374
The Mathers 374
Military History 376
Freedom of the Press 378
Select Bibliography 379

CHAPTER XIV

QUESTIONS OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM (1630-1689),
By Edward Caldwell Moore 382
Toleration 382
Basis of Puritan Religious Control 383
Power of The Scriptures 384
Authority for the Colonies 385
Leaders in the Community 387
The Charter and the Freemen 388
Faith of the Later Colonists 390
Religious Liberty of the Time 391
Faith of Roger Williams (1632-1635) 392
Faith of Anne Hutchinson (1634-1643) 395
Henry Dunster on Baptism (1640-1654) 397
The Baptists (1654-1680) 399
The Quaker Doctrine (1648-1689) 400

Quakers in Massachusetts (1656-1681) 402
The Episcopalians (1629-1684) 403
Episcopalian Worship Established (1686-1693) 404
The Issue of Toleration Summarized 405
Other Beliefs 406
The Outcome 407
Select Bibliography 409

CHAPTER XV

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION (1620-1689),
By Davis Rich Dewey 410

Financial Basis of Plymouth (1620-1630) 410
Financial Basis of Massachussets (1628-1630) 412
Distribution of the Population (1620-1689) 414
Allotment of Land (1620-1680) 417
Individual Holdings 419
Commons 420
Land from Indians 421
Agriculture 421
Stock 422
Occupations 424
Higher Classes 425
Regulation of Trade and Industry 426
Prices and Monopolies 428
Supervision of Private Expenditures 429
Respect for Property Rights 430
Wages 430
Roads and Travel 431
Circulating Medium 433
Public Revenue 435
Import Duties 437
Public Expenditures 438
Wealth and Prosperity 439
Select Bibliography 441

CHAPTER XVI

TRADE AND SHIPPING (1630-1689),
By Halford Lancaster Hoskins 442

The Commercial Urge in Massachusetts (1630-1689) . . 442
The Beginnings of Trade (1630-1650) 444
The Rise of a Merchant Marine (1630-1675) 446
Early Growth and Regulation of Commerce (1630-1670) 448
The English Navigation System (1660-1675) 451
Attempts to Enforce the Acts of Trade 454
Character of the Illegal Trade 457
Trade Expansion After 1675 460
The Ports and Prosperity of the Colony 463
Select Bibliography 467

CHAPTER XVII

CONTROVERSIES WITH ENGLAND (1640-1664),
By J. Hunter Sedgwick 469

Forerunners of the Conflict (1640-1660) 469

Intercolonial Relations (1643-1660) 471
Protectorate and Restoration (1650-1661) 472
Commercial Policy (1650-1660) 474
Navigation Acts (1650-1663) 475
Massachusetts Theory of Government (1660-1670) . . . 477
Theocracy and Power (1630-1660) 479
Status of Non-Members (1650-1664) 480
Treatment of Heretics (1650-1664) 481
The Quaker Episode (1656-1665) 482
The Royal Commission of 1664 484
Question of Judicial Appeal (1660-1664) 486
Effects of the Investigation 488
Select Bibliography 490

CHAPTER XVIII

EXTERNAL RELATIONS (1640-1689),
By Arthur H. Buffinton 492
Early Isolation of Massachusetts (1630-1650) 492
Aims of the Colonists (1630-1689) 494
Commercial Interests (1630-1689) 495
Territorial Interests (1630-1689) 496
The Decade of Inaction (1630-1640) 497
The New England Confederation in External Relations (1643-1650) 498
Friendly Relations with the Dutch (1635-1664) . . . 498
Hostile Relations with the Dutch (1652-1664) 500
Conquest of New Netherlands (1664) 501
Early French Relations—La Tour and D'Aulnay (1632-1643) 502
Negotiations with New France (1647-1651) 505
Relations with Acadia During the Period of English Rule (1654-1670) 507
Massachusetts and the Anglo-French War (1666-1667) 509
Continued Expansion of Massachussets (1667-1675) . . 510
Effect of King Philip's War on External Relations (1675-1684) 512
Relations with Acadia (1676-1681) 514
Revival of Acadian Troubles (1682-1686) 515
French Relations in Andros Period (1684-1689) 516
Relations with New York and the Iroquois (1680-1689) 517
Select Bibliography 520

CHAPTER XIX

EXPANSION AND KING PHILIP'S WAR (1630-1689),
By John Gould Curtis 522
Interior Development 522
Earliest Mother Towns (1620-1628) 523
The Great Emigration (1630-1633) 524
Other Direct Settlements (1634-1644) 525
Growth of Offshoots (1620-1675) 527
State of the Frontier in 1675 532
Early Encounters with the Indians (1614-1635) 533
The Pequod War (1636-1637) 534
The Apostle John Eliot (1646-1675) 535
Praying Indians (1670-1674) 538

Mutual Failure of Faith (1665-1674) 540
King Philip's Policy (1675) 542
Time to Strike (1675) 546
Frontier Outrages and Resistance (1675-1676) 548
English Defensive Operations (1676) 550
Death of King Philip (1676) 551
Cost of the War 552
End of the War (1678) 553
Select Bibliography 555

CHAPTER XX

GOVERNMENTAL CRISIS (1664-1686),
By Sherwin Lawrence Cook 557
The Attitude of Massachusetts in 1665 557
Continuance of Theocracy (1665-1670) 559
The Randolph Episode (1675-1677) 561
Preparation to Withdraw the Charter (1671-1680) . . . 563
The Quo Warranto (1683-1688) 565
The Colonist Point of View (1685) 566
Plan of Consolidation (1684-1686) 568
Theocracy and Business (1684) 569
The Moderates (1684) 571
President Dudley (1685-1686) 572
The Council (1685-1886) 573
Reorganization (1684-1686) 575
Activities of the Temporary Government (1686) 575
Business Men (1686-1688) 576
The Episcopal Church (1686-1689) 577
Kirke's Appointment as Governor (1686) 579
Select Bibliography 581

CHAPTER XXI

THE REVOLUTION OF 1689 (1686-1689),
By Viola F. Barnes 582
Edmund Andros (1687) 582
Inauguration of the Dominion (1687) 583
Adjustment of Maine (1687) 584
The Governmental Crisis (1688) 585
The Land Question (1687-1789) 586
Quit Rents (1687-1689) 587
Protest Against Quit Rents (1687-1689) 589
Freedom of Conscience (1687-1689) 590
The Tax Controversy (1688) 592
The Essex Result (1688) 593
The Legal System (1687-1689) 594
Regulation of Trade (1687-1689) 595
Defense Controversy (1687-1688) 596
Unpopularity of the Administration (1688-1689) . . . 597
Mather in England (1688-1689) 599
Revolution of 1689 600
Andros and His Friends (1689-1690) 602
Outcome of the Contest 603
Select Bibliography 606

APPENDIX: Officers of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies 607

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Relief Map of New England . . . . . Front and Back Covers
Governor John Winthrop . . . . . Frontispiece
The Coast in 1631 . . . . . Facing page 6
King James the First . . . . . " " 10
Records of the Council for New England . . . . . " " 18
Types of New England Landscapes . . . . . " " 30
Products of Early New England Iron Works . . . . " " 40
Towns of Massachusetts and Correlated English Places . . . . . Following page 58
Mourt's Relation . . . . . Facing page 68
The Pierce Patent of 1621 . . . . . " " 76
Governor Edward Winslow . . . . . " " 82
A Share in the Massachusetts Bay Company . . . . " " 94
Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company . . . . " " 102
Broadside of the "Capitall Lawes" of 1642 . . . . " " 118
Indian Tribes and Villages of Massachusetts . . . . " " 130
Indian Dwellings and Utensils . . . . . " " 154
Governor Winthrop's Estate of Ten Hills in 1687 . . " " 166
Sir Henry Vane . . . . . " " 174
Colonization Propaganda by Gorges . . . . . " " 194
Extent of Colonization in 1660 . . . . . " " 222
Governor Peter Stuyvesant of New Netherland . . . " " 234
Progress of the Gospel in New England . . . . . " " 248
The Hartwell Farm in Lincoln . . . . . " " 264
Bond of an apprentice who served in Boston . . . . " " 284
Memorial to Anne Hutchinson . . . . . " " 310
Anne Bradstreet's poems and her home . . . . . " " 320
First printed reference to John Harvard . . . . . " " 328
Earliest view of Harvard College . . . . . " " 346
Record of the choosing of the Harvard seal . . . . " " 354
Captain John Smith . . . . . " " 362
The Bay Psalm Book . . . . . " " 374
Reverend John Cotton . . . . . " " 384
Roger Williams in controversy . . . . . " " 394
An early economic view . . . . . " " 414
William Pynchon, Connecticut valley pioneer . . . . " " 420
First Town House and a plan of Boston as of 1630 . . " " 464
Sir John Leverett . . . . . " " 478
Governor John Endecott . . . . . " " 484
Dutch view of colonial boundaries in 1659 . . . . . " " 500
French views of the northern Indians . . . . . " " 512
Frontier at the outbreak of King Philip's War . . . " " 528
Indian title page of Eliot's New Testament . . . . " " 538
Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton . . . . . " " 562
President Joseph Dudley . . . . . " " 572
Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Colony . . . . . " " 576
Sir Edmund Andros . . . . . " " 582
Broadside news of 1689 . . . . . " " 600

CHAPTER I

WESTERN WORLD MOVEMENT (1500–1600)

By Wilbur Cortez Abbott
Professor of History, Harvard University

Pre-Colonial England

The pre-colonial background of the settlement of Massachusetts, in common with that of the whole western hemisphere, is that extraordinary burst of discovery, exploitation and colonization in which all the western nations of Europe shared during the sixteenth century. Beginning with Columbus's discovery, in turn Spain, Portugal, France, England, Holland, and even Sweden, set themselves to take advantage of this vast addition to the resources and the opportunities of the Old World. In this great enterprise each people revealed its own peculiar conditions and its character; yet of these nations, though it might have been expected she would have been the first to move, England was slow to take advantage of the situation thus created. Henry VII, busy consolidating the power he had won at the battle of Bosworth Field and securing the throne to his descendants of the Tudor line, did little more than allow John Cabot in 1497 a grant from Bristol customs for his discovery of Newfoundland.

His successor, Henry VIII, (1509) busied in many other affairs, political, religious, diplomatic and matrimonial, did still less; and by the close of his reign, (1547) while Spain and Portugal had consolidated their position in the southern hemisphere, and France had secured a claim on the St. Lawrence by the discoveries of Jacques Cartier, England's foothold in North America consisted of little more than whatever title Cabot's discovery gave her to the northern coast; and even that was disputable by Spain and Portugal as well as by the French.

The real beginning of England's entry into colonial affairs,

then, lies toward the middle of the sixteenth century, when she was brought within the circle of the great Reformation movement and the no less important rivalry for extra-European trade by which the Protestant Revolution in Europe was accompanied and intensified. In that movement, so far as colonization was concerned, she was again anticipated by the French. Admiral Coligni's efforts to find in the new world a refuge for his fellow-Huguenots, (1555–60) though they were blocked by Spain, pointed the way to new developments. For the moment that way was not followed by the English. The discovery of men like John Hawkins that negro slaves could be bought cheaply in west Africa and sold dearly in Spanish America, began a very different sort of struggle between England and Spain than Coligni's colonizing experiments, but one of no less violence; and it was not for years that the English adopted the French ideas of colonization, and then adapted and enlarged the process.

England in the Colonial Field (1578–1598)

As the sixteenth century advanced and France plunged into the horrors of her religious wars Elizabeth, who ascended the English throne, finally looked with favor on the importunities of Sir Humphrey Gilbert for a charter or patent to colonize America. In 1578, in the first English charter to Gilbert, he was permitted to take possession of "any remote, barbarous and heathen lands not possessed by any Christian prince and people." Here begins a new chapter of English-American history. Gilbert's effort to plant a colony at St. John's, Newfoundland, was, indeed, as futile as his earlier effort to find the Northwest Passage. But it became an inspiration to his fellow-countrymen, especially to his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, who shared his colonizing enterprise, and presently followed his example by three successive efforts to establish a colony on the coast of a region known to later generations as North Carolina.

Those attempts failed; and with them what may be called the endeavor of the Elizabethan adventurers to secure America for England came to an end. Their energies were diverted to the more immediate armed conflict with Spain, which came

partly as a cause and partly as a result of the activities of the Spanish King Philip II. Filled with the crusading spirit of his ancestors; threatened by the developments in the world of ecclesiastical affairs which produced the rise of Protestantism in the dominions of his father, Charles V, and spread into his own; roused by the progress of the new religious communion in his Dutch Netherlands and by the aggressions of the English and the Dutch on his colonial preserves; he set himself to protect his faith and his inheritance.

The theological successors of Calvin and Luther had begun to conquer the lands once owing allegiance to the Papal See; the successors of Hawkins had begun to invade the Spanish colonial monopoly; and against each he gathered his resources. The Revolt of the Netherlands in 1576 at first absorbed his energies. This support of his rebellious subjects by the English, at first in sentiment, then in arms, combined with his failure, despite his marriage with the English Queen Mary, to keep the people of the British Isles under his influence.

Thus Philip of Spain turned his attention to a great stroke which would at once end the resistance of the Dutch and remove all danger from the rising English power. In 1588 he launched his Grand Armada against his Protestant enemies with a two-fold purpose—to crush Protestantism where he could reach it; and to put an end to the harassing of his overseas colonies.

This challenge and the counter-attack launched by the English after the failure of the Armada, absorbed the energies of the sea-kings; and Drake and his successors sought and found no field for their talents in the attempt to found settlements in the New World, save perhaps Raleigh's last tragic stroke against Spain in South America which brought him to the scaffold. But they had cleared the path. They had broken the sea-power of the now united Spanish and Portuguese kingdoms; they had found the way to attack that great territorial monopoly of the New World. Following them, Dutch and English alike began the invasion of the great colonial and trading empires thus laid open to them both in Asia and America, little hampered by the Spanish masters of that splendid heritage.

The Company Era (1599–1608)

English and Dutch alike forsook the plans of colonization by royal permit and proceeded in that enterprise according to their peculiar genius, by private, or semi-private enterprise, developing those forms of commercial organization known as companies, which were presently applied to colonies. These had been long familiar to the English commercial adventurers. When on the last day of 1599 the English East India Company was chartered, it followed the example set by those Englishmen who earlier had formed such bodies for trade in the Baltic lands, the Levant and Muscovy. It was succeeded in no long time by the formation of the Dutch East India Company (1602); and presently by a Dutch West India Company and a Swedish corporation devoted to the exploitation of the western hemisphere. These last were, to be sure, in some measure trading companies; but they were more than trading companies, for they combined with their commercial principles the old lessons of Coligni, Gilbert and Raleigh, the lessons of settlement as a basis, first of trade and then of possession. They proposed to found new centers of population in those western wilds, to trade with the Indians; but also to farm, to plant, to fish, if possible to mine, in an endeavor to exploit the natural resources of this western hemisphere, whose vast and sparsely populated wilderness afforded such contrast to the crowded trading centers of the East, and whose opportunities for wealth lay in such sharp distinction to those of the Orient.

Before they had forged this new weapon for the conquest of the western hemisphere, the English were again anticipated by the French. What Cartier had been to colonization at the beginning of the sixteenth century Samuel Champlain became in the beginning of the seventeenth. A succession of French colonial adventurers secured in turn a charter from Henry of Navarre—the Marquis de la Roche; Pontgrave, a St. Malo merchant; the governor of Dieppe, the Sieur Aymar de Chastes. They found in Champlain an able agent for their design of planting the lilies and the cross in the New World. Exploring the lower St. Lawrence region, reinforced by a new burst of adventurous enterprise in which the Sieur de Monts

replaced de Chastes, undaunted by the failure of De Monts' attempt to found a colony in Acadia, Champlain finally in 1608 followed the foundation of Tadoussac in Nova Scotia by the establishment of a fortified post at Quebec which became the permanent center and capital of French influence in the St. Lawrence region.

English Colonial Beginnings (1606–1619)

Meanwhile the English took up their share of colonization. Even while Champlain was establishing French power in the north, a group of English merchants, country gentlemen, and adventurers had founded the London Company (1606), then the Plymouth Company (1606), with a patent from King James I for grants extending from 34° to 45° north latitude along the coast of North America. Their first effort was directed toward that region previously named Virginia in honor of Elizabeth, and at Jamestown they planted a little colony at the moment that Champlain was setting out to found Quebec. The Plymouth Company meanwhile found the climate and the circumstances unfavorable to the establishment of their projected settlement on the Kennebec; and for the moment it seemed that the French were to be left undisturbed in their possession of the north.

Had it not been for the ability and the persistence of Captain John Smith of the Virginia colony, even that southern settlement might well have gone the way of the Kennebec River enterprise. But, weathering its early crisis, recruited by a slender stream of colonists, it gradually established itself in the face of death and disappointment, the savages and the wilderness.

Before it was well on its feet, the Dutch were entering this new field of American colonization; and, thanks chiefly to the enterprise of those who had employed the English Henry Hudson to survey the possibilities of the New World, there was presently established (1619) the little colony of New Amsterdam at the mouth of the river, to which he gave his name. Thus by the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century, only that territory known as New England remained unoccupied by some sort of European settlement

all the way from Spanish Florida on the south, through English Virginia, Dutch New Netherlands, to French Canada on the north.

To that region, in consequence, the English turned their eyes, Sir Ferdinando Gorges employed Captain John Smith (1614) to explore this coast, now definitely named New England; and so far as names and claims availed, thus preempted it for English settlement. Thereupon appeared a new corporation to exploit it. The Merchant Adventurers of London formed a Council for New England, secured a charter from the Virginia Company (1606) and prepared to enter this new area of great possibilities.

The coast from Maine to Cape Cod as a field of colonial enterprise was by this time tolerably well known. The explorations of Bartholomew Gosnold followed by those of Smith and Pring, the efforts of Gorges and Popham to found their colony, with such casual and incidental information—and misinformation—as had been supplied from other sources, had given some idea of what was to be expected in this region, though its advantages for colonization were perhaps better known than its disadvantages.

English Religious Controversies (1540–1557)

What was lacking for the moment was that essential for such enterprise—colonists. And with the search for them, those who projected this new settlement came into touch with another great force in the development of America, the force which had first turned the attention of the earliest projector of such enterprises, Coligni, to its shores. This was the force of religion. It was just then an active element in English life and politics. As a result of the great Reformation movement in the preceding century, England had separated first from the Papacy, then from the Roman Catholic communion. Henry VIII broke with the Papacy and under his son and successor, Edward VI, England advanced another step along the way to the establishment of a new communion. The new sect of Prostestants found adherents in many walks of life; nobles eager for church spoils, politicians ready to adopt new courses to place and power, and multitudes of all ranks turn-

From the map in his Advice to Unexperienced Planters in the Harvard University Library

THE COAST IN 1631 ACCORDING TO JOHN SMITH

ing to the new doctrines of Luther and Calvin. Among them were the advisers of the young king; and in his reign a new Prayer-Book of Protestant complexion marked the breach with the old communion and the beginning of the new in English practices and faith.

Edward's early death (1553) brought to the throne his sister, Mary, surnamed the Catholic, who presently espoused that champion of the old communion, Philip II; and her reign witnessed an attempt to turn back the current of Protestantism. It was accompanied by the execution of many of the new faith; and for the time it seemed that England might be won back to Rome. But persecution made converts; the blood of its martyrs became the seed of the new church; and only Mary's death prevented what might have been a bloody religious conflict such as then was beginning on the continent. With the accession of her sister, Elizabeth (1558), England confronted the great problem of the time, the choice between the new communion and the old.

The people were divided; each side held with stubborn persistence to its forms and faith. Abroad, the so-called Counter-Reformation had begun; its great protagonist, Philip of Spain, strove to regain for his church its lost subjects. Rejected as a suitor for Elizabeth, inflamed by the commercial and colonial invasion of his extra-European empire and presently, reinforced by his succession to the throne of Portugal, Philip II, Spain and Catholicism seemed to a multitude of Englishmen but different names for the same enemy; and England and Spain stood out as the great world champions of the old and new ecclesiastical establishments at the moment that France plunged into a religious-civil war, and the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands began.

The Church and Elizabeth (1557–1602)

Under such threatening auspices the government of the young Queen Elizabeth made its way cautiously. Its early years were signalized by re-enactment of that Act of Supremacy which had made Henry VIII head of the English church. That was followed by a new Prayer-Book whose liturgy, though Protestant in doctrine, retained many of the forms of

the old church, remodeled to fit the new form of faith. The church organization, unlike that of the continent, was left virtually unchanged, with an episcopal hierarchy at its head; its dioceses and its parishes as before. An Act of Uniformity compelled adhesion to this new Elizabethan establishment; and England thus embarked upon her great experiment of a state church with the crown at its head, established by acts of Parliament, a church Roman in form but Protestant in doctrines.

Yet this great compromise, though it gradually reconciled the mass of the people, was not without its enemies. Of these the Roman Catholics were at first the most conspicuous and most dangerous. Rallying around the person of the exiled and imprisoned Mary Queen of Scots, they were, until her execution, a threat to the church and government alike. As the national existence became identified in the popular mind with the support of church and crown against internal and external foes, Mary of Scotland and Philip of Spain; as war clouds darkened on the continent and English privateers strove with the Spanish fleets, the national spirit rose. Though the Catholic faith was not extinguished in England, it lost political strength and finally after the failure of the Spanish Armada, ceased to be a danger to the state.

Meanwhile on the other side, a new form of resistance to the Elizabethan settlement arose. To those inspired by the Calvinistic teachings, it was not enough to break with the Papacy, nor even to establish a Protestant communion. That communion remained episcopal in form, and retained so much of the "rags of Rome" as vestments and altars, with whatever echoes of the older liturgy were to be found in the new Prayer Book. They wished to go the whole length of reform; to make religion a direct and personal communion with God, not carried on through the intermediary of a priesthood. They wished to break the images, destroy rood-screens and altar rails, make the altar itself a communion-table, not set apart from the congregation but in the midst of it. They wished to have a clergy called by and from among the people, not imposed by an episcopal authority. They wished, in brief, to democratize the church establishment.

They were no meek and silent sufferers; they were both vocal and militant. Against conformity they set conversion

of the people and the government to their views. Nor were they cautious time-servers. At the very moment that the great Armada was being prepared, the so-called Martin Marprelate tracts attacked the hierarchy with a wealth of invective. Thus at the height of the conflict against its temporal foes the English government was harassed by this fire in the rear.

For the activities of these Puritans, as they came to be called, were not, and could not be, confined to purely ecclesiastical controversy. According to the Elizabethan settlement the church and state were one. The crown was the head of the ecclesiastical as well as of the civil establishment; the new communion was established by act of Parliament; the bishops not merely presided in their dioceses, they sat in the House of Lords. It was therefore inevitable that any attack upon the Church of England should involve the government. The opponents of one must be regarded as opponents of the other; and with this identification of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, Puritanism was drawn into the wider field of politics.

King James and the Puritans (1602–1625)

So long as Elizabeth lived, despite annoyance to her government by Puritan attacks in the Commons, there came no open breach, but when in 1603 James VI of Scotland ascended the English throne as King James I, there came a change. The new king, though bred in a Presbyterian atmosphere—or because of that—was an active and energetic champion of the divine right of kings. Well-educated, argumentative, unheroic, tactless, he was prepared to challenge the new doctrines on their own grounds, political and theological. He perceived that their success meant the reduction of the power of monarchy, if not, indeed, its extinction.

The issue was soon raised. On his progress from Scotland to London he was presented with the so-called Millenary Petition of the Puritans, objecting to the use of the surplice, of the cross in baptism and of the ring in marriage, to the reading of the so-called Apochrypha, to non-residence of ministers, the encouragement of preaching, and urging the observance of Sunday and the non-observance of saints' days. And

scarcely was he on the throne when he summoned a conference at Hampton Court to consider the question of the church, 1604.

There met the bishops and the Puritan champions under the king's presidency, and there was settled the issue of English affairs for two generations. Rejecting the Puritan contentions, James upheld the episcopal argument, and in a burst of passion at the end he summed up his whole position and laid down the lines of the conflict in his well-known words: "If you aim at a Scottish Presbytery," he declared, "it agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the Devil. . . . No bishop, no king. . . . If this be all you have to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else will harry them out of the land or else do worse." Thus in two minutes, as it has been said, he sealed his own fate and that of England.

More than that, he pronounced the future of New England, especially of Massachusetts. He made compromise impossible. Up to the Hampton Court conference, in theory the English church was one. It was, indeed, divided between the Anglicans who upheld episcopacy and the more advanced and more essentially "Puritan" group who looked toward a more popular form of government. Under that name were reckoned men as moderate as those who merely wished some modification of the liturgy and ceremonies, with clerical, or even lay representation in the church affairs; those who went the whole length of Presbyterian government; and those still more advanced, who were divided even among themselves as to the forms of service and church government.

Henceforth the breach was widened and deepened. On the one side stood those who, like the king, regarded monarchy and episcopacy as divine institutions not subject to lay criticism or control. On the other were those who whether outside the pale of the conformity or remaining nominally members of the Anglican establishment reckoned the church government, like that of the state, in greater or less degree the concern of every individual. Nor was this quarrel merely ecclesiastical. The reign of James I was a time when England faced the problem of readjustment in almost every field.

As a result of the events of the preceding century prices risen to an unheard-of level; the cost of monarchy and government in general had advanced in like proportion; old rev-

From an engraving in the American Antiquarian Society

KING JAMES THE FIRST

enue proved insufficient; and the crown sought new sources of income. It found them in the exercise and the extension of prerogative, especially in the customs; and here it came into conflict with Parliament, now growing steadily more "Puritan." The Parliament refused the Great Contract by which it was proposed to commute the feudal dues for money payments; it looked with jealous eyes on every effort of the crown to increase its revenue; it doled out supplies with niggardly reluctance; it opposed the king's pretension to supreme authority; and through some twenty years the struggle between those who would extend the power of the executive and those who would make Parliament the dominant element went on, increased by differences of opinion in foreign policy, and intensified by the religious controversy.

Influence of Sandys (1602–1619)

In such an atmosphere and under such conditions was born the movement to colonize America; and in the course of it this struggle between the bishops and the Puritans, as that between the crown and Parliamentarians, took its place. In particular there came a change in the Virginia Company. Its management was transferred from men like Smyth—an old member of the East India Company who had embarked on this new enterprise—to men like the great Parliament leader, Sir Edwin Sandys, committed to opposition to royal pretensions and divine right principles, steadfast in asserting the right of the Commons to preserve those liberties and privileges which "were the undoubted birthright of the subjects of England; the State, the defence of the realm, the Church, the laws and grievances were proper matters for debate"; contending that "members have liberty of speech and freedom from all imprisonment for speaking on any matters touching Parliamentary business."

In a sense the settlement of the territory of Massachusetts centers in the person of this Sir Edwin Sandys, whose part in affairs and whose character still remain to be accurately determined. The second son of an archbishop of York, destined for the church and actually a prebend, he never took orders. After his education at Oxford and travel abroad, he went

into Parliament. Trained by his tutor, Thomas Hooker, the author of that famous book the *Ecclesiastical Polity,* paying court to James and knighted by him, he signalized his early career in Parliament by opposing those grants of monopoly which were one of the causes of dispute between Parliament and the crown; yet, apparently, he did not lose favor with the king. Some time before 1614 he became connected with the East India Company; and so, presently, with the Virginia Company of 1607, of which he became treasurer in 1619. It was largely to his efforts in England as to those of John Smith in America that the Jamestown settlement owed its survival, and throughout his life he was recognized as one of the leaders in the colonizing movement.

The Pilgrims in Holland (1607–1616)

To him, more directly, was due that part of the movement which led to the colonizing of Massachusetts, by the well-known but still romantic story of the Pilgrims. It so happened by a curious coincidence that, as the story goes, there was in that region where Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire and Yorkshire join, and partly on the estate of his brother at Scrooby in Yorkshire a "poor people" so-called "Separatists," from their doctrines; or "Brownists," from him whose teachings they followed. In the year of the Hampton Court Conference this group had "become enlightened in the word of God." "Scoffed at and scorned by the profane multitude," they were led "to see further," that not only were "the beggarly ceremonies" of the Church of England "monuments of idolatry," but that "the lordly power of the prelates ought not to be submitted to." They were thus typical Puritans of the more advanced sort. As such they were naturally a concern of the local authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical. Under the guidance of their pastor, John Robinson, and their ruling elder, William Brewster, they determined in 1607 to seek refuge in flight. At the very moment, therefore, that the settlers of Jamestown were busy with their cabins and stockade in that remote Virginia outpost, these people made their first attempt to escape to Holland, then regarded by those in authority as "a nest of foul and unclean birds," but by the Pil-

grims as a place where, they had heard, was "freedom of religion for all men"—descriptions which reveal the gulf now fixed between prelacy and Puritanism.

This effort failed, but another in the succeeding spring (1608) was more successful. Landing in Amsterdam they proceeded to Leyden where, after the natural hardship and difficulties of establishing themselves in a strange land, they came in time to "a comfortable condition, grew in the gifts and grace of the spirit of God, and lived together in peace and love and holiness." To them gathered others fleeing from English prelacy. Their pastor Robinson issued an apology for their discipline and took part in the disputes in the university between the Arminians and the Gomarists, and in general they commended themselves to the people among whom they dwelt. Brewster became a teacher of English and a printer; Bradford a silk-dyer; and it seemed not improbable that in time they might be absorbed into the Dutch population.

As the years went on such a prospect became more and more repugnant to them. They were a country people compelled to work at unfamiliar tasks in town; they saw their children growing away from their English traditions; they were strangers in a land which never ceased to be strange to them; and in time they conceived the idea of sharing in this new movement of colonization, "of advancing the gospel . . . in the remote parts of the New World; yea, though they should be but stepping-stones unto others for performing so great a work."

Plans of Puritan Emigration (1617–1620)

They were ideal recuits for colonizing enterprise. Sturdy, industrious, bound together by a common sentiment, disciplined under recognized leaders, bred to country life, inured to hardship, independent, self-reliant, brave, adventurous, they were capable, if any group was capable, of caring for themselves. Their project being known, the Dutch hastened to offer them inducements to go to their recently established colony of New Amsterdam. This they considered but rejected, desiring to keep their own language and nationality. Virginia had made by this time the upward turn, and the

reports of its success, made them desirous of emigrating thither, though, true to their Separatist traditions, proposing to live "in a distinct body by themselves" in "the most northern parts" of that province.

In consequence two of their number, John Carver and Robert Cushman, repaired to London in 1617 to interview the officials of the London Company. With them they took their terms, to be laid upon the English council, recognizing the Anglican creed, the civil authority of king and bishops, and agreeing to submit to their authority, "obedience in all things, active if the thing commanded be not against God's word, passive if it be."

And thus they came in contact with Sir Edwin Sandys who put before them the proposals from his company. Having consulted with their fellow-exiles in Leyden, at the end of 1617 they transmitted their formal request to the company. "We are well weaned," their leaders declared, "from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal . . . straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage."

With these assurances the Company was content; and between its members and the Leyden congregation an agreement was soon framed. For it the plan of the Virginia settlement offered an example. Seventy subscribers provided the capital. One share went to each emigrant above sixteen years of age; two to each family furnishing itself; one for each two children between ten and sixteen. Store of food and utensils was provided; and the plans for settlement arranged.

It remained to secure the king's assent. To one thing he agreed. "To advance the dominions of England" he thought "a good and honest motion; and fishing was an honest trade, the apostles' own calling." But "who shall make your ministers?" he inquired. It seemed they must apply to the English bishops for confirmation of their enterprise. They were well advised not to seek permission from that quarter; instead they secured informal promise of neglect; and their shrewd common-sense assured them that their distance from episcopal authority was their best safeguard against prelacy.

The Pilgrim Settlement (1620)

Then followed one of the great epics of American history. Every American school boy knows how they chartered that vessel whose name has lent a touch of romance to their adventure, the *Mayflower*—so fortunately not named the *Sarah Jane;* how they made their way across the Atlantic in the autumn of 1620 first to what is now Provincetown, thence across the bay to Plymouth; and how, before they landed, they drew up that famous compact in which they agreed "solemnly and mutually" to "covenant and combine" themselves "into a civil body politic . . . and by virtue thereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices . . . as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of society. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." Then, after the beginning of hardships such that it is recorded "some of the people that died that winter took the original of their death," on Monday, Dec. 11-21, 1620 they landed and New England was begun.

The Pilgrim Fathers occupy the same relation to New England as Columbus to the discovery of America. As others—Norsemen, and perhaps Basques, or Breton or British—preceded Columbus, yet left neither lasting trace nor permanent effect, so the Pilgrims were preceded by others, now all but lost to history. The greeting of the Indian Samoset who visited them, exclaiming "Welcome, Englishmen," echoed the memories of the English fishing rendezvous on the Penobscot where he had learned these words of their language. They knew the history of the ill-fated settlement of Sagadahoc on the Kennebec thirteen years before. There was a lone and almost forgotten settler on what is known as Thompson's Island in what was later to be called Boston Harbor. There were, doubtless, other summer headquarters of adventurous fishermen and perhaps other now nameless individual pioneers. A long-lived tradition asserted that a settlement on Cape Ann preceded that of Plymouth. The great contribution of the Pilgrim Fathers, like that of Columbus, is that they brought this coast and its hinterland into the realm of practical and permanent affairs.

Other Settlements Preceding Massachusetts (1608–1627)

Nor were they long alone. Their heroic endurance of losses and suffering in that first fierce winter, which, mild as it was supposed to be, was such a drain upon their numbers and vitality was the foundation of the eventual New England for none returned in April when the *Mayflower* set sail for England. The English fur-traders looked with envious eyes upon this new field for their activities; and Thomas Weston, who had been active in the London company, secured a patent for land around what was to be Weymouth. He sent over sixty men who built a trading station at what was then known as Wessagusset opposite the mouth of the Quincy River, and established another colony. That settlement, indeed, fell on evil days, and it was in his effort to relieve it in the spring of 1623 that Miles Standish performed his "capital exploit," his first fight with the Indians. But though Weston's venture failed, the houses and stockade were occupied in that same year by Captain Robert Gorges and his party, and the spot has never since been long devoid of white inhabitants.

Meanwhile in these eventful seven years since they had first landed, many changes had taken place in the colonial world most of which centered in the territory which was to be known as Massachusetts. By this time that coast was perhaps better known to Englishmen than any similar stretch of the Atlantic seaboard. Since 1602 when Gosnold and Gilbert had sailed from Cape Elizabeth to Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard, through Pring's expedition of 1603, Weymouth's voyage of 1605, and Hanham and Pring's "exact discovery" of that coast, the Sagadahoc colony of 1607, with Smith's expedition of 1614 which first named the new region *New England,* with the beginning of settlement at Plymouth and elsewhere, and the annual visits of the fishing fleets, this region had been brought into the circle of English knowledge to a remarkable extent.

That incident had brought New England into closer touch with one of its greatest promoters, Captain Gorges' father, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, sometime a captive of the Spanish Armada, sometime a soldier of Henry of Navarre, later a

follower of the Earl of Essex, then governor of Plymouth, a member of the Plymouth Company, a promoter of the ill-fated Sagadahoc colony and an active agent in securing the charter for Plymouth. To his son Robert Gorges the company granted a patent for a ten mile frontage on Massachusetts Bay and thirty miles inland with a commission of Lieutenant-General of New England, with power to deal with "interlopers"; but Robert's settlement, though fortified by an Episcopal clergyman, Morell, failed, like his father's.

Already "five-and-thirty sail" of fishermen had made such a successful voyage in 1622, as to tempt many to follow their example. In 1623 Francis West was despatched to exclude not only unlicensed fishermen from those happy fishing grounds, but others pressing in. Meanwhile settlements in 1623 by Thompson at Little Harbor and by the Hiltons at Dover, in what was to be New Hampshire were more successful; however weak they had served their purpose as piers in the colonial structure. The way to New England was now a well-sailed path; more and more men looked to that land as a goal of their colonizing efforts, as well as a field for fur trade and headquarters of the fishing fleets.

To Massachusetts in particular; and hither in 1625 came that picturesque royalist Thomas Morton, who, after three months in New England in 1622 returned three years later with a company which settled again in Weymouth. There in the year following, when most of its settlers had removed to Virginia, he became commander of the little colony, whose looser life was a thorn in the side of the sober Plymouth folk, till on May-day, 1627, Morton's men set up a May-pole, crowning their transgressions of selling rum and fire-arms to the Indians by this "Idoll . . . the Calf of Horeb." So their leader was arrested and sent back to England, while his Merrymount was altered to a "woeful mount" and came into the power of the Plymouth men.

Between Plymouth and those posts which were to be Dover and Portsmouth in New Hampshire, there was by 1627 a slender line of settlement along the Massachusetts coast—at Charlestown the blacksmith Thomas Waldorf; in what was to be East Boston, the "prelatist," Samuel Maverick; on the slope of what was some day to be Beacon Hill, the recluse

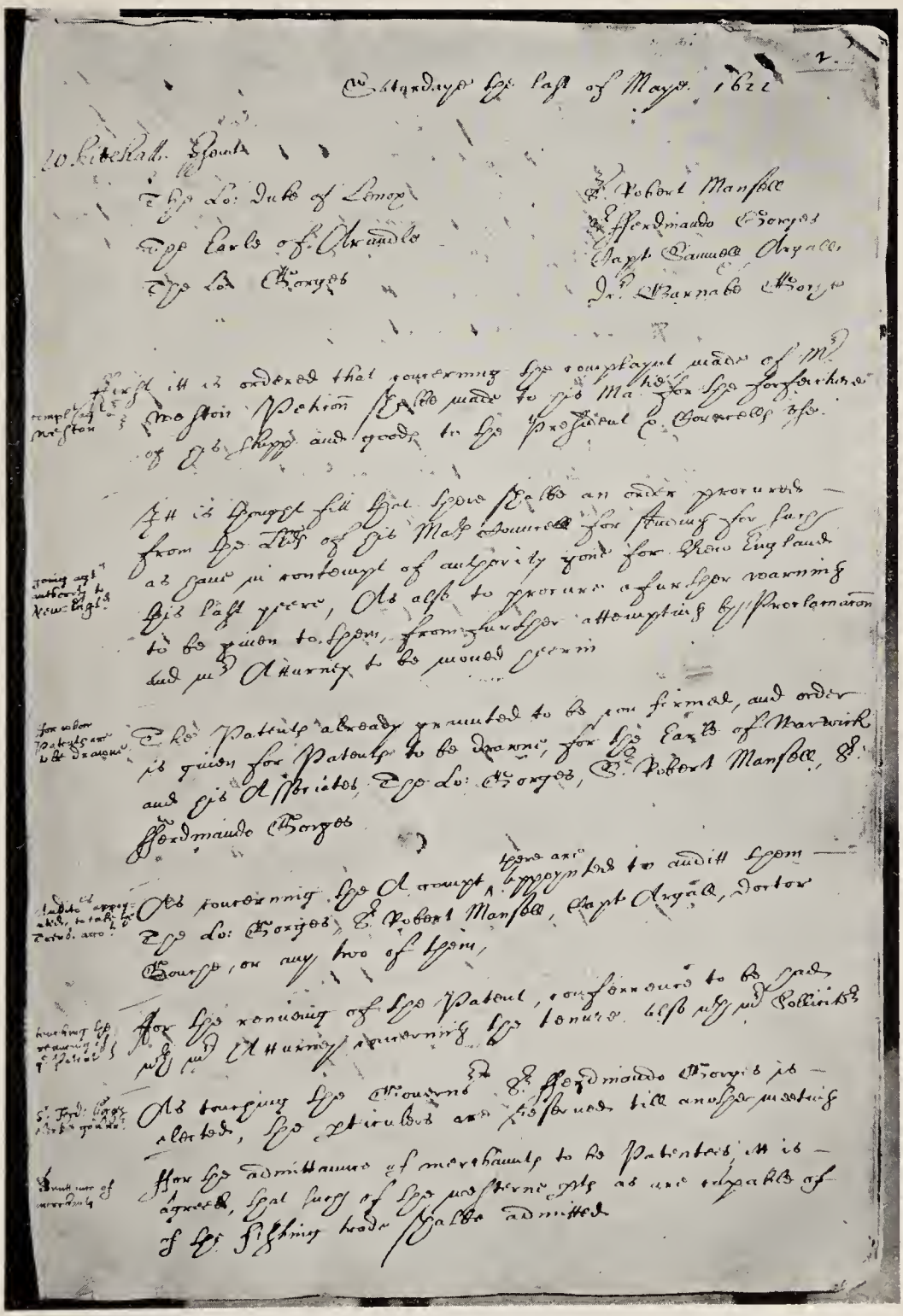
Anglican clergyman, William Blackstone, with his house and rose-garden. On Cape Ann, still other habitations, temporary or permanent, pointed the way to the next step in the settlement of Massachusetts—that about the great bay which stretched from Cape Cod on the south to Cape Ann on the north; and to this, in consequence, was directed the attention of other groups of intending settlers.

Council for New England (1620–1628)

Meanwhile the situation in England itself had undergone a change. The original company, or companies, the London and Plymouth groups, had in a measure already played their parts. In 1620 the Plymouth Company under the name of the Council for New England obtained a charter for the lands from forty to forty-eight degrees north latitude and westward to the sea. Of course the patent which Sandys secured could not overrule the grant of the Plymouth Company; but in the unsettled situation, the struggle between the companies, the grantees, the settlers, and the various independent adventurers did not interfere with the establishment of the Plymouth colony.

The appointment of West as admiral, with quarrels between the Weston and Gorges settlers, with the rising tide of religious feeling, produced two results. The first was the attempted division of the coast among twenty individual patentess in 1623; the second was the report of the great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, to Parliament that the charter of the Council for New England was a national grievance, which tended to bring that body into disrepute and limited its usefulness. Meanwhile the disagreements between the original Plymouth Separatist group and later settlers created not only a schism in the old colony but the foundation of the Nantasket settlement.

In the arrangement of 1623 the Cape Ann region had fallen to Lord Sheffield who conveyed it to Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow in behalf of the Plymouth colonists. But in that very year some Dorchester merchants followed up their fishing interests by despatching to that region a little colony which they reinforced in the year following. Between



From the original in the American Antiquarian Society

FIRST PAGE OF THE RECORDS OF THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND

them and their predecessors disagreements naturally arose, especially when the Nantasket exiles from the Plymouth colony joined the settlement. These, with the decline of the fishing trade seemed likely to break up the enterprise, for all but three or four of the disputants abandoned it. This was not to be the end. The Plymouth colonists who had sent Miles Standish to assert their power over Cape Ann, had set up trading and fishing outposts on Buzzard's Bay, with two or three in Maine, in an effort to control the whole Massachusetts coast.

In that design they were anticipated. The little group of Cape Ann settlers who survived the break-up of that post removed to what appeared to them more favorable territory, Naumkeag (the later Salem). Encouraged by their friends in England, especially the merchant-preacher, John White of Dorchester, and reinforced by a group of Lincolnshire men, this new enterprise secured from the Council for New England a patent for the land between the "Merrimack" and the Charles rivers, "being in the Bottome of a certayne Bay there, comonlie called Massachusetts" and three miles each side, "to the western sea." Naturally in the unregulated situation of colonial grants this conflicted with the area that had been assigned some five years earlier to John Mason, extending from the Merrimac to Naumkeag; as well as another grant to Captain Robert Gorges. For the moment these happenings disturbed the new company as little as the possibility of opposition from the Plymouth colonists or the grant to other patentees. They quickly raised and despatched a little group to Massachusetts Bay where in the summer of 1628 they were reinforced by another party under the newly appointed governor, John Endecott. There they finally founded the settlement of Salem, "the paradise of New England," and promptly extended the claim of their jurisdiction to all the lands about the Bay.

The Massachusetts Character (1620)

In many respects the colony of Massachusetts Bay differed in its inception, in its character, management and personnel from any which had preceded it in the new world, as well as in its chartered rights and privileges. It was composed in no

small measure of men of substance and position, experienced in affairs, financed by their own means, numerous, well-equipped, and self-supporting. With the coming of a second party, the largest and certainly the most substantial group which had as yet embarked for the new world, it probably outnumbered all other settlements combined; and it certainly represented more wealth in the new world than any of the other English settlements. Its members cast not merely their lives but their fortunes on the new venture; they cut the bonds which bound their existence to the mother-country; and they proposed to make this new enterprise not merely permanent but profitable. They were neither mere "gentlemen-adventurers" nor refugees; they represented one of the most substantial elements of English life, social, religious and economic, thus transferred to New England; a real community of independent, self-contained, self-supporting, determined as well as pious men, able, ambitious and resolute in temporal as well as spiritual affairs. The Pilgrim Fathers had been ideal colonists. The men of Massachusetts Bay were ideal founders of a commonwealth.

For founding such a commonwealth they were well equipped. They brought with them the principles and practices of self-government and those of practical experience in the business of life. They transferred to their new home the lessons of the old. They knew the organization and the workings of English local government, parish or township and county as well as national, and these, in all their branches, executive, legislative and judicial, they brought with them to adapt to their new surroundings and conditions. They knew as well the system of company administration of which they were at once the representatives and the active membership, and these they combined with their character of members of a new political body to make their company the strongest, the most active, energetic and formidable commercial-political organization in North America. They were, in consequence, the most aggressive of the colonists, bent on extending their authority as well as their fortunes in every direction, and making their new commonwealth the richest and most powerful element in New England, as well as a bulwark against the rising power of France in Canada.

They brought more than these aggressive temporal forces into the new world. They represented in every way the English stock from which they sprung. Though actually and professedly they still were nominal members of the English church—for all Englishmen, save Catholics, were still legally members of that communion—these men were not merely Puritans, they belonged to that element in Puritanism which was destined to rise to power in England itself and to be known specifically as the Independents. They resisted with equal fervor the principles and practices of prelacy as represented by the Church of England as conceived by Archbishop Laud and the fanaticism of the more advanced sectaries. They were equally opposed to that spirit of conformity which animated the extreme Laudian Anglicans and that spirit of revolt which animated the extreme Anabaptists. They were essentially "congregationalists," and were prepared to enforce the claims of that majority in the new colony against all who intruded upon its principles. Like all serious and determined men firm in their own belief, they were no more tolerant than those who would have imposed upon them doctrines antagonistic to their own, and they proposed to overpower or cast out prelatist or papist or Presbyterian, Baptist or "breeds beyond the law"; for this was not an age of tolerance —nor are minorities in general more tolerant of their opponents than majorities.

EDUCATION

Nor was this all. From the beginning they concerned themselves beyond all other colonies with matters outside temporal or even the spiritual concerns of life. Among them was perhaps the largest body of educated men in an European colony, for some seventy of their number had been bred at Cambridge University; and in proportion to the numbers of the colony it was superior even to the mother country in respect to education and the average of intelligence. They brought with them the spirit and tradition of English culture, and nothing differentiates the men of Massachusetts Bay from other colonists more than their zeal to perpetuate and enlarge that spirit and tradition. Within seven years of their arrival their

general court had made substantial appropriation for a "schoole or colledge" at New Towne presently renamed Cambridge after their English home of learning.

Nothing, indeed, better illustrates their progress and the spirit in which they took up their task of founding a commonwealth than the well-known words of one of them describing this foundation. "After God had carried us safe to New-England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and setled the Civill Government, One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning,* and perpetuate it to Posterity." To this end they established a school for "the advancement of all good literature, arts and sciences," striving to maintain in the face of the savages and the wilderness not only that system of ordered society in which they had been bred but that great tradition of letters and of scholarship which had been their heritage. Forward looking men in Virginia had, indeed, planned a college in 1623; but not for more than fifty years were they able to follow this example. Among the records of colonial enterprise must be set in a high place those of the men of Massachusetts Bay who summed up their purpose in great phrases which foreshadowed this foundation—faith, houses and subsistence, church, civil government and schools—and thus in a fashion set an example to America.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies following Chapters iii (Origin of People); iv (Plymouth); v (Charter and Colony); vii (Winthrop); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

ABBOTT, Wilbur C.—*The Expansion of Europe* (Rev. ed., N. Y., Holt, 1924).—For a general baekground.

ADAMS, William Henry Davenport.—*The White King; or Charles the First, and the Men, Women, Life and Manners, Literature and Art of England in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century.*—(London, Redway, 1889.)

BARRY, John Stetson.—*History of Massachusetts* (3 vols., Booton, Phillips, Sampson, 1855–1857).—A good impartial study, but now out of date. See espeeially Vol. I, Chap. ii.

BARTLETT, William Henry.—*The Pilgrim Fathers.*—(London, Hall, Virtue, 1853.)

BRADLEY, Rose M.—*The English Housewife in the Seventeenth & Eighteenth Centuries.*—(London, Arnold, 1912.)

BUSHNELL, Horaee.—*The Fathers of New England.*—(N. Y., Putnam, 1850.)

CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY (13 vols., Cambridge [Eng.] Univ. Press, 1902–1911).—Espeeially Vol. VII, ehap. i, "First Century of English Colonisation."

CHANNING, Edward; HART, A. B.; and TURNER, F. J.—*Guide to the History of the United States.* (New and augmented edition 1904).—See §§ 111-114, 127, 128.

COATE, Mary.—*Social Life in Stuart England.* (London, Methuen, 1924).

DOUGLAS, James.—*New England and New France.* (N. Y., Putnam, 1913).—Recent and useful.

DOYLE, John Andrew.—*English Colonies in America* (5 vols., N. Y., Holt, 1882–1907).—Learned and for the learned.

EGGLESTON, Edward.—*Beginners of a Nation* (N. Y., Appleton, 1897).—An interesting popular aeeount of the eharaeteresties of the Colonists.

EEKHOF, A.—*Three unknown documents concerning the Pilgrim Fathers in Holland.*—(The Hague, Nijhoff, 1920).

ELLIOTT, Charles Wyllys.—*The New England History.*—(N. Y., Seribner, 1857).

FISKE, John.—*Beginnings of New England* (7th ed., Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1898).—Exeellent in style; less deeply studied than some other works.

GARDINER, Samuel Ramson.—*The History of England (1603–1642)* (10 vols., London, Longmans, Green, 1893–1899).—The standard authority for the period.

GILLESPIE, James Edward.—*The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700.*—(N. Y., Columbia Univ. 1920).

GOODMAN, William.—*Social History of Great Britain during the Reigns of the Stuarts.*—(N. Y. 1843).

GRIFFIS, William Elliot.—*The Influence of The Netherland in the Making of the English Commonwealth and the American Republic.*—(Boston, DeWolfe, Fiske, 1891).

GRIFFIS, William Elliot.—*The Pilgrims in Their Three Homes: England, Holland, America.*—(Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1898).

HUTCHINSON, Thomas.—*History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (3 vols., Boston, Fleet, 1795–1828).

JAMES, Bartlett Burleigh.—*The Colonization of New England.*—(Phila., Barrie, 1904).

LEVERMORE, Charles Herbert.—*Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims and Puritans.*—(Brooklyn, N. E. Society of Brooklyn, 1912).

PALFREY, John Gorham.—*History of New England* (5 vols., Boston, Little, Brown, 1858–1890).—An honest though old fashioned study of the planting and development of New England.

TYLER, Lyon Gardiner.—*England in America (1580–1652)* (N. Y., Harper, 1904).—Brief account, sympathetic.

CHAPTER II

THE GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND (1670–1889)

By John Gould Curtis
Fellow of The American Geographical Society

Geography Defined

Geographic factors are the properties used by God in setting the stage of Earth for the human drama of Life. In more literal language, the places men live in have much to do with their lives; and the study of this interrelation between men and the natural factors of their environment is the field of geography in its modern, broad sense.

This human adaptation may be very simple and obvious, as in the case of the castaway or explorer who is obliged to live on the country, and who consequently utilizes such of its wild products as he can readily obtain—animals, fish, nuts or fruit. Other examples are less apparently geographical as, for instance, the decline of commercial agriculture in New England, because the pushing of the frontier westward to the prairies made possible large-scale production in farming. Or, what directly affected Massachusetts, the elimination of the whaling industry because spring steel supplanted whalebone, and the discovery of petroleum provided new and cheap and superior materials for the needs which had previously supported the costly and dangerous business of whale-catching.

In Massachusetts the influence of geographic elements may be traced in every significant early industry, and also in nearly all those on which the modern prosperity of the Commonwealth is based. Before we try to analyze and describe these factors and their effects, it may be best to specify just what the principal geographic considerations are. They readily fall into three groups, and the story of Massachusetts may perhaps be made simpler by this division:

1. *Topographic features:* the contour of the earth's surface, the nature of the inland water bodies, the character of the ocean shore.

2. *Climate:* temperature, winds and rainfall and their seasonal variations.

3. *Natural resources:* soils, minerals, indigenous plants and animals.

At the outset one other matter should be mentioned. Almost all of New England has at one time or another been in substance if not in fact a part of Massachusetts. For this reason it is often not easy to divorce the consideration of Massachusetts within its present boundaries from that of New England as a whole. Where this is the case, no effort has been made to strain the distinction. Particularly with reference to topography and climate is it necessary to consider the New England region as a whole. The utilization of natural resources is a story that may with less difficulty be restricted to the area that is Massachusetts as we now know it.

Geological Foundation

Underlying the modern landscape of New England is a long and complex geological history. The great majority of the rocks are very old, even in the sense in which geologists compute age. The picture which they compose tells a story of very ancient rocks, submitted to extreme heat and pressure in the mountain-building processes, folded, crushed, changed in both physical and chemical structure.

Throughout the area of the greater part of modern Massachusetts, dikes of basalt made their way into these rock masses. Intrusive rock masses came into position underneath, failed to force an opening to the surface, and cooled very slowly, at great depth under the protective covering of thousands of feet of rock. This we know because some of the granites contain coarse crystals which can form only under such circumstances. All of this story we can now reconstruct because the erosion of subsequent ages has removed at least 5,000 feet of rock that originally overlaid the present land surface; and it is possible that the cover was several times that thickness.

Less complicated is the structure of the Connecticut valley lowland, where relatively soft and uncontorted sandstones, shales and conglomerates are exposed in substantially horizontal beds.

Distinct from either of these areas is the region comprising Cape Cod, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and the islands in their vicinity. These are the northernmost unsubmerged remnants of the Atlantic coastal plain. They are composed principally of unconsolidated sands, and are quite different from the upland area.

Coastline

Approached from the ocean, New England presents a rough, mountainous, and deeply indented shore. The estuaries, or submerged river mouths, give evidence of a depression of the land in relation to the sea, a phenomenon which has produced the broad open mouths of such rivers as the Kennebec and Penobscot in Maine, the harbors at Boston and Portland, and such bodies of water as Narragansett Bay and Buzzard's Bay. A further proof of this depression is in the islands bordering the Maine coast, which are but the unsubmerged tops of hills that are mostly beneath the water.

Since the depression of the coast there has been a subsequent elevation, as may be seen from the shoreline terraces at various levels up to some 200 feet above the present water line. These mark elevations where waves and shore currents have done their work in relatively recent times. This uplift is also in part responsible for the shallowness of the water over the broad continental shelf off-shore; and the shallowness, in turn, helps to conserve the cool waters of the southward-moving Labrador current, and materially to enhance the advantages of the area as a fishing ground. To the uplift must be credited also the power generated by rivers that have considerable falls not far from the sea.

Erosion History

The New England landscape as we now see it has been modified through the erosion of streams and glaciers. We know that great overlying masses have been worn away, be-

cause certain formations now appearing at the surface could have had their origin only at great depth.

What geologists call the base plane of erosion is a theoretical plane, touching the sea level at the margin of the continent, and rising inland with a slope so slight that the rain water would not run off with sufficient force to carry more of the soil to the ocean. The processes of erosion tend to reduce all land masses to this plane, and though it is never actually reached, the landscape is sometimes worn down to what is called a peneplain.

Now the mountains of New England are the remnants of older and higher mountains. The tops of these mountains would present, if a line were drawn connecting them, an almost level horizon; they are therefore recognized as all that remains of a former peneplain. After the land was reduced to a monotonous surface of low relief, it was again elevated relative to the ocean, and the streams were given impetus to begin with renewed energy their work of cutting new valleys and reducing the land mass once more to the base plane. Before this work was completed, however, a new elevation of the land took place, and the streams began to dissect the second peneplain. Much of the evidence with respect to erosion cycles in New England is extremely complicated and obscure, but we may be certain that at least two partially completed cycles preceded the one to which our modern valleys belong.

Glaciation

One of the factors that has confounded the natural record of erosion was the advent of the great ice sheet which came slowly down from its center of origin in the Laurentian region to the northward. As it moved, the ice mass picked up the loose rocks of the country, and with these frozen in its base used them as the tools to scrape away the soils and to grind down the solid rocks of the mountains. The northward sides of the hills were rasped by rocks which have left their marks to this day. As the ice passed the hillcrests and moved down the southern slopes, it plucked out great fragments of rock to replenish its supply of tools. Thus the northern slopes of the

hills were made gentler, and the southern slopes were made steeper by the plucking action of the glacier.

Some of the debris carried by the ice was deposited during the advance of the ice sheet. More of it was deposited when the ice mass melted; some was modified by the streams that flowed from the melting ice, and some was left utterly without order. To the first class belong the outwash plains, the round, stratified sandy mounds called kames, and the winding, stratified sandy ridges called eskers. The kames have always been popular as cemetery sites, not so much because of the slight dignity of their elevation as because they are well drained and very easy on the grave-diggers. The unmodified glacial drift makes up the moraines.

At the margin of maximum advance of the ice front is the terminal moraine which stretches across Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and Long Island. Recessional moraines mark temporary halting places of the ice front during its retreat, and the more scattered deposits called ground moraines represent the quite unconcentrated burden dropped upon the land surface by the ice sheet as it melted away. The elliptical hills composed of unorganized glacial debris and known as drumlins are the result of the pushing about of moraine material in the course of a fresh advance of the ice sheet over an area from which it had previously retreated.

The mantle of glacial debris ranges in thickness from a few inches to several hundred feet, though a few feet is the usual depth. Its boulders have impeded the cultivation of New England farms from which they have been cleared and piled in the stone walls that are the typical fences of the region. Glacial deposits made in stream courses served to block the drainage and cause the accumulation of ponds and lakes, so that some streams are veritable chains of lakes. The result is the conservation of the rain waters in a fashion that modifies the extremes of flood and drought, and maintains the stream flow more nearly at its mean throughout the year.

Landscape

The geological history of New England expresses itself in a varied landscape, which composes the worn, round contours

of ancient mountains, the uncompromising barrenness of boulder-strewn hillsides, and the innumerable swift streams whose passage to the sea is interrupted by lakes and ponds, and sometimes hastened by cascades and mighty falls. Westward lie the level fields of the fertile valley of the Connecticut; eastward the stark dunes of Cape Cod where those men lived who spent their energies in farming the sea.

The Massachusetts mountains are the northernmost outlyers of the Appalachian system. If three sooty fingers be drawn from northeast to southwest across a map of New England, and if that finger which follows the shore be lifted as it passes Boston, the resulting streaks will mark, in a general way, the three mountainous belts of this region. At the extreme east is the Coastal Hilly Belt, about 1,000 feet in height, extending from Mt. Desert Island off the coast of Maine to the Blue Hills south of Boston. To the north and west is the range called in New Hampshire the White Mountains; it extends southward through Massachusetts and into northern Connecticut, with elevations in Massachusetts somewhat in excess of 3,500 feet. Mt. Washington and Mt. Monadnock are the most striking peaks in this range. The third belt comprises the Green Mountains of Vermont and the Berkshire Hills of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The highest of these is Mt. Mansfield in Vermont, 4,364 feet.

Between the second and third of these mountain belts is the lowland of the Connecticut valley, only four or five miles wide along the Vermont-New Hampshire boundary, but expanding to about twenty miles in southern Massachusetts and Connecticut. This area, quite distinct in its geological history and the character of its soil, is principally composed of a plain or a series of terrace plains.

The country presents a varied and beautiful and restful aspect. The skyline is moulded in the rounded contours of worn, ancient hills. The valleys are marked with numberless beautiful lakes. The charm of the seacoast is enhanced by its ruggedness and its deep indentations.

Glaciation scraped away whatever soil had previously accumulated on the rocky elevations of this region, and deposited it all mingled with boulders and other debris. The cultivation of such soil is obviously beset with difficulties, but hard work

The Bluff Coast Shows Recent Uplift

Photographs from Boston and Maine Railroad

Lake Sunapee, N. H. Typifies Result of Blocked Streams

and the intelligent use of each of the small areas of widely differing soil types for the purpose for which it is best suited, have been means to successful agriculture.

This region is not suited by nature to the support of an extremely dense population, but it is attractive as a place to live in, and shows considerable versatility in its resources.

Climate

The climate of New England has been unjustly discredited by some critics. It is not as much affected by the neighboring ocean as has been supposed, because the prevailing winds are from the west. It is true that this region is in the track of almost every storm that sweeps across the United States, whether from the northwest, the Pacific coast, the Gulf of Mexico, or the Florida coast. With all this, however, the total annual precipitation is not too heavy, and the region enjoys the advantage of fairly even distribution of rainfall so as to be of the greatest value to farmers.

In the extreme northern portion of New England the winters are apt to be severe; but within the boundaries of the present Commonwealth of Massachusetts they are no more so than in other states of about the same latitude. The summers are seldom offensively hot; and although there is a considerable annual variation in temperature, the climate is adapted to satisfactory variety in agriculture and contributes much to making the region a pleasant and stimulating place in which to live and work. This climate is, in the way in which it lends itself to agricultural pursuits, very like that of old England; and this similarity of characteristics was one of the indirect but very potent influences which early turned the attention of the inhabitants to manufacturing industries.

Allurements to Colonists

It is a cherished idea of some recent writers that the early colonists of Massachusetts were people who came to these shores with the principal motive of escaping one form of religious intolerance in order that they might set up another. But the Pilgrim fathers were not the first Englishmen to

undertake the establishment of homes for themselves in this part of the New World. The Popham and Gorges and other early settlements were based, as were the first colonial ventures in Massachusetts, upon commercial enterprise.

A new frontier is always attractive because of the possibilities which it offers for the acquisition of wealth; it presents to the first settlers an opportunity for what we call getting in on the ground floor. Very often their hope is for a concentrated form of wealth that is represented by gold. That this was in mind with respect to New England is evidenced by the fact that there are reservations of a share of the bullion derived from mines or workings in the terms of some early grants.

Those Englishmen who actually explored New England were sound-minded men, prompt to appreciate the great possibilities of certain commodities which in due time became the staple products of the region. Thus, the first man to note and spread knowledge of the greatest staple of early New England was Bartholomew Gosnold, who sailed along the coast in 1602 and named the most prominent headland Cape Cod. Captain John Smith explored the region more extensively a few years later and published a description of the country to which he gave the name, New England, apparently following an earlier suggestion of Sir Francis Drake.

Smith emphasized the great importance of the fisheries: "The maine Staple, from hence to bee extracted . . . is fish; which howeuer it may seeme a meane and a base commoditie: yet who will but truely take the pains and consider the sequell, I think will allow it well worth the labour. It is strange to see what great aduentures the hopes of setting forth men of war to rob the industrious innocent, would procure. . . . [Yet] neuer could the Spaniard with all his Mynes of golde and Siluer, pay his debts, his friends, and army, halfe so truly, as the Hollanders stil haue done by this contemptible trade of fish."

These observations had been anticipated over a hundred years by Basque and Breton fishermen who commenced casting their nets off Newfoundland as early as 1504—perhaps even a half-century before. According to his letter in Hakluyt, Gilbert found large fleets engaged there when he made

his voyage in 1583; and the enterprise was proceeding on such a scale that a shipmaster might expect to obtain there any necessary food supplies or repairs for a further voyage.

Furs were also early regarded as a profitable source of revenue and Europeans engaged in the trade both as barterers and as trappers. In frontier communities where money is not in common circulation, some staple of relatively high value and small bulk is the usual medium of exchange; and except in the South where prices were expressed in terms of tobacco, furs have at one time or another served this purpose in almost every section of North America. In New England beaver skins were equivalent to sterling; they were actively traded in, and were exported in hogsheads—the standard colonial package—to warm and adorn the wealthy folk of England.

We must keep in mind, however, the fact that the European conception of the new country was made up of a few contributions of first-hand evidence and a vast fund of misinformation, when the immigration of the seventeenth century commenced.

Handicapped Agriculture

It was assumed both by those who urged colonization and by the emigrants who came over, that agriculture would be the principal pursuit of the colonists in the new world. But, as our examination of its geological history has shown, New England soil was not well adapted to commercial farming, even when cleared of its forest cover. For a long time the colonists could not carry their agricultural pursuits beyond the limits of mere subsistence farming, because of the virtual identity of the agricultural products of New England with those of the mother country, with whom it was of course impossible to compete on her own ground. In later years New England farms developed a modest trade in foodstuffs and live cattle, which were exported with salt fish to the West Indies, and in moderate quantities to the southern colonies; but this was never of very great economic importance.

It is worth mention that farming was for a time placed in some degree on a commercial basis during the years after 1810, when manufacturing industries began to be important, down to about 1860; after which the development of the West

made its competition felt. Towns arose and the surrounding farms fed them, at a profit. Agriculture was considered a prosperous calling, except in such unsuitable areas as the sand dunes of Cape Cod, to which seafaring men even brought soil in ballast from the West Indies, so that they might cultivate little gardens in their dooryards.

In general, however, New England had no agricultural basis of trade with the mother country, and it was necessary for the colonists to turn their energies to other channels in order that they might purchase the foreign commodities which they needed. This urgency led to two important results. It mothered the inventive genius of the New England Yankee who took to manufacturing for himself the things that more opulent people would have imported. It also gave rise to a triangular trade route by which New Englanders traded their local products in the markets of the West Indies and the Mediterranean either for bills of exchange drawn on London, or for other commodities which were saleable in England.

The Commercial Trend

The colonists soon found that their principal sources of wealth were to be found in the fish of the New England banks and the timber of the New England hillsides, both of which might trace their origins to the geographic factors which we have described above. Both of them exercised an influence on the development of New England, and in particular of Massachusetts, which has been felt to the present day.

The story is briefly this. Fish were abundant. There was a market for fish among the Catholic population of the West Indies and of the Mediterranean countries. Inasmuch as fish could be carried long distances only if they were salted, it was necessary to develop local supplies of salt or to import that ingredient. This gave rise to the establishment of local salt works under legislative bounties.

Ships were essential both in the catching and exporting of the fish. Splendid timber was at hand for shipbuilding. Barrels and hogsheads were the standard containers for everything from fish to furs and even shoes, and both the cooperage and shipbuilding industries required nails. Thus we have

a picture of the interrelation of four important natural resources of Massachusetts developed in the fishing, shipbuilding, salt making and iron smelting industries, which together made possible the trade that was the foundation of great subsequent prosperity. Our next step is to examine in some detail the industries in which geographic influences were particularly felt.

Fishing and Whaling

The cod is justly a revered symbol of Massachusetts. In addition to the value of the fish as an article of commerce, they were used locally both as a common food and, after the Indian custom, as an agricultural fertilizer.

A significant result of the geological history of Massachusetts is the broad continental shelf extending from Long Island to the Grand Banks. Southward over this flows the cold Labrador current from the Arctic, through the Gulf of St. Lawrence, around Newfoundland and along the New England coast; providing thus an extensive area of cool and shallow ocean which is most attractive to fish. Of all varieties the cod were the most abundant and the most valuable. They were taken in great numbers from the very earliest days, and are to this day the basis of an important industry.

Whaling was a later development. It was first concerned with the right or fin whales which frequented the shallow waters along the coast and occasionally ran aground or were cast ashore. The blubber and bone were of such value that local legislation early deprived the finder of a stranded whale of an exclusive right to it, and made such whales a kind of community property.

The acquisition of anything so valuable could hardly be left to chance and acts of God in the shape of storms sufficient to drive the whales aground, and the development of boat-whaling was the next logical step. Some towns kept regular watchers on duty after this became a common practice, and every citizen was expected as a matter of course to take an occasional glance seaward and to alarm the village if he saw whales. Then rowers would man the open boats and set out in pursuit, their purpose being to approach their prey as quietly as possible and throw in one or more harpoons before

the great fish began its attempts to escape. Nantucket was the center of this risky business, which reached its height there in 1726 and was carried on until about 1760. Indeed, Nantucket men were so proficient in boat-whaling that their methods were widely copied elsewhere, and experts among them were employed to instruct less experienced whalers, notably about the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

Deep-sea whaling, as distinguished from the enterprise carried on with open boats, opened a new field in 1712 when a Nantucket whaler, driven rather farther out to sea than usual, chanced to capture one of the Cachalot or sperm whales. These produced an oil superior to that obtained from the right whale, and excellent candles were made from the spermaceti.

As boat whaling declined, deep-sea whaling grew in importance. In the beginning vessels of about 30 tons made cruises of six weeks. As time went on, larger ships were employed and the voyages were longer. The merchant ship-owners operated their own plants for the refining of the blubber and spermaceti which were brought to the home port; and it was well understood that the ship's master would not be cordially welcomed if he returned with less than a cargo. This naturally led to still longer voyages.

By 1830, the American whaling fleet had in large part recovered from the losses of the War of 1812 and for the first time its tonnage surpassed that employed in the coal and mackerel fisheries. A two-year voyage became the standard practice and the favorite whaling grounds were in the South Pacific, where Massachusetts whalemen had hazardous adventures of the first rank, maintained the splendid sea-faring traditions of their home, and bred the best of material for the navy of the young republic.

In 1842, Americans owned about three-quarters of the total whaling tonnage of the world. In 1848 it was estimated that over $70,000,000 were invested and about 70,000 persons were employed in the industry. An English authority, in 1849, stated that the United States had 596 whale ships of 190,000 tons manned by 18,000 seamen; while only 14 British ships were engaged in the whale trade. The net income of American whalers in 1854 has been estimated at about $11,000,000.

The Massachusetts fishing industry has continued to be very important down to the present day, though it no longer enjoys the relative prominence that it once had, because new enterprises have overshadowed it. Whaling, however, went into a marked decline after the Civil War. Probably too much emphasis has been put upon the influence on this decline of petroleum, which was at that time beginning to gain repute as an inexpensive lubricant. That factor, along with the supplanting of whalebone by spring steel, undoubtedly played a part; but it should not be overlooked that the overhead expense of carrying on the industry had become excessively high, what with long voyages and the increasing scarcity of whales; and the growing variety of other employment which became available for the young men of the New England farms resulted in the deterioration of the crews.

Shipbuilding

The drowned sea coast with its numerous bays and tidal rivers, combined with the abundance of excellent ship timber, contributed materially to the genesis of one of New England's most significant industries. England as a maritime power had already begun to feel the scarcity of suitable timber for shipbuilding, and inspectors were being sent to the overseas possessions, there to reserve for the British navy with its mark of the broad arrow, the tall straight trees that were needed for masts.

In the New England colonies the very best material was abundant, and the inhabitants had the two great incentives of the fishing industry and the maintenance of commercial contact with transoceanic countries. Also, the individuals and organizations in England who had taken the greatest interest in furthering colonial development were those which had hopes of commercial prosperity in colonial trade. They were quick to see that the ships essential to their enterprise could be built to much better advantage in the colonies. In evidence of this appreciation the first letter of the Massachusetts Company in England to the governor and council of the colony, gave notice of the sending out of six shipwrights.

The first product made in America by foreign hands was

a ship built by the colonists of Popham, Maine, in 1607. This was the thirty-ton *Virginia*. In Massachusetts, Governor Winthrop sponsored the launching of the *Blessing of the Bay* on the Mystic river at Medford in 1631.

The industry developed very rapidly and soon assumed such proportions that legislation was enacted to assure performance of the work in a safe and efficient fashion. All shipbuilding was to be under the supervision of some properly authorized person. "If his advice is not heeded, then, upon complaint to the Governor or any other two magistrates, they shall appoint two of the most sufficient ship-carpenters of this jurisdiction, and shall give them authority to view every such ship and all work belonging thereto, and see that it be performed and carried on according to the rules of the art." Progress was such that, according to an estimate of the General Court, some 200 vessels were owned in Massachusetts in 1665; and Edward Randolph reported in 1676 that 730 had been built in Massachusetts. Very naturally many of these were small because they were intended for local use in the coasting trade or fishing. Yet the general tendency was toward the construction of larger and still larger ships, which were so well and so cheaply built in New England yards that it became common to send a ship and cargo abroad and sell them both there.

When American builders had ventured to the construction of ships that were as large as the needs of the times required, they began to exercise ingenuity in design. Speed was of great importance to the owner of a valuable cargo both because it shortened the time during which his capital was tied up in merchandise at sea, and also because it furnished a degree of security against capture by enemies or pirates. The success of the American designers who departed from European practice and eventually developed the beautiful and widely famed clipper ships, brought them international fame and an international market for their vessels.

The American shipbuilding industry as carried on in New England was at its height in the years from 1831 to 1845. In the latter year the total registered tonnage of 762,838 in 1840 had been increased to 904,476. Merchantmen of a thousand tons had made their appearance; and after 1850 huge

clipper freight ships of 2500 to 4000 tons were put in service between Atlantic ports and California.

In 1819 the side-wheeler *Savannah* went under steam and sail power to Russia but steam power was long neglected in the years that followed; and even when it achieved general acceptance the fast sailing packets of the Massachusetts shipyards gave the steamships serious competition. The record sail passage of the Atlantic was made by the *Dreadnought* which went from New York to Queenstown in 9 days and 17 hours; this is hardly equalled by any modern passenger steamers except a few pretentious liners.

The skill and splendid traditions of New England shipwrights enabled the wooden sailing vessels to hold their own up to the period of the Civil War. By that time the New England yards had become so well established and had attracted to their respective communities such a body of skilled workmen, that they were able to maintain their eminence even after the shift was made to iron and steel and steam power. This, of course, was true only because the industry had gained such tremendous headway under the influence of great natural advantages; and it therefore seems fair to say that the great New England shipyards of modern times may credit their existence to the original factors of good harbors and abundant ship timber near the sea.

Cordage and Sailcloth

Anybody knows that a ship cannot be operated without sails and rigging. Despite a prejudice in favor of imported canvas, repeated efforts were made to establish sailcloth factories in this country to supply the requirements of the shipbuilding industry. Flax and hemp were cultivated in the valleys of the Connecticut and the Merrimac, and in 1788 a sailcloth factory was established in Boston. The 800-ton *Massachusetts* was supplied, about 1790, with sails and cordage made in Boston. There was some difficulty in securing competent labor, however, and even with the encouragement of various bounties this and a number of similar enterprises on a more modest scale were unsuccessful.

Hemp seems to have been planted at Salem in 1629 and

a rope walk was constructed in Boston the same year. Other manufactories of cordage were established in the colony, and although the industry has never been largely productive and profitable it was important; and its development is to be traced to those factors which gave rise to the shipbuilding industry, to which it was a necessary adjunct.

Iron

England was becoming a producer of iron about the time of colonization, and was interested in exporting it. Iron is an extremely useful commodity, and in the colonial community it was needed for two principal purposes, namely the manufacture of nails and of cooking utensils. The colonists found it possible, however, to get around the trouble and cost of importing this important essential, because they learned to develop the deposits of bog iron ore that were scattered throughout New England, where the glacial moraines had blocked the stream drainage.

It had been hoped from the beginning that iron might be produced in Massachusetts and an inquiry was put on foot as early as 1628 to ascertain whether iron works might be established in the colony. The first actual development came some years later at Saugus, and by 1648 cannon, shot, pots, and other hollow ware were being turned out in a total amount of about eight tons a week. Other forges and furnaces were established at Braintree, Taunton, Walpole and elsewhere.

The ore on which these industries were founded was obtained from the bottoms of the bogs and ponds which are so abundant in New England as a result of the deposition of glacial debris in the stream beds. A distinction seems to have been made between bog ore which contained so many impurities in the form of sand, clay and vegetable matter that it yielded not more than 18 per cent of iron, and pond ore which was formed in clearer water and so yielded 20 to 30 per cent.

Men in boats used long-handled ladle-like shovels with which they spooned up the ore from the bottom of the pond. A man might collect as much as two tons a day, which he would row to the furnace on the shore of the pond, where it was smelted with charcoal. If running water was available, it

Courtesy of C. K. Bolton, descendant of Joseph Jenks

THE JENKS POT, SUPPOSEDLY THE FIRST PRODUCT OF MASSACHUSETTS IRON

From the original in the Essex Institute, Salem

THE PICKERING FIREBACK, CAST IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1660

was possible to employ a water wheel connected with a pair of bellows to maintain a strong draft and hasten the fusion.

The resulting iron was impure and brittle but exceedingly fluid, a quality which commended it in the casting of hollow ware. Many large kettles were utilized in the distillation of West Indian molasses and the boiling of New England maple sap, as well as in the ordinary business of the household.

Impurities might be eliminated in some degree by forging or rolling, and the bar iron thus formed had a somewhat higher tensile strength. One of the commonest forms of bar iron was the nail rod, used in the fireside manufacture of nails. Even children were employed in the slitting of the rods and the beating out into nail heads of the prongs thus formed. Domestic iron was especially welcome in this household industry because nails made from imported rods were always expensive.

It was only the tremendous importance of certain forms of iron in the necessary construction of the time that made possible the economic use of these inferior ores. Despite the waste and expense which their employment involved the product was much less costly than that imported from England. The local enterprises were completely eclipsed, however, as soon as the extensive and rich deposits were uncovered in the interior of the continent. Thus waned one of the most valuable of what might be called the makeshift industries of New England.

Forest Products

In addition to the group of resources and industries that were connected with the business of catching and selling fish, a few other natural commodities played a significant part in the early history of Massachusetts. Although this colony tended more strongly than any of the others to utilize its timber in the building of ships, a great quantity of its forest products, including white and red pine and hardwoods, were exported mainly for use in England.

White pine has been more widely used than any of the important timber trees of the eastern part of the continent. Easily worked and not over-disposed to decay, it was used for everything from furniture and paneling to the construction

of buildings and ships. Of the trees of the New England forest, the spruce species ranked next to pine in versatility. Hemlocks were not very valuable for lumber; but from hemlock bark and that of the chestnut-oak was derived the tannin that was long considered indispensable in the preparation of leather.

The nut-bearing trees of this region, oaks, walnuts and chestnuts were never as important as similar European trees, in their contribution to the food supply of the people. This seems in part to have been due, at least in the case of the oak, to the fact that the American nuts were more bitter and less suited for food than those of transatlantic lands. Chestnuts have always been a common country delicacy. Among the cabinet woods, the black walnuts contributed the finest native product because of their susceptibility to beautiful finish. This is the most costly North American timber.

Hickory, fine-grained and tough, lent itself to the making of wagons, carriages and agricultural implements. Ash was almost as serviceable, and the elm, somewhat coarser in character was similarly utilized. Ash wood was open to the objection that it became brittle after a time, and could not be relied upon like hickory and oak for long service.

Other products of the forest in common use, though of minor commercial value, included sassafras bark which was among the exports returned to England in the ships which brought over the early colonists; witch hazel which also, according to Indian teachings, possessed medicinal worth; sumac, used to make the common red dye; and shrubs of less general employment.

Mineral Resources

Building stone is the only economically important mineral resource of Massachusetts, but of this it possesses an inexhaustible supply. For two centuries wood was the chief material in which the domestic architecture of the community sought expression. True, a few brick buildings date from very early times, such as the Cradock mansion in Medford; but the oft repeated statement that this and similar buildings of the period were built with brick imported from England in ballast, seems to lack confirmation.

To the young colony of Massachusetts, stone seemed the only material of proper dignity for the construction of public buildings. A committee sent to examine granite exposures near Braintree reported that enough stone could be quarried there to erect a house for the governor and as many as three other buildings; the resources so exceeded their expectations that quarrying has been going on there ever since. From Braintree came granite for the first notable building of American stone—King's Chapel, built in Boston in 1749–1754. Quarries were opened at Quincy in 1825 to supply stone for the Bunker Hill Monument. After 1840 Massachusetts supplied granite blocks to lay the cobblestone pavements of Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

Of less significance were the Connecticut valley brownstone which later came into repute as a decorative building material of great elegance in Boston and New York; and the slates which, in the limits of Massachusetts, have been used in construction of secondary importance and in the building of roads which speedily disintegrate to their original mud. Marble, in which Vermont holds the lead, has been quarried to some extent in the Berkshire district of Massachusetts, and soapstone has also been taken from the area between the Connecticut and the Hudson.

Manufacturing Industries

We have considered above in some detail the factors which impelled the colonists to go in for manufactures, along with their principal occupation of subsistence farming. They were factors which made it unprofitable to carry agriculture beyond the point where it would meet the local demand for food, and so in a sense we may say that manufacturing arose, not so much because it was attractive in itself, as because the only other possibility was unavailing. But even if we restrict ourselves to the fields in which geographic influence has been positive rather than negative, we shall find that it was very widely felt.

The household textile manufactures were such as were carried on the world over in any community where flax could be raised or sheep could be kept; virtually every home was in-

dependent in the matter of its linen and woolen cloth, enough of which was early made to give concern to English merchants who would have preferred to have the colonists import their product. The utilization of the hides of cattle in the making of leather and the use of this leather in boots and shoes were furthered, as we have seen, by the abundance of oak and hemlock bark which contributed to the tanning process. A contribution of the versatile New England fisheries was oil that helped to soften the leather.

A much more striking geographic influence is observable in the establishment of those industries which first shifted manufacturing from the fireside to the factory. At that time water power was an essential to the establishment of any industry in which power was to be used at all; and the swift New England streams were particularly serviceable because their flowage, thanks to the abundance of the forest cover and the numerous lakes and ponds created by glacial deposition, was substantially uniform over a very large part of the year. Water power was used on a small scale by stream and tidal mills built in the early period of colonization, but the significant developments in this field were subsequent to 1810.

The textile industries of New England have long enjoyed prominence, and it has been assumed that their growth was chiefly due to the climatic advantages of the region. These were influential, particularly at a time when atmospheric moisture was the only known way of preventing the accumulation of electricity in thread during the spinning process, a thing which caused the thread to break and resulted in frequent tie-ups in the mills. But we must also take account of the New England whaling industry, out of which had been accumulated considerable fortunes that became available for the financing of new enterprises. The mills of New Bedford, built out of the profits of the sea, are a notable example.

The influence of water power on the economic development of colonial New England has sometimes been overemphasized. Falls and rapids were serviceable in turning the wheels of a great number of small local establishments, mainly grist and fulling mills. The large industrial communities which have been built up by water power—notably Lowell, Lawrence and Holyoke—were founded after 1820. Lowell

is a perfect example of a city whose site was determined by a single, all-important geographic consideration; the water power of the Merrimac was brought to the attention of capitalists contemplating the erection of considerable cotton mills, and after investigation they negotiated in 1821 such purchases as would enable them to monopolize the falls.

It is worth mentioning that the most recent elevation of the continental mass in relation to the ocean, described in the early part of this chapter, is responsible for the "fall line" where the rivers of New England drop from the edge of the former peneplain to the new shore. In some places this is near the sea; elsewhere it is several miles inland. Everywhere it has helped to make accessible the power of falling water.

Trade

The subject of commerce involves some knowledge of the resources previously considered. Self-reliant as the colonists were, they were never able to supply all of their requirements with domestic products. The only solution was to purchase abroad what either could not be made at all at home, or could in any event not be made in sufficient quantities.

As we have seen, the want of an agricultural basis of trade with the mother country meant that the purchases made there had to be accomplished by indirection. It is true that furs, lumber and ships were saleable in England, but a vastly greater volume of commerce was transacted by the system of double trading which gave rise to the triangular trade routes. New England fish were sold in the West Indies either for bills of exchange on London or for West Indian products which were in demand in England, and these in turn were exchanged for the English manufactures required by the New England colonists.

Another route on which the questionable fortunes of more than one proud family were laid, was that followed by ships which took New England fish to the Mediterranean countries; or New England rum, in demijohns made in New England glass works, to the north of Africa. In either event the ship returned with a cargo of slaves for the West Indies

or the southern colonies, and exchanged them for the products of tthe south then in demand in New England.

The marked difference in resources between the northern and the southern colonies gave rise also to a considerable coastwise traffic. In the absence of roads, the only highway was the water, and since New England streams were not navigable above the fall line, the population was long restricted to the region bordering the sea; whereas the broad, slow-moving rivers of the south made the whole hinterland at once accessible and invited there the ships of traders.

The preference of the southern planter for the life of a country gentleman was one of the things which prevented any considerable development of shipbuilding in those colonies; but the frequent presence of New England traders in the harbors and inlets of the south established a commercial contact which became of increasing importance. It was usual for southern planters to forward their agricultural products to England in English ships or ships of the northern colonies. Some planters, such as Colonel William Byrd of Virginia, who had very wide contacts, maintained regular communication with New England agents, whose business it was to look after their shipping problems and see that transportation was available at the proper time.

Thus colonial New England, with splendid timber, skillful Yankee craftsmen in her shipyards, sailors trained in the hard school of whalers and shipmasters who sailed the seven seas "by guess and by God," carried over the world the home-grown products of all eastern North America and brought back the cherished luxuries which these would purchase in far lands.

Summary

In this discussion it is clear that a variety of industries and undertakings in New England came about from causes which cannot be brought within geographical limitations. An example is the important modern hardware industry of Connecticut which was started there for no better reason than that two English tinsmiths chanced to come with their tools and a supply of tin sheets at a time when an industry could be founded.

In all of the operations of the inhabitants of the North American continent which involved ships and trading, New England men had a part. The modern prominence as well as the early fame of their section of the country, and in particular of Massachusetts, has rested fundamentally on two great geographic gifts—the fish that like the cool waters of the continental shelf; and the trees that found attractive the stimulating climate and the glaciated, boulder-strewn hillsides of New England.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[Sec also the bibliographies following Chapters xv (Economic Organization); xvi (Trade); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

BISHOP, J. Leander.—*A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* (2 vols., Phila., Young, 1861).—Very elaborate, detailed and careful account of every phase of manufacturing in America; Volume III added to 3d ed. (1868) is not important.

BOLLES, Albert S.—*Industrial History of the United States* (Norwich, Bill Publ. Co., 1889).—Similar in its scope to Bishop, but less extensive.

BROWN, Alexander Campbell.—*Colony Commerce* (London, R. Faulder, n. d.).—A brief review of the subject in pre-Revolutionary times.

CHATTERTON, F. Keble.—*Whalers and Whaling* (Phila., Lippincott, 1926.—Readable and often dramatically interesting.

CLARK, Victor S.—*History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607–1860* (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1916).—Extremely thorough and well documented; invaluable.

COWLEY, Charles.—*History of Lowell* (Boston, Lee & Shepard, 1868).—Valuable on influence of water power on the location of the city.

COXE, Tench.—*A View of the United States of America* (Phila., 1794).—Careful, American account of resources and economic conditions.

DENYS, Nicholas.—*A Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1908; transl. from Paris edit. of 1672).—Physiographic record of value, moderately useful on natural resources.

JOHNSON, Emory R., and others.—*History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States* (Wash., Carnegie Institution, 1915).—Sound and very useful; analogous to Clark.

LITTLE, Otis.—*The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies Considered* (London, G. Woodfall, 1748).—Analogous in value to Brown's *Colony Commerce;* useful on exports.

MARVIN, Winthrop L.—*The American Merchant Marine: Its History and Romance from 1620 to 1902* (New York, Scribner, 1902).—Interestingly written; slant toward ship subsidy.

SHALER, Nathaniel Southgate, Editor.—*The United States of America* (2 vols., New York, Appleton, 1894).—Unexcelled study of the natural resources of the country edited by an eminent geologist. Note: Chapter i, The Continent, and its Fitness to be Home of a Great People; Chapter ii, Natural Conditions East and South; Chapter vii, Farmer's Opportunities; Chapter viii, Minerals and Mining; Chapter ix, Forests and Lumber Industry; Chapter x, Maritime Industries.

SMITH, Captain John.—*A Description of New England* (London, 1616).—First volume on this region. Intended to stimulate emigration.

SWANK, J. M.—*Iron in All Ages* (2d ed., Philadelphia, American Iron and Steel Assoc., 1892).—Elaborate account of the industry from the earliest times; valuable on bog and pond ores of New England.

WEEDEN, William B.—*Social and Economic History of New England, 1620–1789* (2 vols., Boston and N. Y., Houghton, Mifflin, 1890).—Fundamental authority in its field; excellent work of reference.

WOOD, William.—*New England's Prospect* (London, 1634).—English accounts of the marvels of the new country; conceptions then current.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHIC ORIGINS OF THE FOUNDERS OF MASSACHUSETTS

By G. Andrews Moriarity
Vice-President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society for Rhode Island

English Social Classes (1620–1650)

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: first to show from what class or classes of English society the founders of Massachusetts were drawn and secondly from what parts of England they came. Much misinformation is rife as regards the origin of the first settlers of Massachusetts and Virginia. Some English and American writers are persuaded that the New Englanders came from the lower strata of society; while some historians hold that the white Virginians are sprung exclusively from the English upper classes.

Both views spring from ignorance or prejudice. It is the purpose of the writer to set forth as briefly as possible the facts of the New England immigration and to show who the first settlers were and what position they occupied in the English social and economic life of the days of the early Stuarts.

The position, aspirations and history of the Puritan party in England have already been described in a previous chapter. The Puritans, who were the more extreme Protestants of the Church of England, are to be sharply distinguished from the Brownists or real Dissenters, who had left the Church. For the Puritans on the other hand did not quarrel with the government of the National Church; they desired to model its theology upon that of Geneva and to simplify the ritual. This party had become identified, at the accession of Charles I,

with the National and Constitutional party and formed an exceedingly influential and powerful body in the State.

At the time of the emigration Puritanism was to be found in all the classes of English society, from the great nobles at the Court to the artisans at the bench; and the consequence was that when the great Puritan leaders decided to found a Colony across the Atlantic, the settlers who went out, instead of being drawn from one stratum in English society, were drawn from all walks of life, and they represented something like a vertical cross-section of the English world.

In considering the background of the settlers a brief sketch of English society in the previous century, especially with regard to the elements of the various classes, is essential. The vital years that coincided with the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547) saw the most profound social and economic change in the English people that they have ever passed through. For in those years the whole structure of mediæval society dissolved and modern social conditions were established. The change was brought about by the revolution in learning, science, commerce and outlook, in other words by the movement that we now call the Rennaissance, that beat with late but effective force upon the England of the early sixteenth century.

All strata of society were affected but especially the upper and middle classes. The power of the old feudal nobility had spent its force in the orgy of cruelty and blood that we call the Wars of the Red and White Roses. Many of the greatest houses had been exterminated; and such as survived held greatly diminished wealth and power. The place of the great feudal families was taken by the new men, successful merchants, clothiers and graziers, who, under the new conditions, were acquiring great wealth; and many a noble house traces its origin to a successful business man or large farmer of this period. The dissolution of the monasteries had thrown great tracts of land upon the market and enabled the newly rich to buy lands cheaply and found landed families. By Elizabeth's time the new nobility and country gentry were inextricably mingled with the old families that survived from feudal times. In the circles of both the nobility and the gentry we find sons and daughters of the successful Tudor upstarts

marrying into families whose founders had ridden with William at Hastings or served in the bureaucracy of Henry of Anjou. Many of the younger sons of the nobility and gentry were entering trade, from which so many persons of their class had recently arisen. We find the bearers of great names even among the London apprentices.

The middle classes, the merchants, manufacturers and yeoman, were also rising in the social scale. The new conditions quickened trade and manufactures, and these callings had brought a corresponding increase of wealth among those who practiced them. The yeomen and the clothiers especially were getting their heads above water, were living in a luxury and ease unknown to their progenitors of the Middle Ages, and were acquiring a powerful voice in the government of the country.

The lower classes, while living in better conditions than their ancestors, had profited far less than the upper or middle classes by the political and economic changes; their voice was as yet little heard and they were generally disregarded.

Aristocracy and Democracy (1500–1630)

Tudor society was a strange mixture at once intensely aristocratic and equally democratic. Aristocratic, in that the privileges of the middle and upper classes were very great and their power enormous. Democratic, in that the ranks of the gentry and nobility were largely recruited from new men, whose rise from the middle classes was recent; so that there was no feeling of caste in the nobility and gentry, setting them apart from the yeomen and merchants, such as was usual on the continent. Many sons of country squires were to be found in the ranks of the clothiers and merchants; there could, of necessity, be no sharp feeling of caste between the two classes.

England was then more democratic than ever before or since, as regards the relation of the upper and middle classes of society, though intensely aristocratic as regarded the rights and power of the upper and middle classes in their relations to the lower orders of society. It has always been the glory of England that her nobility, unlike that of France, has been constantly recruited from among the ablest of the commoners,

so that the nobility never formed a separate caste as on the continent. It is likewise the glory of New England that her upper classes were drawn from among the English country squires, the rich merchants and clothiers, and the bulk of her population out of the prosperous, intelligent, well to do yeomen and artisans of the middle classes. Peasantry there was none in the English sense of the term. The founders of New England brought hither the training and view of life that they had inherited from their Tudor grandfathers.

The great emigration to Massachusetts Bay took place between the years 1628 and 1642—a very significant period for it coincides with the years of the personal government of Charles First under the guidance of his great minister Strafford. In other words the leaders of the Puritan party, men of great power and influence, such as the Earls of Warwick and Lincoln and the Lords Say and Sele, and Brooke, being doubtful of the success of their opposition to the Crown, determined to establish a place of refuge in case the struggle went against them in England. The consequence was that the Massachusetts Bay Company had the active assistance and support of many persons of great power and influence in England and was enabled to obtain a far better start than the earlier settlement of Separatists had at Plymouth. The composition of the new Puritan Colony of the Bay, founded, not to afford a refuge to the oppressed, but for the purpose of establishing a Commonwealth along the lines which the party was struggling for in England, was such as one would naturally expect.

Unlike most colonists, who have gone out of England before or since, the founders of Massachusetts were not men whose primary aim in emigrating was to better themselves from an economic point of view, so much as to establish a state based upon their particular political tenets. The result was that the class of emigration was much higher than is usually met with in colonies, both from a social and educational point of view.

Social Classes Among Emigrants (1620–1650)

There were of course hardly any representatives of the peerage. As some one has said, "Dukes don't emigrate;" but there were a few representatives of noble families among the early

settlers, members of the great Puritan houses. Thus two sisters of the Earl of Lincoln came to Massachusetts with their husbands, and among the early settlers of Rhode Island was Jeremy Clarke, the founder of a family of Newport Quakers, who was a nephew of Richard Weston, first Earl of Portland, sometime Lord High Treasurer of England. The Lords Say and Seele, and Brooke had large holdings in Connecticut at the mouth of the river but they never came over, although at one time they thought seriously of settling in New England.

Of the country gentry there was a large representation in the new settlement. As the antecedents of the early settlers become better known, it is surprising to observe how many of them belonged to or were closely connected with the so-called county families, who, it must be remembered were far more numerous then than now. A long list of persons prominent in the new settlement might be cited who were connected with or descended from the county families or from well to do families, who were on the edge of the gentry, and about to enter its ranks, among them John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley.

Then there were the Clergy, graduates of the two great universities, men who had adhered to the old forms of the church, as they were observed in Elizabeth's time and who had been removed by Laud for opposing his innovations in the ceremonies. These were by far the most important group of professional men and a study of their biographies is the main key in solving the problem of the English homes of many of their followers, who went with them to New England. It has been estimated that about one hundred and four graduates of Cambridge and over thirty of Oxford, clergymen for the most part, were among the early settlers; and this high percentage of educated men assured the Colony of the cultivation of letters and the establishment of a sound seat of learning.

English lawyers and physicians had few representatives in the new enterprise. As a class, the lawyers were inclined to the Court rather than to the Puritan party and there was not enough hope for advancement to bring them out to New England in any number. Furthermore the lawyers, as a class, were not looked upon with favor by the early settlers. Nevertheless

there were a few lawyers early in Massachusetts but they were restless souls for the most part, who had come out for religious reasons. The doctors were somewhat more numerous but did not form any large proportion of the settlers.

Merchants, most of them well to do, from London and the larger towns, came in considerable numbers, as this was a class in which Puritanism had made great progress. They were persons of importance and among them were many cadets of county families or near relatives of the gentry—for we must remember that in those days, when there were few colonies, the Government posts were filled with the sons of the nobility. Hence the only career open to the numerous sons of a country squire were the law, which required an expensive preparation, and that of the merchant. At this time we find the landed gentry apprenticing their sons to merchants in London and elsewhere. Many of these came over to New England and took their place here among the upper classes of the Colony.

General Character of Emigration (1620–1650)

The great bulk of the emigration, as was to be expected, consisted of well to do yeomanry and craftsmen; men of some estate and standing in the rural communities from which they came; and it must always be remembered that these men were not penniless adventurers but persons of substance and intelligence, of energy and independence of thought. They came not merely to advance themselves in life but to establish a home for the political party to which they belonged. These men, who formed the majority of the settlers, were destined to put their stamp upon the New England character, and to leave an indelible impress upon the social and political life of their descendants. With them came their servants and apprentices, young men, who in due course would reach the position of their masters, and who were drawn from about the came class in the community. Of the so-called lower classes and the peasantry there were fewer representatives at any period in the seventeenth century except some hired or indentured servants.

To sum up, the settlers of Massachusetts represented a

cross section of the English people, rather than any one distinct class; and this cross section was an England in the small, with the gentry fairly numerous at the top, resting upon the bulk of the middle class made up of yeomen, tradesmen and artisans.

As compared with the contemporary emigration to Virginia, one finds the settlers in both sections drawn pretty much from the same classes. The percentage of the gentry was perhaps slightly higher in Virginia than in Massachusetts but very nearly the same. The artistocratic tone of later Virginia, as compared with the democratic tone of the New England Colonies, was due almost entirely to physical and economic conditions, rather than to any inherent differences in the classes from which the settlers of the two regions came. In Virginia the country was adapted to agriculture and the development of large landed estates. New England with its rocky barren soil and its good harbors fostered of necessity trade, commerce and town life, which tend to give a democratic tone to society.

Thus the Massachusetts people partook of the variety of English social groups; they equally represented a variety of geographical sections of the mother country. In dealing with the fascinating problem where they came from in England, we have to remember that in the earlier settlement from 1628 to 1641 the people came out not singly but in geographical groups and units, a phenomenon not seen in modern emigration. The usual course of such an emigration was as follows: Some parson, who had been silenced by Laud, would decide to go to New England; whereupon his followers and admirers in the region where he preached and guided would decide to get together and go with him to New England. Such a parson usually had a goodly following among the people living within a radius of thirty miles around the town or parish where he was settled.

Accordingly, when we find a minister coming to New England with a group of adherents, we may be sure that these people belonged in and about the place of his ecclesiastical service in England. Consequently if we find where such a parson preached in England, we know the region from which his flock in New England came. In determining the English

livings of the New England clergy, the clerical biographies in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia,* however faulty and inaccurate, are of the utmost value because Mather lived close enough to the founders to have a pretty accurate knowledge as regards their English homes.

Parent Towns and Sections (1620–1650)

Another great source of information as to the English homes of the founders of New England is to be found in the town names. It was the custom of a group arriving in New England to name their new settlement for the nearest market town to their old homes in England. This test, however, is not always infallible. Sometimes a town was named for an English town near which some important magistrate, not necessarily connected with the group of settlers, lived; or again a group of people coming from one part of England would settle in a town already named by an earlier group. A good example of the first exception is Ipswich, named for Ipswich in Suffolk, out of compliment to John Winthrop, Jr., a Suffolk man, who was interested in the development of the place, while most of the settlers came from counties Wiltshire and Hampshire. Dorchester is a good example of the second exception—where the early group of settlers from Dorsetshire, who named the town, was later augmented by a group from Lancashire, who settled there but who had no connection with the famous old town in Dorsetshire.

We are now in position to generalize as to the principal centers of New England emigration and can then take up the separate towns and tell whence in England the greater part of the inhabitants came. Generally speaking the great bulk of the emigration came from that portion of England that lies south of the River Trent. The emigration from the north of England was relatively light, as one would expect from a region where Puritanism had made comparatively little progress. The great proportion of the settlers came from the Puritan stronghold of East Anglia: i.e., counties Suffolk, Essex, Norfolk and eastern Hertfordshire. If we take the little cloth town of Sudbury on Stour in southwestern Suffolk as a center and draw a circle with a radius of fifty miles

around the town, we shall have the region that contributed perhaps the largest quota to the earliest settlement of Massachusetts.

Next in importance was the Wessex emigration, coming from Dorset, Somerset, and Eastern Devon; this movement has not been as well studied as that from Suffolk, probably because Winthrop was a Suffolk man; but the early emigration from the West Country fostered by the Rev. John White of Dorchester, was probably nearly, if not quite, as important as that from the Eastern Counties.

Other regions contributed to the emigration—notably the Weald of Kent; the midland counties of Buckingham, Northampshire, and Leicester; the large Boston group from Lincolnshire, and, as was to be expected, a strong contingent of Londoners. There was also considerable emigration from the borders of Wiltshire and Hampshire and western Berkshire, and also some from Gloucestershire, near the Welsh border.

In the North Country the emigration was not so strong and came from the Puritan centers in that region. Some emigration can be traced from around Preston and Manchester in Lancashire, from Bradford vale and Rowley in Yorkshire and from Durham in the extreme north. This latter was almost entirely due to the hiding there of the Rev. Thomas Shepherd—later pastor of Cambridge, Massachusetts—for a year or so before he escaped from England. From elsewhere in the North, from the Counties of Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmoreland came comparatively little or no emigration.

Sources of Colonial Towns (1628–1650)

We will now turn specifically to the early towns of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and start on the north with the towns of Salisbury, Amesbury, Andover, Newbury and Haverhill. In these towns the majority of the settlers were men from Hampshire, Wiltshire and Berkshire; especially from the neighborhood of Andover in Hampshire, Salisbury and Marlborough in Wiltshire, and Newbury in Berkshire. Many of them were persons who had come over under the influence of Rev. Stephen Batchelder, who had been parson at Wherwell in Hampshire.

In Ipswich, in spite of its name, many of the people belonged to this Wiltshire-Hampshire group; and some of the Yorkshire people from Rowley came into the town early.

At Rowley, as its name indicates, we have a Yorkshire settlement, followers of Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, who had preached at Rowley in the East Riding before coming to New England. In this group were certain men, who came from a considerable distance from Rowley, men from Bradford vale and elsewhere in the West Riding.

Gloucester, as the name indicates, was settled by men from that county, the followers of Rev. Richard Blynman, who originally settled in Marshfield and afterwards went to Gloucester. Being a seaport town, the latter also had early a large seafaring population from the West of England, from around the Bristol channel and the Devon, Somerset and Dorset coast.

Salem, Manchester and Beverly were settled by people from the West Country, from Dorset, Somerset and Devon; these included not only the "Old Planters," who had been sent out in 1624 to Stage Point in Gloucester by Rev. John White of Dorchester in Dorset; but also the 1628 settlers under Endicott, who came from the same region.

In Lynn, at Saugus, there was a group of settlers from Leicestershire, from the vicinity of Lutterworth—famous as the home of John Wycliffe—while Topsfield (named by Samuel Symonds, who had estates at Topsfield in Essex) and Boxford had largely an East Anglian population.

When we come to Middlesex County, Massachusetts, we find the population predominantly East Anglian. Charlestown, which with Boston was one of the chief seaports had, as was logical, a mixed population: East Anglian settlers and also merchants, artisans and sailors from London and from the western seaports. Reading, Malden, Medford and Woburn were East Anglian with an element of Kentish and Worcestershire settlers.

Cambridge, which was given its present name after the founding of Harvard College presents also a population of diverse elements—there were East Anglians, a few people from Old Cambridge and a number of families from Durham in the extreme North of England, near which is also the town

of Washington, cradle of the ancestors of George Washington, President of the United States. They were attracted thither by the Rev. Thomas Shepherd, who had been concealed there for some time when he was wanted by Laud.

Watertown, again, was predominantly and almost exclusively composed of persons from Suffolk and Essex and as the people of Watertown were very active in founding new settlements, the East Anglians of this parent town spread rapidly into the newer towns. Dedham as its name indicates was also peopled by settlers from Suffolk and Essex.

In Suffolk County we find Boston, with a very mixed population—East Anglians; West Countrymen, the latter from the seaport towns of the south coast of Devon and Dorset, and from the towns along the Bristol Channel; London merchants. Most important of all, the well defined group of Lincolnshire men from Lincoln, Horncastle, Boston and the neighboring towns, who were drawn here by the emigration of the Rev. John Cotton.

Roxbury was settled by people from northwestern Essex, southwestern Suffolk and the neighboring towns of eastern Hertfordshire, who had followed the Rev. John Eliot from his home in Nazing in northwestern Essex.

Dorchester contained two distinct groups—the earlier settlers, who came from Dorsetshire with the Rev. John Maverick and who named the town for Dorchester in Dorset and the later group, who came from Lancashire with the Rev. Richard Mather. These Lancashire people came from the neighborhood of Preston, Liverpool and Manchester.

Braintree again was predominantly East Anglian but it was by no means as exclusively so as Watertown, for there were settlers in it from Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire and Somersetshire.

Weymouth again was, as the name indicates, a settlement of Dorsetshire and Somersetshire people and these spread inland towards Bridgewater and the Somersetshire settlement at Taunton.

Hingham was preeminently a Norfolk settlement composed of the followers of the Rev. Robert Peck and the Rev. Peter Hobart. They came from the vicinity of Hingham, Norwich and Yarmouth and from the little country parishes of

Eastern Norfolk. This town is exceedingly fortunate in having a list of its earliest settlers, giving their homes in Norfolk, that was compiled by Daniel Cushing, the son of one of the first comers.

We must notice also the early settlements made at Springfield on the Connecticut by William Pynchon, a gentleman from Writtle in Essex. This settlement, like the towns farther south on the Connecticut, around Hartford, was largely an East Anglian one.

Plymouth Towns (1620–1650)

We have now reached the last town in Massachusetts before we cross into the Plymouth Colony, whose frontier town was Scituate. Scituate was the center of a large emigration from the Weald of Kent, from the neighborhood of Cranbrook and Headcorn that came out with Rev. John Lathrop, who had preached in Kent and with them were also some of his followers from London. Many of these Kentish settlers soon after went with Lathrop and founded Barnstable on the Cape, while a delegation of the Leicestershire men settled nearby at Sandwich on the Cape, which probably was named by the followers of Lathrop. There seem also to have been a few Northampshire men scattered among these old Cape towns.

Marshfield, as its name indicates, was settled by people from Gloucestershire, close to the border of Wales, who came over with Rev. Richard Blynman and Hugh Caulkins. Some of these persons later removed to Gloucester and some went on to New London in Connecticut.

This brings us to the capital of the Old Colony, Plymouth, and to the *Mayflower* passengers and their associates. It is much more difficult to place the Plymouth people, who did not come in any well defined group, other than that of the *Mayflower* which brought the Leyden exiles. Where the latter came from in England is somewhat difficult to establish and has never been properly investigated and there is here a field for some startling discoveries.

A well known group from the borders of Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire near the River Idle, included Brewster and Bradford. During their stay in Holland they had been joined

by other Dissenters who fled from the persecutions of the Church. These probably came from the Eastern Counties and from Kent. There undoubtedly were a number from London, where the Leyden people had friends, as Bradford tells us, and there were some from the neighboring County of Surrey; there may also have been some from the Southwest.

Taunton, a very old town of the Plymouth Colony, settled in 1639, was a Wessex settlement of Somersetshire and Dorsetshire people, who were led by one Mistress Elizabeth Poole, "a wise and anciently religious maid," from Taunton in Somersetshire. They were soon joined by settlers from the same region coming from Weymouth, Massachusetts.

Slackening of Immigration (1642–1689)

We have now very briefly given a survey of the groups of settlers in the oldest towns of Massachusetts and Plymouth. This survey of necessity is imperfect, as we have by no means as yet completed our knowledge of the ancestral homes of the founders. As more and more is found out in regard to them, we shall gradually perfect our knowledge of the whole movement. It should also be remembered that individuals and small groups settled among the larger ones in the oldest towns, and so lost their identity; and many individual emigrants settled here and there and did not belong to the group with which they cast in their lot. Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire people, and men from Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, Berkshire and Derbyshire located throughout the settlements, but not in such numbers as to make up one of these distinct groups.

We have noticed before that the great emigration took place between 1628 and 1642, the years of English history marked by the personal government of King Charles without a Parliament. With the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1642 the emigration stopped, never to be renewed again on the same scale. Men were staying at home to fight for the Parliamentary cause and in fact during the next ten years there was a backward movement and more men went home to England than came out to Massachusetts. Henceforth until the Revolution, while there was a pretty steady stream of per-

sons coming into the Colony, there was no longer any large group emigration, as there had been in the beginning. Thereafter people came out for economic reasons and to better their condition. No more emigration flowed from East Anglia, and no large influx of yeomen. The later comers were for the most part merchants, (many of them men of distinguished ancestry and ample means) small traders, artisans and seafaring men—for the most part from London and the seaport towns of the West of England, such as Bristol. These logically settled in the seaports, as Salem, Charlestown and Boston and for the most part left the development of the interior towns to the stock of the first comers.

Other Race Elements (1650–1689)

In 1650 and 1651 some three or four hundred Scots, who had been taken prisoners at Dumbar and Worcester, were sold to Bex & Co., a firm of London merchants, who owned iron works at Saugus and Braintree, and sent their bondmen over to their works. In 1657 the Company failed in Massachusetts and the Scots scattered through the New England Colonies, where they were soon absorbed by the English population. Many of their descendants survive today, often with somewhat altered names.

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1626, many Huguenots arrived in Massachusetts. They came largely from the Southwest of France, from the Gascon Provinces and to a less extent from Normandy. Some of them remained in Boston, where they set up a church. Others made a settlement at Oxford, Massachusetts, under the leadership of Gabriel Bernon, a gentleman belonging to a very ancient family of La Rochelle.

As early as 1690 we find traces of Irish merchants and sea captains in the seaboard towns. Thus Thaddeus McCarthy was early in the eighteenth century a merchant of Boston and Deacon of the Old South Church. By the time of the Revolution there was quite a group of Irish merchants and sea captains in such towns as Newburyport, Salem and Boston. Almost all were Protestant in faith, and their numbers were small as compared to the rest of the population. Most of them,

however, were men of substance, belonging to the better families in such places as Waterford, Cork, Tralee and Dublin.

The Scotch-Irish from Ulster came over in large numbers early in the eighteenth century but their settlements were chiefly in New Hampshire where such names as Antrim and Dublin survive.

Numbers of Emigrants (1628–1642)

In closing this brief sketch of the early population of Massachusetts it may be estimated that between 1628 and 1642 nearly twenty thousand Englishmen settled in New England. The population up to 1840 remained predominantly English, and was largely composed of the descendants of those who came within the years above mentioned. It was a strong typical English stock, in which every class of English society was represented; and the history of New England affords the interesting phenomenon of the development of an English society, lopped off as it were from the parent stock, meeting and dealing with new problems and strange conditions. Notwithstanding a steady stream of emigrants from England down to 1689, the total immigration after 1642 was comparatively small. The population of the colony was chiefly made up of descendants of the first group of Puritans, coming from southern England.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies to the following chapters: i (England); iv (Plymouth); v (Bay Colony); viii (Sister Settlements); x (Social Life); xiii (Literature); xiv (Religious Freedom); xv (Economic); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

ARBER, Edward F. S. A.—*The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* (London, Ward & Dauney, 1897) (Boston Houghton, Mifflin, 1897).

ASPINWALL, William.—*Aspinwall Notarial Records* (Boston 1903, City of Boston).—A most important source for the English homes of the founders of Massachusetts.

BRADFORD, William.—*History of Plimouth Plantations* (Boston, Wright & Potter [State printers] 1898).—Not a perfect edition, but by far the best in print.

CUSHING, Daniel.—*Extracts from the minutes of Daniel Cushing of Hingham,* edited by H. A. Whitney (Boston, V. Wilson & Sons, 1865).—Contains information regarding the English homes of the settlers of Hingham Mass.

DEXTER, Henry Martin.—*The England and Holland of the Pilgrims* (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1905).

DRAKE, Samuel Adams.—*The Founders of New England* (Boston 1860).

FARMER, John.—*A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England* (Lancaster Mass., Carter, Andrews & Co., 1829).—The earliest work of this kind.

FOSTER, Joseph.—*Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714* (4 vols. London, Parker, 1891).

FOTHERGILL, Gerald.—*Emigrants from England 1773–1776* (Boston 1913).—Reprinted from the New England Historical Genealogical Register vols. 62 to 64.

FOTHERGILL, Gerald.—*A list of Emigrant Ministers to America 1690–1811* (London 1904).

FRENCH, Elizabeth.—*Lists of Emigrants to America from Liverpool 1697-1707* (Boston 1913).—Reprinted from the New England Historical Genealogical Register vols. 64-65.

HOTTON, John Camden.—*The Original Lists etc.* (London 1872, 2d ed., New York, 1874).—The American edition is very carelessly made and contains many misleading errors. One of the most important sources of information regarding the settlers in England.

LETCHFORD, Thomas.—*Note Book kept by Thomas Letchford Esq.* (Cambridge, American Antiquarian Society, 1885).—A most important source of information.

MATHER, Cotton.—*Magnalia Christi Americana* (2 vols. Hartford 1853).—Biographical sketches of early New England clergymen. Valuble as the work of a late 17th century author, but often inaccurate and full of careless errors.

THE MAYFLOWER DESCENDANT pub. by the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants (27 vols. to date, Boston 1899–1927).—Contains valuable information regarding the Pilgrims.

MORIARTY, George Andrews.—"The English Background of the New England Settlements," in *The Genealogists Magazine* vol. 1 no. 4, (London, Society of Genealogists, 1925).—This contains one or two errors.

MORIARTY, George Andrews.—"The Scotch Prisons at Block Island," in Rhode Island Historical Society *Collections,* vol. xiii page 28. (Providence 1920).—Gives a slight account of the Scotch prisoners sent hither after Dunbar and Worcester.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL GENEALOGICAL REGISTER (Boston vols. 1-81; still being published by the New England Historic Genealogical Society).—Contains many articles upon the English origins of New England settlers.

POPE, Charles Henry.—*The Pioneers of Massachusetts* (Boston 1900).—Relates only to persons settling in Massachusetts before 1650. A valuable compilation, but contains many errors.

PUTNAM, Eben.—"Two Early Passenger Lists 1635-1637," in *New England Historical Genealogical Register* (July, 1921).—Lists of settlers from Kent.

SAVAGE, James.—*Genealogical Dictionary of New England* (4 vols. Boston, Little Brown, 1860).—A monumental work, now somewhat antiquated.

VENN, John, and Venn, J. A.—*Alumni Cantabrigienses* (4 vols. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1922).

WATERS, Henry Fitz Gilbert.—*Genealogical Gleanings in England* (2 vols. Boston, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1889).—A monumental and masterly compilation.

WATERS, Henry Fitz Gilbert.—*Genealogical Gleanings in England, new series* (Salem, Salem Press, 1907).

WATERS, Henry Fitz Gilbert, and EMMERTON, James A.—*Gleanings from the English Records* (Salem, Salem Press, 1880).

WINTHROP, John.—*History of New England 1630–1649* (2 vols., 1853).—An excellent edition.

WINTHROP, Robert C.—*Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (2 vols. Boston, Little, Brown, 1864).—Marred by careless and uncritical editing.

CHAPTER IV

PLYMOUTH PLANTATION (1617–1660)

By Theodore E. Busfield

Minister of Church of the Pilgrimage, Plymouth

Preliminaries (1617–1620)

The planting of Plymouth Colony was a most notable achievement. Previous attempts by the English to settle on the Atlantic coast had been for the most part stark failures. Raleigh's at Roanoke in 1585, Popham's at the mouth of the Kennebec in 1607, Blackwell's in 1618, when out of 180 colonizers 130 died on the voyage, all proved futile. Even the Jamestown settlement of 1607 was not an assured success until nearly a score of years had elapsed. With such discouraging precedents it required men of heroic mold to attempt with their scant resources what the Pilgrims did in 1620. That was the mold they were of; for long before sailing they wrote: "We are well weaned from ye delicate milke of our mother countrie, and enured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land. . . . It is not with us as with other men whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home againe."

The dramatic history of the Puritan groups in England and in Holland has been told in the first chapter of this work. For the westward enterprise three things were deemed essential: a guaranty of liberty in worship from the king, a patent from the Virginia Company, and means for financing the undertaking. The king refused their request, but agreed to connive at them so long as they carried themselves peaceably. A patent dated June 29, 1619, was secured in the name of John Wincob to lands near the northern limits of the Virginia Company. This was never used, but was supplanted by an-

other, dated February 12, 1620, to John Pierce in trust, to lands practically in the same place near the Hudson River. While this may have made easier their sailing from England, it was of no other service, since they did not go to that region.

While negotiations were pending for financial assistance, Dutch capitalists, learning of their ambitions, offered a location in the island of Zealand, or to transport them to the Hudson River country, furnish them with cattle and otherwise equip them, a most tempting offer. At this point Thomas Weston came to them with the proposal to organize a company of some seventy merchant capitalists into a voluntary speculative association to finance their enterprise. All the arrangements took three years to complete and were far from satisfactory; but they were the best that could be got.

The Agreement (1620)

The terms of agreement looked more to the duties of the colonists than to the efforts of the capitalists, or adventurers, as they were called. About seven hundred £10 shares were subscribed by these merchants to furnish means to transport and supply the emigrants on their way to the building of a plantation, and to provide them with essentials as need should be. On the part of those going, every one over sixteen was credited with one share of stock, and every such one bringing besides £10 in money or supplies was reckoned as having a second share, while slightly different ratings applied to children.

The colonists were to engage in building, farming, fishing and trading, each one was to get his meat, drink, raiment, and all other necessities out of a common store, and all profits from all sources were to be put into a common stock. This arrangement was to continue for seven years. At the end of that period all properties were to be equally divided between the capitalists and the colonists. The members of the two groups were to share, each according to his interest in his own group. In the first draft it was provided that the colonizers were to have two days a week for their own affairs, and in the final distribution each was to have the house he had built and the land he had improved. At the last minute this

part was cancelled, though the Pilgrims were wroth and at first refused their assent to the change. After reaching the new world altered conditions were agreed to. As it turned out, the change made no difference in the eventual commonwealth.

The Voyage and the Compact (1620)

These things settled, two vessels were contracted for; the *Speedwell,* a ship of 60 tons was bought and taken to Delfshaven to be fitted out, and the *Mayflower* of 180 tons was leased and brought round to Southampton. Meanwhile the English of Leyden who were to go, chiefly the younger and more vigorous of that settlement, disposed of their effects and got ready. John Robinson the pastor elected to abide with the larger portion of the church and remain behind, while Elder Brewster stood to make the voyage. After farewell services in Leyden and Delfshaven, 35 Pilgrims embarked from Holland late in July and four days later reached Southampton.

Here others, many of them not at all religious or even serious in mind, and some hired laborers, were added to the joint party by the adventurers. On August 15 the two ships set sail in the great undertaking. But the leaking *Speedwell* compelled two returns to port, the loss of a month's time, and a rearrangement of the passengers. Some, after what had happened, preferred to give up the venture; and the final departure from Plymouth did not take place until September 16.

At last the Pilgrims were on the ocean. The little *Mayflower* was most uncomfortably crowded with a passenger list of 102, besides a crew of perhaps 25, and with baggage, supplies and a stock of fowls and swine. There was small opportunity for cooking for so many, no bathing facilities to speak of, and the sailors were insolent. Fair weather was succeeded by a terrible storm in which the ship was at the mercy of wind and wave, and in imminent peril because of the buckling of the main beam. Oddly enough one of the Pilgrims had a screw, with which it was forced back into place, and the crisis averted. An exciting episode was the rescue of John Howland, who fell overboard and in falling chanced to grasp a trailing rope.

A

RELATION OR

Iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the Engliſh Plantation ſetled at *Plimoth* in NEW ENGLAND, by certaine Engliſh Aduenturers both Merchants and others.

With their difficult paſſage, their ſafe ariuall, their ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting themſelues in the now well defended Towne of NEW PLIMOTH.

AS ALSO A RELATION OF FOVRE ſeuerall diſcoueries ſince made by ſome of the ſame Engliſh Planters there reſident.

I. In a iourney to PVCKANOKICK *the habitation of the Indians greateſt King* Maſſaſoyt : *as alſo their meſſage, the anſwer and entertainment they had of him.*

II. In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdome of Nawſet, *to ſeeke a boy that had loſt himſelfe in the woods : with ſuch accidents as befell them in that voyage.*

III. In their iourney to the Kingdome of Namaſchet, *in defence of their greateſt King* Maſſaſoyt, *againſt the* Narrohiggonſets, *and to reſcue the ſuppoſed death of their Interpreter* Tiſquantum.

IIII. Their voyage to the Maſſachuſets, *and their entertainment there.*

With an anſwer to all ſuch obiections as are any way made againſt the lawfulneſſe of Engliſh plantations in thoſe parts.

G.354.52
1622

LONDON,

Printed for *John Bellamie*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the two Greyhounds in Cornehill neere the Royall Exchange. 1622.

From the Boston Public Library

MOURT'S RELATION CONTAINS THE EARLIEST EXTANT TEXT OF THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

Nine weeks out, land was sighted which proved to be Cape Cod. Inasmuch as they were bound for the Hudson River they turned south, but encountering the dangerous shoals of Monomoy, they faced about and coasting along the Cape reached what is now Provincetown harbor November 21, after being at sea 67 days. There is no good reason to suppose that the change of destination came about through treachery of the captain of the ship. On the voyage one sailor died, and from the ship in the harbor the wife of William Bradford was drowned.

As the *Mayflower* was nearing the Cape Cod harbor some of the company, put on board from London and not in sympathy with the Pilgrim ways, went to the leaders and insisted that in taking the ship to another region than that provided for in the patent, they would be without authority over the group when a landing was made, and announced that they themselves in that case would act their own pleasure.

To provide against this contingency there was drawn up in the cabin of the *Mayflower* the famous Compact, in which the signers as loyal subjects of King James bound themselves into a civil body politic, and by virtue thereof to enact such laws as should be for the general good of the colony, and promised all due obedience and submission thereto. This was signed by 41 out of the 59 adult male passengers, seven of them being hired men; and immediately thereafter John Carver was confirmed as governor. This compact is a remarkable document such as only intelligent Englishmen or Dutchmen of that period could formulate. It shows the steadiness and self-reliance of the leaders of the colony in a trying emergency. It is sound political philosophy based on the fundamental rights of men, and well deserves the place it occupies amongst the foundation stones of the Republic.

The Landing (Dec. 21, 1620)

It was a glad day when the ship dropped anchor in the harbor at the tip of the Cape. The women had a grand washing bee, which indeed was needed, while the men walked about and investigated the surroundings with the utmost interest. The thirty foot pinnace was put together; then both by land

and water exploring parties were sent out to find in what sort of country they were, and to search for a suitable site for their plantation. Two short trips discovering nothing inviting, a third and better manned attempt was made with the pinnace and 18 men, 6 of them from the ship's crew. The first encounter with the Indians at Nauset was a skirmish without fatalities. Skirting the shores of the bay in a furious and blinding snow storm, the pinnace was beached late at night on Clark's island in Plymouth harbor, with the men wet, chilled and exhausted.

The next day which was Saturday they rested as best they could, and on Sunday worshipped. Monday morning December 21, 1620 they crossed the harbor and landed on the now famous rock, a boulder at the water's edge, and itself a pilgrim, for it had come in the glacial drift from far to the north. It was winter and haste was necessary; but after an investigation of the spot and its vicinity it was deemed an excellent location for the building of their settlement. By a coincidence the place had already been named Plymouth on John Smith's map of 1616. The Indian name was Patuxet.

The location in every way save for the poverty of the soil proved as favorable as could be desired. It was unoccupied ground, for a deadly pestilence a year or two before had swept away the inhabitants of the neighborhood. Many acres of cleared ground had previously been cultivated. Numerous springs of clear, cold water gushed forth and a large brook emptied into the harbor. A short distance to the west was an extensive hill 165 feet in elevation. Surrounded on three sides by shore, brook and hill, the place was easily defended. The bay was full of fish, the beach of clams, and the great wilderness behind abounded in all sorts of game. And in the spring vast schools of alewives went up the brook to the lake to spawn. In the exigency it was an admirable place for them, as good as could have then been found on the southern coast of the bay.

Foundations (1620–1621)

It was in January that the Pilgrims began putting in the foundations of the colony, but they were laid in sorrow, for before the unusually mild winter was ended, almost one-half

their number were dead, and buried in graves smoothed over so that the Indians might not know the severity of their losses. The privations and unsanitary conditions of the voyage, and their constant exposure with insufficient food and protection to the elements induced the scurvy and pneumonia that took this awful toll. At one time so many were sick, that but six or seven sound persons were left to do all the work, care for the sufferers, and bury the dead. And when the so welcome spring was come, only 21 adults and 6 large boys remained for the great task before them.

In April, 1921, the *Mayflower* left for her return passage. This had been delayed because the sailors suffered the same sickness as their passengers and with proportionate mortality. The survivors remained for some time weak and unequal to the sailing of the ship. And besides the burning of the thatch of the common-house had prevented a full landing of stores, and the enfeebled condition of many of the Pilgrims compelled living on the ship for most of the winter. The same month (April, 1621), Gov. Carver died and William Bradford was chosen his successor. As the sails of the *Mayflower* dipped from sight, the tiny band of 53 sorrowing souls was left on the narrow strip of clearing between 3000 miles of ocean and 3000 miles of wilderness—their nearest neighbors the French 500 miles to the north, and the Virginia planters 500 miles to the south. A situation to dismay and appall all but the stoutest hearts. Yet not one Pilgrim returned on the departing ship.

Notwithstanding the numerical losses and abundant sorrows in that first year there were built a common-house 20 feet square, three small structures for storage and general purposes, and seven houses, for which trees had to be felled and the logs dragged up without draft animals. Twenty-six acres were put into corn, wheat, rye and peas, for which the soil had to be broken up with hoes, and about forty tons of alewives basketed up from the town brook for fertilizer. Much time had to be spent in fishing, to which most of them were unaccustomed, and to hunting game and gathering fuel for subsistence.

With the help of the sailors, five cannon, the two largest weighing 1800 and 1000 pounds, were dragged up the hill and

mounted on a platform; and a palisade more than half a mile long was erected to the north and west of the village street extending from the shore to the town brook. They explored the country as far as Boston harbor and Narragansett Bay, and gathered in their crops, which proved so abundant that they held a harvest festival, the first of our Thanksgiving Days, Massasoit, the Indian chiefain and many of his warriors being their guests for the better part of a week.

In November, 1621, the ship *Fortune* arrived with 35 passengers, mostly lusty young men and some of them wild enough; but the ship brought "not so much as a bisket-cake or any other victuals for them," and even had to be revictualed for the return voyage. With their numbers increased by two-thirds this too much strained their food supplies. Ere the second winter was passed all were put on half allowance.

The *Fortune* also brought the Pierce patent of June 11, 1621, the first grant made by the Council for New England, still to be seen in the Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth. This patent established no boundaries, but gave Pierce and his associates 100 acres of land for each person who should remain in the settlement three years, all lots to be adjacent, and large allotments to the grantees for the support of churches, schools and hospitals. It remained in force only one year.

For the return trip the *Fortune* was loaded with two or three hogsheads of beaver and other skins, and with as many clapboards (barrel staves) as the ship would hold, a cargo valued at £500, which however, was captured by a French privateer and so profited the colonists not at all. Such were the labors and experiences of the first year. With means so little and numbers so few, with hearts so heavy and amid Indian alarms, their accomplishment tells the story of grit, industry and heroism of the little Pilgrim group.

How providential to the Pilgrim mind was it that except Gov. Carver all the leaders of the enterprise were alive and in good health. Bradford, who except for five one year terms given Winslow and Prence, was destined to hold the governorship for thirty-three years, so sane and strong and just; Brewster, the ruling elder in the church, broad minded and deeply spiritual; Standish, the soldier, brave, resourceful and equal to every emergency; Winslow, the accomplished diplomat;

Fuller, the physician, equally ready and skilful in healing the hurt of the body and the hurt of the soul; and Howland, Alden and others. A remarkable group of plain, sagacious Englishmen, enterprising, resourceful, tenacious, heroic, godly.

The Indians (1621–1623)

In the middle of March, 1621, the first winter, an Indian came boldly down the only street and greatly to the surprise of the Pilgrims welcomed them in broken English. It was Samoset from the Maine coast, who had picked up a little English from the fishing vessels. He told them of another Indian, who had been kidnapped with others from Nauset seven years before by Captain Thomas Hunt, and transported to Spain to be sold into slavery, but who somehow got to England, learned the language and English ways. At last he was brought back in one of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' ships by Captain Dermer to these Patuxet parts, of which he was a native, and the sole known survivor of his tribe from the plague.

A little later Samoset came again, bringing this Indian Tisquantum or Squanto, along with the great chief of the region, Massasoit, a noble minded savage. He also returned tools stolen by other Indians. A treaty of peace was signed between the Pilgrims and Massasoit, which was never broken during that chieftain's lifetime. His friendship was strengthened and confirmed forever by his being cured of a distressing illness by Winslow.

Squanto proved of great assistance to the colonists, especially in showing the method of cultivating corn. Another native, Hobamack, was also helpful; but others were resentful and hostile. Corbitant a sachem at Nemasket, fifteen miles to the west, adopted a threatening attitude, but was soon overawed by Standish. In the second spring (1622), a messenger came from the Narragansetts and presented a bundle of arrows tied about with a large snake skin. It was a defiance and a threat. He was answered in kind by being sent back carrying the same skin stuffed with bullets.

In the early part of 1623 trading goods were stolen from Standish's shallop on the Cape; he recovered them but on a

trip to the shore near Sandwich he was received with marked unfriendliness. While there Wituwamat, a redskin ruffian arrived from near Massachusetts Bay, and a Neponset native. It seems the visitors were there to induce the Nausets to join in a conspiracy to destroy the colony, a plot occasioned by the evil conduct of Weston's men at his Wessagusset settlement, which will be treated later. The Englishmen had started their plantation the summer or fall before, well furnished with supplies, but wasted them, plundered the Indians, beat them for depredations, lived riotously, and were vicious and hostile. When they became enfeebled, destitute, devoid of caution, and willing to get bread by doing menial service for the natives, they came to be despised and hated by the Neponsets, who were strong enough to destroy their place, although palisaded, only they feared the vengeance of the Pilgrims, and in order to be able to blot out both Wessagusset and Plymouth, they were seeking aid of other sachems.

At last fully aware of the peril, the little Plymouth town council sent Standish on April 4, 1623 with eight men to deal with the Neponsets. He found them contemptous, insolent and defiant, but by stratagem getting several of the fiercest spirits to enter a house, he and several of his men went in, locked the door, and in a tremendous hand to hand fight, killed them all. It is a thrilling tale. The rest appalled at the fate of their comrades became submissive, and being well used ceased their enmity. The head of Witawamat was taken to Plymouth and set up on the fort, begun the summer before on receipt of news of the frightful Indian massacre in Virginia. The lower part was being used for church and assembly purposes. The victory was a needed and salutary lesson to the Neponsets and other Indians far and near, and for fifty years thereafter the colony was free from serious Indian troubles.

It was the just and decent attitude of the Pilgrims that chiefly prevented such troubles. They found the site of their town unoccupied and without owners, and they took it. When lands elsewhere were wanted, they bargained and paid for them. They were scrupulously honest with the natives as well as firm, and treated them with justice, kindliness and friendship. As Gov. Josiah Winslow wrote in 1675: "I think I can clearly say that before these present troubles broke out,

the English did not possess one foot of land in this Colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors." And as opportunity arose the Gospel was given to them. As a mark of the results, toward the end of the century more than 500 praying Indians were living on the Cape beyond Yarmouth.

Troublesome Fellow Countrymen (1622–1624)

Peace with the Indians did not relieve troubles, and trials a plenty and serious enough came from their own countrymen. In the famine period of 1622 the adventurers in England were so ill advised as to send thirty-five newcomers empty handed in the *Fortune,* and the ship victualed for only one way. A harvest barely ample for 50 persons could not be stretched for 80, and in consequence for half the year all had only half rations. Their scanty store had to be eked out with gleanings from the fishing ships, purchases of corn from the Indians in cruisings of the shallop all around the bay shores. Some stores, together with trading goods, they got of the ship *Discovery* en route from Virginia to England. There was always recourse to fish, clams, and such game as their lack of skill could bring in. Sixty acres of corn were planted, but the colonists were weak and could scarcely care for it, and the crop proved light.

Hence the colonists had to enter the year 1623 with insufficient reserves; and by spring the famine prospect was the worst ever experienced, and the outlook was darkened by a severe drought. Since the adventurers had not kept their part of the contract anent supplies, and had brought them into this plight, it was determined that no longer should the colonists be supplied out of a common store, but every one by his own exertions. In consequence, the record runs that all toiled to such good purpose that the harvests were abundant, and the gaunt spectre of famine vanished forever.

Weston, already mentioned, once their friend became a pest and plague. Though he was the man who originally organized the merchant adventurers, early in 1622 he sent the Pilgrims word that he had withdrawn from the company and was to set up a colony of his own. In midsummer he arrived

with two ships, the *Charity* and the *Swan,* bringing some 60 men, a profane and brawling lot.

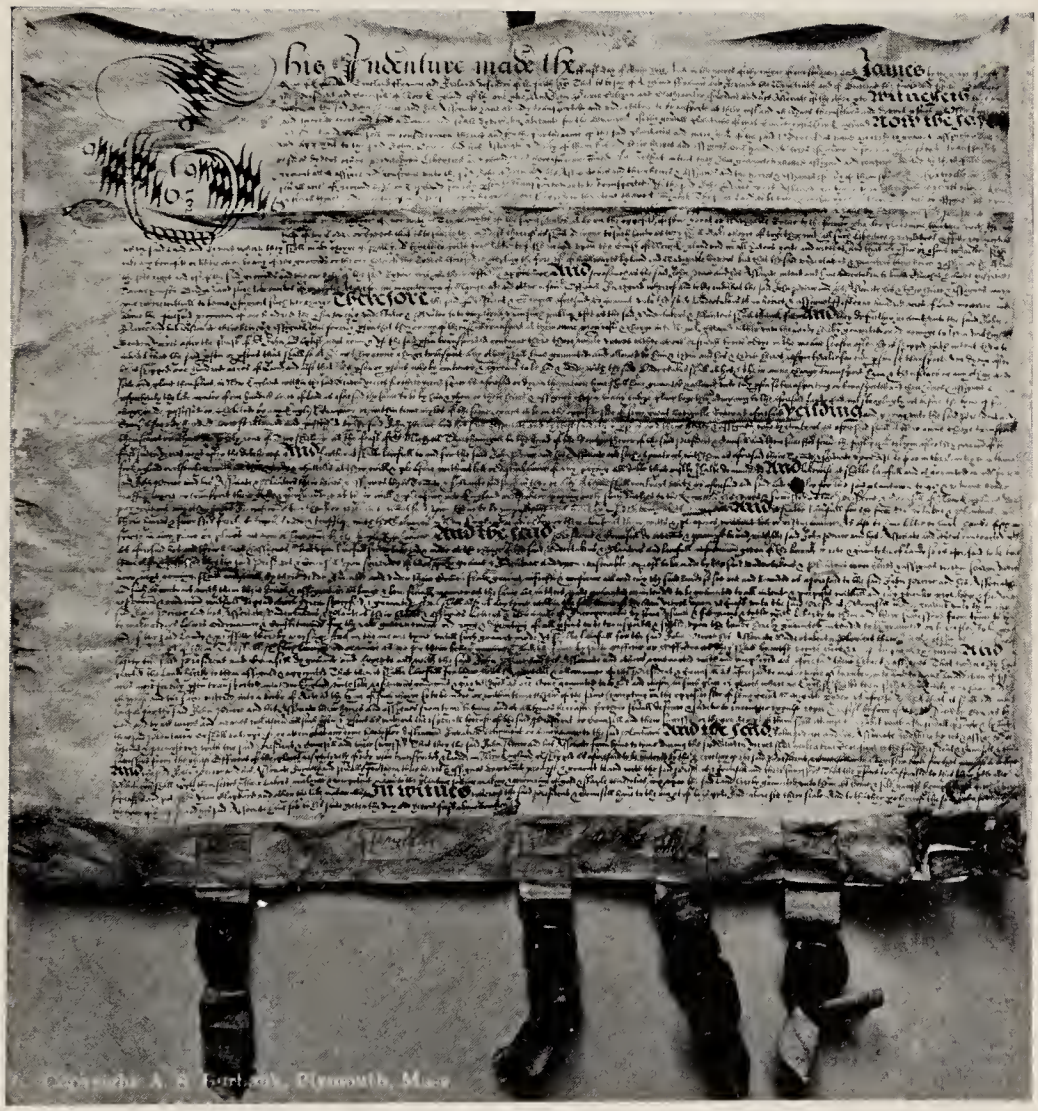
These men, under Weston's brother-in-law, Richard Greene, went to Weymouth and built their settlement at Wessagusset; soon after Standish's victory over the Indians there, it was abandoned and most of the men with their movable property joined the fishing fleet at Monhegan.

There was trouble attempted for them by another countryman also, and he too one of the adventurers, for John Pierce, in whose name in trust the patent of June, 1621, was made out, quietly managed to have this instrument exchanged for one issued directly to him, his heirs, associates and assigns, which constituted him the grand overlord of the region all around Plymouth. He equipped and sent out two expeditions with people to take possession of Plymouth, but both failed to reach America and he at last sold to the adventurers for £500 rights which had cost him £50. Late in July, 1623, arrived the ship *Anne* of 140 tons and the *Little James* of 44, with about 100 new settlers, many of them from Leyden. They came well supplied, but many were disappointed with the meagerness of the colony, and some were so ill disposed they had to be sent back. For the return the *Anne* was loaded with furs and "clapboards."

John Oldham, who bulks large in Pilgrim narrative, especially for the picturesque and painful way in which he was taught to go mend his manners, came in the *Anne,* and along with the cattle came John Lyford in the *Charity.* Both men were destined to give no little trouble to the Pilgrims.

The Turn of the Tide (1625–1630)

By 1625 the foundation period of the colony was over. For the most part it had been hard and grievous, and at times the colonists had had only a toe hold on the continent. When the tide in their affairs turned, the Pilgrims began to come into economic comfort and security from disturbances both from without and within. Their outward lot was far happier than it had been in Holland; and it is doubtful if people in their walk in life in the old country lived in the midst of such plenty.



From the original in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth

THE PIERCE PATENT OF 1621

There were several reasons for this: one reason for the economic well-being is indicated more at length in the chapter of this work on Economic Organization; another was the abandonment of the communism foisted on them by the adventurers. Women and children as well as men toiled in the fields, and amply sufficient returns for daily needs followed. Contributory to the prosperity of the colony was the gradual breaking up of the association of merchant adventurers, and their willingness to get what they could out of the enterprise and be rid of it. It is a question if the colonists owed them anything, when their toil and sufferings were put against the little that was done for them by the adventurers after the fitting of the *Mayflower;* and it is impossible to discover the amount of that just debt. In the end the adventurers were willing to sell all their interests in the colony and all claims against it of every kind for £1800. This sum, together with £600 for money borrowed at enormous interest, was in 1627 assumed in payment by Bradford and seven others of the colony, who were called undertakers, and were really trustees for the whole body of settlers. To enable them to render this great public service, they received a trading monopoly with the Indians, and the little settlements along the coast. The business of the colony now passed from the adventurers to the undertakers.

To provide for the contingency that the colony trade in their hands might prove insufficient to clear the debts they had become personally responsible for, the newcomers, whether in sympathy with the church and its ideals or not, were added to the freeholders; and all heads of families and self-supporting young men were enrolled as "purchasers." These men received each a share in the public property; and these shares were collateral for so much of the public debt as the trade should otherwise fail to pay. This action gave increased stability to the plan, and enlisted wider interest in the colony's future. The profits of the trade paid the debt, the purchasers were never called on. Thenceforward Plymouth was a self-owning and self-sufficient colony.

Another influence making for prosperity was a further distribution of land, so that every man came to possess enough to make a snug little farm, all his own to stock and till. A

patent, which proved a most valuable asset, was granted January 23, 1630, over the signature of the Earl of Warwick, president of the Council for New England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others; hence it was called the Warwick patent. It ran to William Bradford, his heirs, associates and assigns. It made the bounds of the colony nearly coextensive with the present Massachusetts counties of Plymouth, Barnstable and Bristol, and also assigned a territory in Maine on the Kennebec, beginning at the site of Augusta, and running down 13 miles, and east and west of the river 15 miles. It conferred authority to make laws and in fact almost all the privileges possessed by the Council itself. In 1640 Gov. Bradford, on request of the people, transferred the patent to the colony.

A royal charter had long been desired and sought, and in this same year 1630, the agents of the colony in London brought such influences to bear on the king that he ordered a charter drawn for Plymouth as liberal as that of Massachusetts Bay. It was sent to the lord treasurer for his approval as regards customs; but without authority the agents inserted provisions regarding these matters which that official refused to sanction, further action was dropped, and nothing came of a transaction which cost the colony £500.

The heavy task of clearing the obligations was made far more difficult by the lack of wisdom and the use of trickery and dishonesty on the part of Allerton and Shirley, who acted as their agents in England. Bradford says of the colonists that they were "abused in their simplicitie, and no beter then bought and sould, as it may seeme." Allerton was the only one among the colonial Pilgrim leaders who proved untrustworthy.

Fraudulent transactions like these increased the debts and long deferred the final payment, so the day of freedom from burdensome obligations did not come until March, 1646, when the colony had been a quarter century established. As Goodwin says, "Its debts had been inflated, its funds embezzled, its trade defrauded, and its confidence betrayed; but it had borne every burden without shrinking, and had preferred to endure fraud and robbery rather than risk any sacrifice of honor. Its leaders took care that every chance of wrong should fall

on themselves rather than on the public creditors who had treated them so unjustly. Repudiation is not a plant of Old Colony growth."

The Pilgrim Church (1620)

Plymouth colony began in a church, the church of English separatists of Scrooby and Leyden. In doctrinal position they were Calvinists in accord with the Reformed Churches generally, and even accepted the articles of the English church. A spiritual requirement for membership, and some matters of ecclesiastical administration separated them from the Anglican and other communions. For membership some evidence of a religious life was necessary, and every group of people giving such evidence and uniting in a covenant relation, was considered an independent church, entirely free in the management of its affairs from outside interference. Fellowship in church meeting combined with independence was the touchstone of the Plymouth organization.

From the start attempts were made to break down these principles and to force conformity to the Church of England. It was this pressure that compelled the withdrawal to Holland, and while there they were not entirely free from English interference. The adventurers were probably for the most part unaware that the Pilgrims were going to America to set up religious practices in the colony at variance with those of the national church. An Anglican clergyman, Rev. William Morrell, came to Plymouth with Robert Gorges in 1623, bringing with him a commission authorizing him to compel conformity to Anglican practices. Finding the church a feeble folk and not inclined to his services, like a man of sense and character, he preferred to be no troubler.

In March, 1624, came Rev. John Lyford, of the Puritan party in the English Church, and he soon began plotting with John Oldham for the subversion of both church and colony. They were a pretty pair of worthies. Lyford utterly belied his puritan connection in the national church, and in fact all professions to any moral or spiritual life. He was an unscrupulous and grossly immoral hypocrite. He urged in let-

ters to the adventurers the sending over of enough newcomers to swing the church and the control of the town to their liking; and in other ways and with lying accusations he sought the undoing of the colony. His trial and banishment along with Oldham form one of the most interesting episodes in its early years. Three thousand miles from England, and not free from ecclesiastical mischief makers!

De Rasieres, the secretary of the Dutch government at Manhattan, visited Plymouth in 1627, and on returning to Holland wrote a description of the place and of the services of the church. He says: "Upon the hill they have a large, square house with a flat roof, made of thick sawn planks, stayed with oak beams, upon top of which they have six cannons, which shoot iron balls of four and five pounds, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for a church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor in a long robe; beside him on the right hand comes the preacher with his cloak on; and on the left hand the captain with his side arms and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him." The service consisted of the reading of the Geneva Bible, prayer, psalm singing, a sermon, and an offertory was taken by the people passing the deacon's seat and dropping their money.

Brewster, the ruling elder, preached twice Sunday, but being a layman, thought it best not to administer the sacraments. In 1628 Allerton (with no authority) brought over a young clergyman named Rogers, furnishing him with clothes and passage out of the colony funds. He proved to be insane and the Pilgrims were at the expense of sending him back. Later Ralph Smith and John Reynor, ordained men, served as pastors in succession until 1654.

In the 1630's frequent occupants of the pulpit were two of the most distinguished men of the period, Roger Williams and Charles Chauncy. Williams spent two years in the colony and supported himself by hard manual labor. His ministra-

tions were generally enjoyed, but being as John Quincy Adams has styled him "a conscientious contentious Christian," he created some division by advancing certain views which he afterwards put forth at Salem, but apparently not connected with the baptismal controversy. Chauncy was a resident of Plymouth for nearly three years, coming on the solicitation of the church to assist Mr. Reynor, but his insistence that baptism was only by immersion seems to have kept him from any official connection with the church, altho the people were willing for him to administer the rite that way, and let Mr. Reynor administer it in other ways, a surprisingly liberal position for that day; but Chauncy would not hear to the solution and left for Scituate. Afterwards, having learned to keep certain of his views to himself, he became the second president of Harvard College.

Like the Baptists and the Society of Friends the Pilgrims were among the most tolerant Christians of their times, the chief blot on their record as respects intolerance being their treatment of the Quakers. Not one of them was ever put to death, nor any so called witch, but five were publicly whipped and the departure from the colony of ten members of the sect was enforced. It must be remembered that not all Quakers were conducting themselves in a becoming way toward worship in the churches. As to tolerance it has been well said by Gardiner that "the question was not whether they were to tolerate others, but whether they were to give others the opportunity of being intolerant to them."

A picturesque example of the gentlemanly and Christian treatment of one far removed in religious practices is afforded in the visit to Plymouth of the French Jesuit Gabriel Druillette on December 22, 1650. He was accredited as an ambassador by the governor of Canada to treat of matters relating to the Abenaki indians. The day being Friday Governor Bradford served a fine fish dinner, and the Father left deeply appreciative of his hospitable entertainment.

The first winter (1628-29) of Endecott's colony in Salem, the mortality was like that of the Pilgrims their first winter, and a call to Plymouth for help brought Dr. Samuel Fuller northward. He ministered to the sick and proved of signal service, and explained the church situation in the older colony

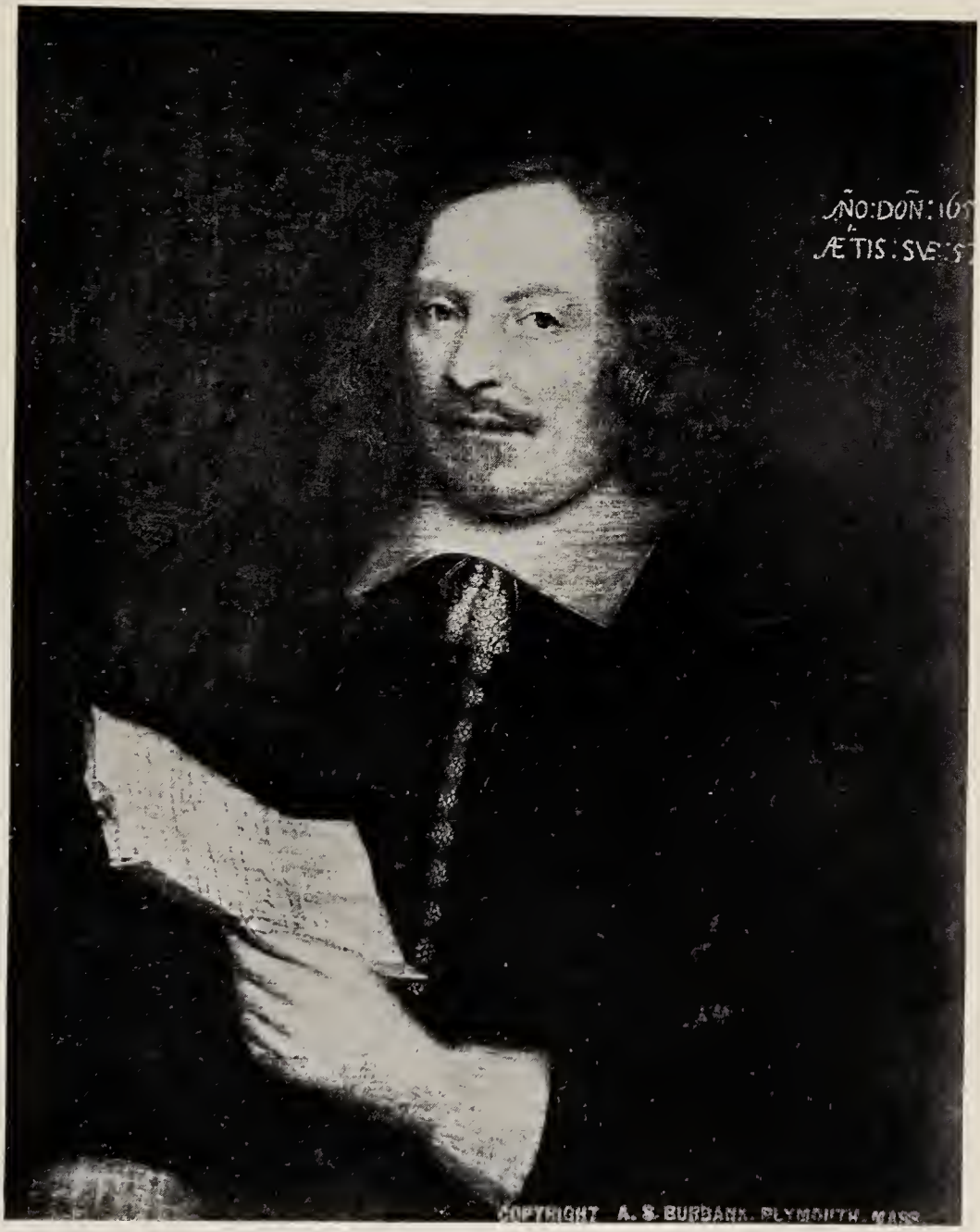
and the practical working of separatist principles. And in 1632 Gov. Winthrop of the Bay colony, and his pastor, Wilson of the Boston church, spent a Sunday with the church in Plymouth. In this and other ways the little church in the fort on the hill had some influence in helping to win to a like ecclesiastical position the early settlers of Massachusetts Bay, still members of the Church of England. It seems certain that the more tolerant and genial spirit of Plymouth had large effect in softening the harshness and rigidity of the Puritan temper in New England.

The Plymouth Government (1620–1640)

The administration of the colony, once the merchant adventurers had been bought out, proved singularly free from English interference, due in part to the disturbances leading to the civil war in the mother country. It was based on the Compact signed in the *Mayflower* cabin, wherein they had combined themselves into a civil body politic to enact just and equal laws, and to give due obedience and submission to them. After 1630 they also relied on the Warwick patent giving Bradford and his associates power to make such laws. The great basic principle of the colony was equal rights for participants in the government, and common duties for justice, order and the safety of the whole community.

For the first three years the governor and one assistant comprised the administration, and they were elected in town meeting, which was also the general court, the purest form of democracy. Later there were five and then seven assistants. No general scheme of government, like that of Connecticut was ever framed; but new devices were created and laws enacted as they were seen to be needed. For years there was no lawyer in the colony and no justice of the peace, and for fifteen years little legislation on the statute book. In that period the settlement was small and not widely scattered, and the high character of the people as a whole, and the wisdom and sagacity of the leaders kept the public affairs sound and peaceful.

In the latter part of the first decade, the people began to spread across the harbor to Duxbury, and as the dispersion went on, and newcomers arrived at Scituate, Barnstable and



From the portrait in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth Copyright, A. S. Burbank, Plymouth, Mass.

GOVERNOR EDWARD WINSLOW

elsewhere, new towns were organized: Scituate in 1636; Duxbury in 1637, under the gospel ministry of Rev. Ralph Partridge, escaped from the persecutions of Archbishop Laud of England; Taunton, Sandwich, Barnstable and Yarmouth in 1639; and Marshfield in 1640.

This diffusion of population made necessary a change in the government from a pure to a representative democracy. Therefore, the first general representative assembly met in Plymouth in 1639, and the little settlements became the Pilgrim Republic.

Plymouth of course was made the capital, and was given four votes in the assembly, each of the other towns having two. The governor and his seven assistants formed the upper house, and the town deputies the lower, but all sat and voted together as one body. Each town paid the salary of its own deputies. The general court as the assembly was usually called, met four times a year, and bills presented at one session went over to the next for action. The governor, his assistants and the treasurer were elected at one of these sessions, which was called the court of elections. An appeal lay from the court enactments to the freemen of the colony, who alone as a general thing had the right to vote. Provision was made for voting by proxy, and fines could be imposed for not voting.

Who were the freemen? Not all who came in the *Mayflower,* for some were indented servants; but all those surviving who signed the Compact; and thereafter for some time others added by majority vote of those already freemen. In 1636 every freeman had to take the oath of allegiance to the king and to the colony. A dozen years beyond the period now under consideration, the requirements for the suffrage were made more stringent, and candidates had to be 21 years of age, and possessed of local town endorsement, sober, peaceful and orthodox in religion, and with a ratable estate of £20. Church membership appears never to have been required as a condition of suffrage.

In 1636 a committee of eight from Plymouth, Scituate and Duxbury drew up a code of laws, revising the forty statutes then in force, and this became the body of colonial laws. The penal statutes were mild, capital offenses being limited to six or seven; and for only two of these were people ever deprived

of life by legal process. At that time there were 31 such offenses in England; and so rapidly did statute barbarity increase in the mother land that in 1819 they reached the incredible number of 223. The Pilgrim statutes are a testimony to the truth that stiff Puritan doctrine was not a bar to humane and considerate treatment of one's neighbor. Just as the Plymouth government was a proof that the rule of the elders, such as persisted in Massachusetts for half a century, was not necessary in a Christian, Protestant and Puritan Commonwealth.

Neighbors of Plymouth (1620–1643)

Trade brings different peoples into close relations, but profitable trade needs a medium of exchange. In his visit De Rasieres, the Dutchman, taught Plymouth folk the use of wampum, an Indian currency circulating in the vicinity of Manhattan. These small sea shells, polished, drilled and strung, were attractive, represented labor, and like modern jewelry, were thought a mark of distinction among the natives. The Plymouth folk bought £50 worth and soon its use became general in their Indian trade.

The enterprising Dutch made a lodgment on Manhattan Island in 1619, and soon were cruising along the coast of southern New England. Their closest trade fort was Manomet, on Buzzards Bay where the Plymouth people early built a trading station. Two Englishmen were kept there with a pinnace. Foundations of this station have recently been dug up, along with relics of its occupancy. A thriving trade was done with the Dutch at this point. Later, on the solicitation of the Indians on the Connecticut a Plymouth bark was sent up the river, but the Dutch, with an eye to that same region, had established a post at Hartford. They threatened the Pilgrims, but the latter sailed by and built a station at Windsor near the falls. The following year a Dutch force of 70 men was sent against it, but so resolute were the men behind the stockade that they withdrew. A good paying traffic was done at this point for some years; but they were unjustly dispossessed in 1636 by the Hooker Company made up out of the Newtown (Cambridge) church. Commercial relations with

the Dutch never came to armed conflict, and were usually friendly.

Relations with the French were early and disagreeable. Plymouth was remote from Maine, but the grant of land on the Kennebec and the building of a post at Augusta increased a lucrative trade already begun. When Allerton got a grant on the Penobscot at Castine, and asked the Plymouth undertakers to go in with him, for the protection of their Kennebec trade they felt compelled to accept. The Plymouth representative found Allerton's agents unreliable and the French under D'Aulnay, who was so mixed up with Massachusetts affairs, finally took posession of the post and of the trade.

Prior to the coming of the Puritans to Massachusetts Bay in force in 1630, little settlements had been springing up along the coast from Naumkeag to Piscataqua, among them that of Captain Wollaston near Boston at a place called after him Mt. Wollaston. He went there in 1625 with a large company of men, chiefly indented servants, and finding the climate unsuitable to his purpose, removed with a part of his followers to Virginia.

Among the remnant left was one Thomas Morton, who by craft, seized the leadership, and became a "veritable lord of misrule," with much of drunkenness and licentiousness in his train. He set up the famous May-pole which figures so much in the narratives of the times. It was a wild and brawling place, and seemed likely to denude the settlements of their indented servants, while the sale of firearms to the Indians threatened their very existence. Warnings were sent by the straggling plantations but were unheeded. Finally Plymouth was asked to assist in abating the nuisance, and Standish was sent there with his men, probably in May, 1628. He managed to capture Morton without loss of life to either side, and bring him to Plymouth, whence he was sent by way of the "Ile of Shols" to England. Morton, who was something of a wit dubbed Standish "Captain Shrimp". He also wrote *New English Canaan,* in which Puritan creeds and practices are bitterly satirized.

By 1628 it was evident that Plymouth colony was an assured success and daily putting on strength; this was no small factor in stimulating the large, wealthy and powerful stream

of immigration to the Bay, beginning in 1630. The great colony planted there with its superior site, strength, resources and prospects, was naturally self-assertive and domineering.

An instance of this spirit was their interference in the Hocking case on the Kennebec in 1634, when Hocking, leading a poaching party on the Pilgrim trade, was shot by Moses Talbot, and the latter killed as well. The affair was wholly outside the Bay jurisdiction, but when a Plymouth vessel put into Boston harbor, Alden, as a prominent Plymouth man, was taken off and imprisoned, which led to sharp exchanges of thought. Plymouth, on the other hand, ceased to be the one well established English plantation between Virginia and Canada, and as the feebler party was inclined to be somewhat touchy in occasional controversies.

Some other disputes of greater moment like the driving of the Pilgrims from their Windsor post by the Connecticut people in 1635 left bitterness, accented by various boundary disputes. The Massachusetts patent defined the southern limits of that colony as being three miles south of the Charles River. Did this mean three miles south of the mouth, or of the most southerly affluent? On Plymouth's western border, the Bay claimed Seekonk (Rehoboth), probably because they wanted it. Working agreements on the boundary were made until a formal settlement, which is discussed in the chapter on the United Colonies of New England, was settled on.

The relations of the sister colonies, however were generally friendly and mutually helpful. The Bay greatly stimulated Plymouth trade by supplying a large market for all the Pilgrims could raise; and on their side furnished them with horses and other merchandise not easily obtainable by the smaller colony. Since no natural boundaries existed, the people of the two colonies inevitably grew together. Their commercial interests were not antagonistic; and after 1660 ecclesiastical differences gradually lost distinction.

In 1643 the New England confederation known as the United Colonies was formed, as set forth in Chapter IX of this volume which lasted forty years, and was the forerunner of the larger union of larger colonies in the century following. The people of the New England colonies were English, of the same general religious and political opinions,

all standing in much the same relations to the Indians, the Dutch in Manhattan, the French in Acadia, and the homeland. The union was for the common protection, the settlement of boundary disputes and other difficulties, and the furtherance of their common interests.

Economics and Life

No exact figures as to population after the first few years are available. At the landing in 1620 it was 102, and a year later 86. John Smith tells us that in 1624 it was 180 with 32 houses. In 1630 the town of Plymouth is thought to have had about 300 inhabitants, of whom about 150 later migrated to Eastham. In 1644 there were 8 towns and a population of 3000, on the basis of the colony's quota of 30 men to the forces of the United Colonies, one man to every hundred inhabitants; however, that total seems too large. In 1693, just after the merging with the Massachusetts Bay colony, the Plymouth section is credited with 17,000 people.

Small as was the population and slow the increase, the colony was an economic success. No great wealth was acquired as in the larger Puritan colony, where large means came in the ships with the people, while Plymouth started with nothing but a big debt to the adventurers. Nevertheless, after the first few trying years the Plymouth people in general were in the enjoyment of the fare and the comforts of the New England colonists elsewhere, and had in plenty all the means of subsistence. The inventories and wills reveal that property to a good amount was possessed by no inconsiderable number of the Plymouth folk.

The fisheries at times brought into the colonies considerable profits. The fur trade was remunerative until the growth of other colonies nearer to the source caused it to wane. Farming was the chief occupation, and almost everything eaten, worn and otherwise used was raised or fashioned on the farm. Every householder in 1639 was compelled by law to sow a square rod of hemp or flax. No industries in the modern sense were established in seventeenth century Plymouth, but saw and grist mills sprang up; there were the beginnings of working of bog iron, and later of fulling mills. Tobacco was

raised in large quantites as a commodity of commerce; and an extensive trade was carried on in corn, cattle and dressed lumber. As truly in efforts to better their economic condition and enjoy more of the good things of life, as in their purpose to continue the liberty of worship, such as they had in Holland, the Pilgrim colony was, all things considered an outstanding economic success. The people reached their goal of self government under conditions of moderate comfort.

In 1643 Elder Brewster died. Next to Robinson and for many years he was the great spirtual teacher and leader of the Pilgrims. His was a most remarkable life. A student in Cambridge University, present as an attendant on Willam Davison, secretary of state, at the Queen's court when Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser and Walter Raleigh were also there, master of the King's post at the little village of Scrooby, with Brewer a printer of proscribed Puritan books in Leyden, revered and beloved pastor in all but man's ordination of the little church in the wilderness, Brewster was in the opinon of many, the first among his equals in fostering those moral and spiritual elements of strength, which underlie all great and enduring undertakings.

A little later occurred the long discussed removal of a large contingent of town and church from Plymouth to Eastham. The decline in the population of the town and the setting up of other towns was ascribed to Plymouth's location in the bottom of the bay, with no rivers flowing in from the wilderness. Eastham was inferior in situation to Plymouth. This migration greatly grieved Bradford who feared for the "poore church left . . . growne olde, and forsaken of her children . . . and like a widow left only to trust in God."

Considering the meagreness of the colony's population in the first half of its separate existence, it possessed a large number of remarkable men. Besides the great leaders already mentioned there were among the ministers Ralph Partridge, of Duxbury and known by the particular enmity of Archbishop Laud, one of the formulators of the famous Cambridge Platform of 1648; John Lothrop, pastor of the London Jacob Church of 1616, who led thirty of his flock to Scituate in 1634, and later took a part of the church to Barnstable; Samuel Newman, an Oxford scholar, who located in Seekonk

in 1644; and Thomas Mayhew, the first of the five Mayhews, who were missionaries to the Indians of Martha's Vineyard. Among the many laymen, was Timothy Hatherly, an adventurer who cast his lot with the colony in 1632 and was treasurer, commissioner and assistant; James Cudworth, was as a military man perhaps second in fame only to Miles Standish; John Brown was a fearless defender of the colony's rights; Thomas Willet, once the agent of the Castine trading post, was afterward much engaged in trade with the Dutch, and so much in their confidence, that when the English took Manhattan he became the first mayor of New York. Others equally able and influential came forward in the latter period of the colony, and their descendants became men of prominence and mark after incorporation of the colony into Massachusetts in 1691.

The Great Achievement

Plymouth colony occupies a large and honorable place in the history of New England and Massachusetts. It was founded by a little company of brave and faithful souls, poor in goods but rich in spirit. They were neglected by their capitalist partners, wronged by their own countrymen, defrauded by some of their own number, sorely bereaved and afflicted; yet they founded the first English settlement north of the Potomac that succeeded and stayed. The great Pilgrim achievement was in breaking the ice, in showing the way, in giving a demonstration that Englishmen could plant a colony on the north Atlantic coast, and by their own efforts as colonists soon make it self sustaining and prosperous.

Theirs is also the teaching, significant in the history of human liberty, that it could grow into a civil state, under the English crown and loyal to it, and yet by reason of the vast distance from the homeland remain largely free from interference by the English government, and practically independent in its own internal affairs. That demonstration was eagerly watched in England, and the lesson was soon taken to heart, for six and perhaps nine of the merchant adventurers, who financed the voyage of the *Mayflower* and had ample means of learning what was being done in Plymouth later be-

came guarantors of the Bay colony. Their influence through this inspirational factor of their own creation on the Bay colony, and through it on New England and far beyond, has been in a high degree constructive in the religious and political life of the country.

How did they accomplish this triumph? How were they able to make the demonstration? Because they had been, as they said, inured to hardness in Holland and were not easily discouraged, because they crossed the seas with wives and children, not as an expedition to return, but as a migration to stay. Because they founded homes and secured genial economic living conditions. Because they were men of honor and integrity, honest and just in all their dealings. Because they had faith in God, and were persistent followers of their ideals.

From such men and such groups great achievements spring. They were the brave and hardy scouting line of the English people, the advance guard of the mighty tides of immigration that have filled the northern tier of States from sea to sea. As such this feeble folk, few in number, earning their own bread by hard work have placed themselves among the best known people of all time. Because of what they were and what they did the larger colony to the northward came speedily into being. Plymouth could not continue merely Plymouth because in all its life and interests it was closely knit with its neighbor. It was not separated from its neighbors by religious differences as were the Narragansett settlements. It was not cut off by the wilderness like Connecticut and New Haven. It was inevitable therefore that in the end it should contribute its own rich and lasting values to what has become the great and forward looking Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARBER, Edward.—*The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* (London, Ward & Downey, 1897).—Contains Mourt's *Relation,* and Winslow's *Relation, or Good News from New England.* Complete and valuable from 1606 to 1623.

BANCROFT, George.—*History of the United States* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1837).—See I, Chap. viii.

BRADFORD, William.—*At Plymouth Plantation,* published under title *History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647* (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1912).—Also a one volume addition.

BRADFORD, William.—*History of Plymouth Plantation* (Boston, by the State, 1898).—Chief source for the period. Several other editions.

BRADFORD, William.—*Letter Book* (In Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings* for 1794, vol. III).—The first 338 pp. missing. First hand information.

BRIGHAM, William, editor.—*The Compact with the Charter and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth* (Boston, by the State, 1836).

BROWN, John.—*The Pilgrim Fathers* (Boston, Congregational Publishing Society, 1895).—Scholarly work by an Englishman.

BURRAGE, Champlain, editor.—*John Pory's Lost Description of Plymouth Colony* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1918).—One of the earliest acounts by a visitor en route from Virginia to England in 1622.

DAVIS, William T.—*Ancient Landsmarks of Plymouth* (Boston, Damrell & Upham, 1889).—Chapters i to iii. By a painstaking antiquarian.

DEXTER, Morton.—*The Story of the Pilgrims* (Boston, Congregational Publishing Society, 1894).—Brief relation by a competent authority.

GOODWIN, John A.—*The Pilgrim Republic* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1920).—Admirable account of the Colony for entire separate existence. Next to Bradford the best book.

HART, Albert Bushnell, editor.—*American History told by Contemporaries* (New York, Macmillan, 1908).—Vol. I, chap. 15. Writings by men of the times and places.

LORD, Arthur.—*The Mayflower Compact* (Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, 1921).—Critical inquiry into its nature, purpose and influence.

MASON, Thomas.—*New Lights on the Pilgrim Story* (London, Congregational Union, 1920).—On English family connections of the Pilgrim Fathers.

MEMORIAL, Mourt's *Relation,* first published in 1622, Cushman's *Discourse,* Bradford's *Dialogue,* and smaller parts.—Has the intimate touch of the Fathers themselves. Best edition of Mourt's *Relation* is Dexter's, with notes.

MORTON, Nathaniel.—*New England's Memorial* (Boston, Club of Odd Volumes, 1903).—Facsimile edition with introduction by Arthur Lord. Many other editions. Also in Young's *Chronicles.*

MORTON, Thomas.—*The New English Canaan* (Boston, the Prince Society, 1883).—With introduction and notes by Charles Francis Adams Jr. Bright light on Morton and the Merry Mount affair.

NOBLE, Frederick K.—*The Pilgrims* (Boston, Pilgrim Press, 1907).—Excellent account arranged for the most part topically.

PALFREY, John G.—*History of New England* (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1899).—Vol. I, chapters 4 to 6. Good brief account written before finding of the Bradford Book.

SHURTLEFF, Nathaniel, editor.—*Records of the Colony of New Plymouth* (Boston, by the State, 1855).

SMITH, Capt. John.—*A Description of New England,* also *New England's Trials* (in Works vol. I, p. 175, Arber's English Scholar's Library, London, 1884).—Information from one at Plymouth six years before the Pilgrims.

SYLVESTER, Herbert M.—*Indian Wars of New England* (Boston, W. B. Clarke Co., 1910).—Complete account of Plymouth's Indian relations.

THACHER, James.—*History of the Town of Plymouth* (Boston, Marsh, Capen & Lyon, 1835).—By a long time resident and historical student.

USHER, Roland G.—*The Pilgrims and their History* (New York, Macmillan, 1918).—Good, especially on economic side.

WEEDEN, William B.—*Economic and Social History of New England* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1891).—Contains many side lights on living conditions.

YOUNG, Alexander.—*The Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* (Boston, Little & Brown, 1897).

CHAPTER V

THE MASSACHUSETTS CHARTER AND THE BAY COLONY (1628–1660)

By John Dickinson
Lecturer on Government, Harvard University

Origins

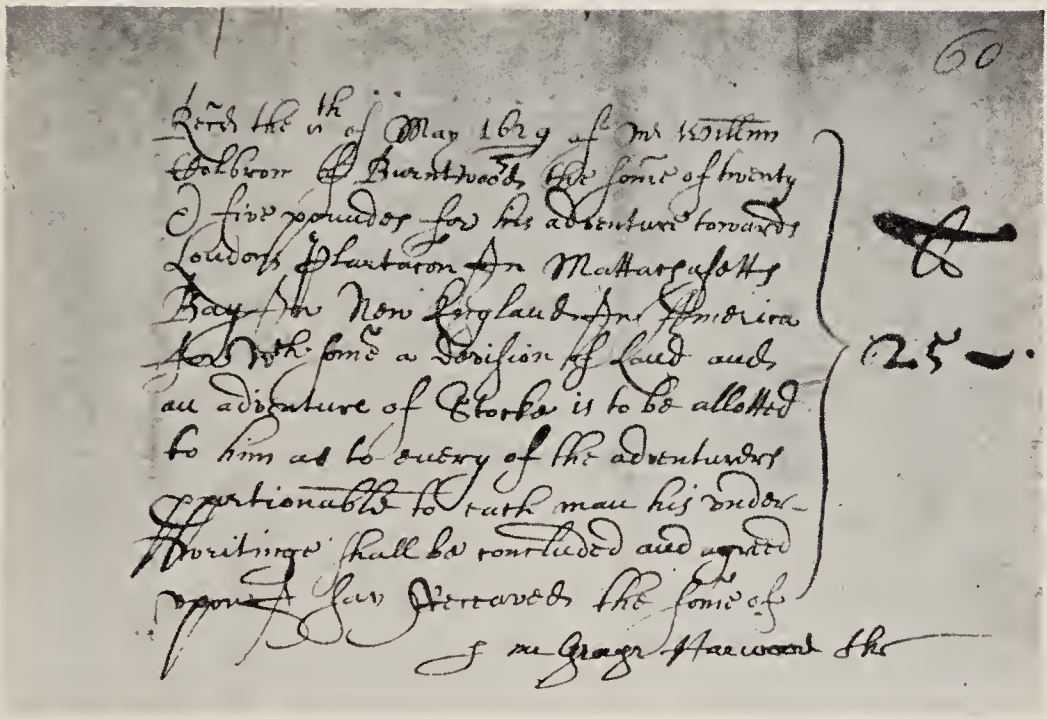
To the Pilgrims of Plymouth belongs the honor of having planted the first permanent settlement which was to become a part of Massachusetts; but the growth and expansion of the Commonwealth trace back directly to the great migration of John Winthrop and his associates of the Massachusetts Bay Company nine years later, which peopled the country about Salem and Boston. It was the Bay colony which expanded into the Province and then to the Commonwealth and in the fulness of time absorbed the settlement of the Pilgrims.

Considering the industrial and commercial greatness of the present state there is a certain fitness in the fact that the origins of the Bay colony are connected with business no less than religion. The "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," the official style by which the colony was designated during the first half century of its existence, originated as a private trading company,—as one of those commercial corporations, like the East India Company, or the Hudson Bay Company of a later time, which pushed outward the boundaries of English empire by extending the radius of English commerce; and a trading company it remained in legal form and in its framework of organization until its charter was revoked in 1684. How, to use James Byrce's words, this "trading company grew into a colony, and the colony into a state," is the story which it is the purpose of the present chapter to tell.

The English Trading Companies (1553–1648)

British colonial expansion, from the days of John Cabot to the days of Cecil Rhodes, has proceeded almost always in its first stages through the medium of private business enterprise, and in close step with the expansion of foreign trade. As is shown in the first chapter of this volume impulse for foreign trade leaped forward suddenly in Tudor England after the middle of the sixteenth century. The greater part of this activity took place through chartered companies, of which the Muscovy Company and the Adventurers to Guinie, both founded in 1553, were the earliest, and of which later examples were the Levant or "Turkey" Company (1582), the East India Company (1600), the Virginia Company (1606), the Bermuda (Somers Islands) Company (1611), and the African Company (1618).

These chartered trading companies bridge the gap between the mediaeval guild, or economic brotherhood, and the modern business corporation. While they were the forerunners of the modern corporation, they differed from it in a number of important respects. For one thing, they often had no permanent capital or "stock," but were mere associations of individuals, some or all of whom would from time to time contribute their share to the temporary capital needed for a particular voyage or "adventure." The essential characteristic of the company was thus not the ownership by the members of a share of the capital, but their participation in a common line of enterprise, and consequently in the common advancement or protection of their interests. In many of the companies all the shareholders had an equal vote without regard to the amount of their contributions. Their motive for such organization was in part the fact that it was the tradition and habit of the time; and in part it was to secure the special favor and protection of the crown in foreign lands, and to avoid the dangers and losses of competition between fellow-countrymen in their dealings with foreigners. It was a time of intense particularism when foreigners were everywhere looked on with active distrust and were generally held jointly liable for the misdeeds of any of their nationality.



From the original in the Massachusetts Archives

A £25 Share in the Massachusetts Bay Company

For these reasons the functions of the governing body of a sixteenth or seventeenth century company, its "governor" and "assistants" as they were often called, were much wider in scope than those of their modern counterpart, the board of directors of a corporation. Not only did they have to manage such common business ventures as the company engaged in, and see to the profitable use of the "stock" contributed to those ventures, but they were also empowered to oversee the conduct of the members in many ways. Minute rules were often laid down not only as to the times and manner of trading, but also as to the details of the social and private activities of the members. "How far-reaching some of the ordinances of the latter class were, may be realized by the citation of one of them, which forbade any member to marry an alien under penalty of the forfeiture of his membership."

In addition, there survived from the older guilds something of the tradition of social solidarity among the members, reaching beyond their mere economic association for business purposes. This tendency is shown in the usual designation of the members as "brethren" or "freemen" of the company; and in the occasional use of the term "society" or "fellowship" or "brotherhood" to describe the company itself. A corporation of this character operating at a distance from England was obviously a "body-politic" in a fuller and more complete sense than a modern business corporation; and consequently better fitted to expand, if given the opportunity, into a full-fledged political community.

In no instance except the Massachusetts Bay Company did such political expansion take place. In Russia, in Asia, in Hudson Bay the business activities more and more engrossed them. They were associations of business men, who, if engaged in colonization, remained in London, and sent out colonists to their plantations to be governed there on such terms as the company thought most consistent with the profit of its own members and with the tenure on which it held its lands from the crown. The most familiar example of such a relationship between colonists and company is afforded by the Virginia Company of London under its early charters. The colony on the James River was a proprietary province, subject to a business company in London as its overlord and

proprietor. The Company consisted of the holders of shares, which were transferable, and represented a contribution to the joint-stock; and while the colonists, or "planters," were entitled to shares for their investment of time and labor, nevertheless since the meetings, or "courts," of the shareholders were held in London, the planters had no effective voice in the management of the Company.

Massachusetts Charter in England (1629)

"The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," derived its corporate existence from a charter which passed the seals March 4, 1629, and created a company which in the letter of its patent was of the same general character as the Virginia Company of London. The charter granted and confirmed to the Company "all that part of New England in America" bounded on the south by a line drawn three miles south of the Charles River, and on the north by a line drawn three miles north of the Merrimac River, and extending from the Atlantic Ocean on the east "to the south sea on the west." The management of the Company, like that of other chartered companies of a similar nature, was to be in the hands of a governor, a deputy governor, and eighteen "assistants," (or, as we should say, directors) of whom seven, together with the governor or deputy governor, were to constitute a quorum "for the better ordering and directing of their affairs." Four times in every year there was to be held a "great and general court," or meeting of all the "freemen," or members, of the Company. At these meetings the freemen, wherein were always to be included the governor and six assistants, were empowered to admit new members to the freedom of the Company, and to make laws and ordinances "for the good and welfare of the said company, and for the government and ordering of the said land, and plantation and the people inhabiting the same . . . so as such laws and ordinances be not contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes . . . of England." The governor, deputy governor and other officers were to be chosen annually by the greater part of the freemen present at the court held during the Easter term.

Of the twenty-six original incorporators to whom the charter was granted, ten or more were later active members of the Bay colony. Whether at the time when the charter was issued it was their purpose to do more than found a commercial company for profit is a point which probably must always remain doubtful. The grant of the charter came as the culmination of several years of tentative and more or less unsuccessful experiments at colonizing without a charter within the territory later covered by the grant; but the history of these experiments sheds little light on the real purpose of the promoters of the enterprise, and their methods, particularly toward the end, are marked by a significant indirectness and caution.

The Dorchester Adventure (1623–1627)

The project had its inception in the town of Dorchester in 1623. Merchants of the neighborhood, who were sending ships on yearly voyages to fish for cod off the New England coast, conceived the idea that by founding a settlement on the mainland in the neighborhood of the fisheries they would not merely have at their service a larger number of hands for the fishing, but that during the rest of the year these surplus hands might be employed in agriculture, raising fresh provisions to victual the ships or to sell at a profit to other fishermen frequenting the coast. The local minister, John White, had some share in the merchants' counsel, and a faint religious motive seems to have colored their project. It was pointed out that the fishermen "being usually upon these voyages nine or ten months in the year, they were left all the while without any means of [religious] instruction." Thus some "compassion toward the fishermen and partly some expectation of gain prevailed so far that there was raised a stock of £3000"—equivalent in the difficulty of raising the capital to $500,000 nowadays.

The Dorchester Adventurers chose the site of the present town of Gloucester, and placed in charge of it Roger Conant of Nantasket, who had fallen out with the men of Plymouth and left that colony because of religious differences. From the first the venture was financially disappointing; matters

were not improved by removing the settlement from Gloucester to Salem; and in 1627 the enterprise, in modern language, was "reorganized," and seems to have come more fully under the control of a group strongly influenced by religious motives. The services of John Endecott, an active church member at Dorchester, were secured to supersede Conant; and through the influence of the Earl of Warwick, a Puritan nobleman, a grant of land to Endecott and five associates was procured from the Council for New England, covering substantially the same territory between the Merrimac and the Charles which was afterwards granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company. Complications subsequently arose from the fact that some of this land had already been granted by the Council to Robert Gorges; but Gorges thought at the time that his rights were safeguarded.

The Massachusetts Company (1628–1629)

So far nothing indicates that motives other than financial dominated the enterprise. The project seems, however, to have begun about this time to attract the attention of a group of well-to-do persons of strong Puritan convictions in the eastern counties, including a number connected with the family or household of the Earl of Lincoln, who had already been discussing the desirability of "planting the gospel in New England." These associated themselves with the holders of the Endecott grant, and applied directly to the crown for the charter which was in due course issued to them under the name of the Massachusetts Bay Company. A modern scholar, Professor C. M. Andrews of Yale, has written that "it has always been a matter for surprise that the associates were able to gain the support of the crown." Their action was a deliberate defiance both of Gorges and the Council for New England. But Gorges was absent in France at the time, and the associates had the support of Warwick's influence. "The charter was obtained March 4, 1621,—how we do not know." Six days later Charles I dissolved Parliament, announced that princes are not bound to give account of their actions but to God alone, proclaimed his intention of reigning without a parliament, and "inhibited all men upon the penalty of censure so much as to speak of a parliament."

During the following spring and summer opinion was at a white heat of excitement among the factions in England which were in opposition to the crown, and there was much hurrying to and fro and consulting together among prominent Puritans. Endecott had already gone out to Salem with additional settlers, and the Massachusetts Company continued to correspond with him about trade and planting, cattle and fish, sassafras and sarsaparilla root; but the minds of many of its leading members were apparently on larger things.

At a general court (stockholders' meeting) held July 28, 1629, the governor, Matthew Cradock, "read certain propositions, viz. that for the advancement of the plantation, the encouraging persons of quality to transplant themselves . . . thither, . . . to transfer the government of the plantation to those who shall inhabit there, and not to continue the same in subordination to the Company here, as now it is." The question was adjourned for deeper consideration by the members; "and in the meantime they are desired to carry this business secretly, that the same be not divulged." Apparently, selected friends were taken into their confidence; promising recruits were solicited; and at Cambridge, August 26, 1629, an agreement was entered into between twelve gentlemen of substance, a majority of whom were already members of the Company, binding themselves to emigrate with their families to the new plantation "provided that before the last of September next the whole government, together with the patent for the said plantation, be first, by an order of court, legally transferred and to remain with us and others which shall inhabit upon the said plantation." The connection of John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley with the history of Massachusetts commences with their appearance as signers of this document. Three days later at a general court of the Company, "by erection of hands it appeared by the general consent of the company that the government and patent should be settled in New England."

Steps were at once taken to divorce the financial activities of the Company from its political functions. A board of ten, called undertakers, and headed by Winthrop, agreed to take over the Company's assets and liabilities and in return to accord to the Company half the profits of the colony's fur

trade, besides a monopoly of salt-making, and of the transportation of passengers and goods to and from the colony, and also of furnishing the colonial magazine with stores. By this adjustment the Company was left as a purely political and land-owning corporation, expecting dividends through these privileges. Winthrop was elected governor and preparations were made to fit out an expedition. Eleven ships, bearing Winthrop, the charter, and between nine hundred and a thousand emigrants sailed from Cowes and Southampton in the spring of 1630 and in June reached the New England coast, where the settlers dispersed themselves into the localities which afterwards became the towns of Charlestown, Boston, Medford, Watertown, Roxbury, Lynn and Dorchester. Other ships followed, and by the end of the year the total number of persons in the colony is estimated at two thousand, the largest body of English settlers brought into one community at one time, till Penn's settlement a century and a half later.

The Charter in Massachusetts (1629–1630)

The transfer of the Company and charter to New England has raised two questions about which historians have disputed ever since. In the first place, was it legal? Were those responsible for the step acting within the terms of their grant, or were they quietly stretching the powers which the crown had conferred upon them? The legality of the removal has been argued at length by Chief Justice Parker, who based his contention on the fact that the charter itself contained no express language requiring the Company to reside and exercise its power in England; and pointing out that, as a matter of law, this absence of language in the grant could not be supplied by implication from the fact that the docket accompanying the patent when it passed the seals expressly stated that it provided for the "election of governors and officers here in England" and conferred the powers usual to "corporations in England." But certainly the presence of this language in the docket indicates that in the minds of the royal officials responsible for the issue of the patent there was no intention that the Company could or would transfer itself to the plantation.

The second important question thus raised is whether at the time the patent was issued there was any secret intention on the part of the grantees to take the step they afterwards decided upon and remove the Company to New England. On this question of fact there is as much conflict of opinion as there is doubt concerning the question of law. In a paper written many years afterward, Winthrop implies that they had such an intention; and that in the negotiations for the charter "with much difficulty we got abscinded" a clause requiring us "to keep the chief government in the hands of the company residing in England.

In any event there cannot be the slightest doubt of the willingness of the Massachusetts leaders to go beyond the strict limits of the charter when necessary to accomplish their purposes. In the words of Judge Story, "they did not indeed surrender up their charter, or cease to recognize its obligatory force. But they extended their acts far beyond its expressions of powers; and while they boldly claimed protection from it against the royal demands and prerogatives, they nevertheless did not feel that it furnished any limit upon the freest exercise of legislative, executive or judicial functions." An illustration is the exercise by the government,—i.e. the Company,—of the powers of taxation, affecting as it did persons who, while inhabitants of the colony, were not freemen of the Company. No such power over non-freemen was conferred by the charter, and at a later date English officials expressly pronounced it illegal.

The rapidity and haste with which the Massachusetts leaders, once settled in the colony, proceeded to expand their charter rights and cast off, one after another, the ties that bound them to England, soon attracted the unfavorable attention of the English Government. This attention was stimulated by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. At the time when the Council for New England made the grant of land which was later confirmed to the Massachusetts Bay Company by its charter, Gorges supposed that his own prior rights and those of his son Robert were safeguarded. No sooner had the Company been set up in Massachusetts, however, than he found that it flatly denied these rights, and his agents were ejected by force from the colony. Accordingly in 1632 he preferred charges against

the Company before the Privy Council, which for the time its English representatives and friends were in some unexplained manner able to repel, even to the point of securing from King Charles himself a statement that "he would have them severely punished who did abuse this government and plantation."

Gorges persisted, and met with greater success by arousing the suspicions of the English High Church party. Colonial affairs were about this time placed in the hands of a body of commissioners headed by Archbishop Laud, who demanded the production of the Massachusetts charter in England. The authorities at Boston temporized and delayed; and in 1635 a *quo warranto* proceeding was brought against the Company in the Court of King's Bench and the charter was vacated, or supposed to be vacated, though never so certified to the colony. English politics, however, were moving in a direction which soon caused the affairs of Massachusetts to sink into oblivion; but the temper of the colonial leaders is significantly evidenced by the fact that they ignored the judgment of the King's Bench, raised £600 to fortify Boston Harbor, and announced their intention to "defend our lawful possessions if we are able; if not, to avoid and protract."

Organization of the Government (1630)

The disputes and controversies just described remained of course in the future when Winthrop landed at Charlestown in the summer of 1630. The immediate problem was to convert the machinery provided by the charter for the management of the Company into a political mechanism for the government of the colony. Other companies, such as Virginia, founded colonies and governed them; but they had preserved their own identity distinct from the identity of the body politic subject to them; and the government of the colony was subordinate to, and not identical with, the management of the Company. In Massachusetts the two were merged; and unusual results inevitably followed in the train of such an innovation.

The original Company was a comparatively small one. We have knowledge of one hundred and ten persons who at one time or another were freemen (stockholders); but apparently hardly any of these not holding the office of assistant emi-

By permission of the Secretary of the Commonwealth

CHARTER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY

grated. The charter provided for eighteen assistants; but ten is the largest number of which we have any record as actually in the colony during the year 1630. The resulting situation seems from the modern point of view extremely embarassing. Out of two thousand souls only ten or a dozen had political competence.

Under these circumstances it is apparent that it made little difference whether the Company governed through its Court of Assistants or through its General Court, which was technically a stockholders' meeting. The latter body, as matters stood, would hardly have been more inclusive than the former; and there was this in favor of the Court of Assistants, that the charter made seven a quorum, and permitted action by a majority; whereas on the construction of the charter later adopted by the leaders, assent by the Governor and at least six of the assistants was essential to action by the General Court. It was accordingly only natural that the Court of Assistants at once became to all intents and purposes the government of Massachusetts and remained so during the first four years of the existence of the colony.

Early Legislation (1630)

It exercised all the functions of government, legislative, executive, and judicial, and mingled them in the quaint and curious way which always marks a primitive stage of political development, and which is well illustrated by the minutes of the session of the Court of November 9th, 1630:

"A Court of Assistants holden at Boston, November 9th, 1630,

Present

The Governor, Deputy Governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall,
Mr. Ludlow, Captain Endecott, Mr. Coddington.
Mr. Pinchon, Mr. Bradstreet.

"It is ordered that whereas the usual rate of beaver hath been after 6s the pound, it shall be hereafter left free for every man to make the best profit and improvement of it that he can.

"It is ordered that every English-man that killeth a wolf in any part within the limits of this patent shall have allowed

him 1d for every beast and horse and ob. for every weaned swine and goat in every plantation, to be levied by the constables of the said plantation.

"It is further ordered that whosoever shall first give in his name to Mr. Governor that he will undertake to set up a ferry betwixt Boston and Charleston and shall begin the same at such a time as Mr. Governor will appoint, that he shall have 1d for every person and 1d for every hundred weight of goods he shall so transport.

"Mr. Clarke is prohibited . . . frequent keeping company with Mrs. Freeman under pain of such punishment as the Court shall think meet to inflict.

"Mr. Clarke and Mr. Freeman hath bound themselves in £XX apeece that Mr. Clarke shall make his personal appearance at the next Court to be holden in March next and in the meantime to carry himself in good behaviour towards all people, and especially towards Mrs. Freeman, concerning whom there is strong suspecion of incontinency.

"It is ordered that Rich. Diffy, servt. to Sir Richard Saltonstall, shall be whipped for his misdemeanor toward his master.

"A jury impanelled for the tryall of Walter Palmer concerning the death of Austin Bratcher. Mr. Edmond Lockwood, Wm. Rockewell, Christopher Conant, Wm. Phelps, Wm. Gallard, John Hoskins, Richard Morris, Wm. Ballston, Wm. Cheesbrough, John Page, John Balshe, Laurence Leach. The jury finds Walter Palmer not guilty of manslaughter whereof he stood indicted, and so the Court acquits him."

Controversy over Suffrage (1631-1660)

The subordination of all the freemen and all the rest of the population to the ten Assistants could not but produce dissatisfaction; which apparently was not long in making itself felt. On the records of the Court held on the nineteenth of October, 1630, there is a list of the names of 108 persons who "desire to be made freemen" of the Company; and the desire was not one which could easily be resisted.

A question destined to be troublesome for fifty years was raised by the applicants, men of prominence "who were not of the churches." They considered that the mass of the settlers

crossed the ocean rather to better their worldly condition than for religious reasons; on the other hand Winthrop and the other leaders assumed that they were in Massachusetts unlike those that "go and come chiefly for matter of profit; but we came to abide here, and to plant the gospel." The formation of two parties in the Commonwealth was certain. The prospect of having their weight and influence in the management of the colony immediately submerged by a mass of voters who could not be depended on to share their views as to the purpose and nature of the enterprise, doubtless gave the leaders pause and caused them to cast about for some way to avoid such a result. This is no doubt the reason for the following remarkable enactment which was passed at this Court of 1630:

"For the establishing of the government it was propounded if it were not the best course that the freemen should have the power of choosing Assistants when they are to be chosen & the Assistants from amongst themselves to choose a Governor and Deputy Governor who with the Assistants should have the power of making laws & choosing officers to execute the same. This was fully assented unto by the general vote of the people, & erection of hands."

In other words the leaders, seeing the control of the General Court about to pass forever from their hands, sought to minimize its power by depriving it of its legislative function and its right to elect the Governor and Deputy-Governor. That these functions were conferred upon it by the charter seems to have meant nothing to them.

At the next General Court in the following spring a further step was taken to safeguard the colony from falling into the hands of those of its inhabitants who might not be in sympathy with the religious views of the founders. One hundred and sixteen persons, including many of those who had applied in the preceding autumn, were now admitted as freemen; but at the same time a rule was passed "that for time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." In other words the leaders provided against the day when they would inevitably be compelled to surrender their supremacy to the General Court by limiting the composition of the General Court in advance to

members of the churches,—*i.e.* to that element in the population which could be expected to take the view of the founders as to the dominantly religious purpose of the plantation.

The restriction of political rights thus inaugurated remained in force until after the English Restoration, and did much from the very beginning to stiffen the social life and atmosphere of Massachusetts into that rigid theocratic mould which characterized it throughout the seventeenth century. Hereafter there might be contests between freemen and magistrates, between General Court and Assistants; but they would be contests within the bosom of the church, and the church members as a class would be bound together against outsiders by their interest in preserving their monopoly of political power. Thus the leaders, by sharing a portion of their power with the element in the population in which they had the greatest confidence, solidified their own position and laid the basis for a peculiar type of religious aristocracy.

After the first great admission of new freemen, the movement for wider participation in the government, at least by church members, seems to have gone on apace. Its next advance was in connection with a question of taxation. The men of Watertown protested against a tax levied by the Governor and Assistants on the ground "that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage." Since Winthrop was a statesman and a keen-sighted one, the protest had its effect.

Controversy Over Deputies (1630–1634)

Some two months after the Watertown protest, a General Court was held in Boston; and its first act was to repeal the measure of October 19, 1630, so far as it related to the election of the Governor and Deputy-Governor, but not in so far as it conferred legislative power upon the Assistants. "Whereas it was at our first coming agreed," says Winthrop, "that the freemen should choose the assistants and they the governor, the whole court agreed now that the governor and assistants should all be new chosen every year by the general court." The Court went further and enacted a measure which was a step towards the establishment of a representative assembly.

"It was ordered that there should be two of every plantation appointed to confer with the court about raising of a public stock,"—in other words, about taxation.

We hear no more of these men soon called "deputies" until April 1st, 1634—nearly two years afterwards. The interval was apparently barren of constitutional development, but was marked by an episode, which, considering the consequences, may well have helped in its way to forward that development. This was a quarrel, making up in stubbornness and duration for what it lacked in heat, between Governor Winthrop and Deputy-Governor Dudley. Although these fathers of the church "met and went about their affairs without any appearance of any breach or discontent; and kept peace and good correspondence together, in love and friendship," yet the oligarchy of the Assistants could ill afford such schism between its members.

On April 1st, 1634, there is this entry in Winthrop's diary: "Notice being sent out of the General Court to be held the 14th day of the third month, the freemen deputed two of each town to meet and consider of such matters as they were to take order in at the same General Court." The first act of these deputies was to call on Governor Winthrop and "desire a sight of the patent;" of which, it must be remembered, the vast majority had before this hardly more knowledge than they had of the Code of Hammurabi. From their examination the deputies "conceived that all their laws should be made at the General Court;" and in spite of a formidable theoretic exposition given them by the Governor, in which he told them there were not as yet in the colony a sufficient number of persons qualified for law-making, and suggested an arrangement whereby a committee from the towns might recommend proposed changes in the law annually to the Assistants, the deputies appear to have stubbornly treasured up their "conception" against the meeting of the Court.

The Court assembled on the appointed day, and John Cotton preached. There must have been a foreboding of the intention of the voters, for his discourse was directed against the principle of rotation in office. He "delivered this doctrine, that a magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause . . . no more than

the magistrates may not turn a private man out of his freehold without like public trial." There is a certain irony in the fact that the voters thereupon promptly proceeded to elect Thomas Dudley Governor in the place of Winthrop, and to establish a system of representative government for the colony.

It was first of all resolved "that none but the General Court hath power to choose and admit freemen.

"That none but the General Court hath power to make and establish laws, nor to elect and appoint officers, as Governor, Deputy Governor . . . etc., or any of like moment, or to remove such upon misdemeanor, as also to sett out the duties and powers of the said officers.

"That none but the General Court hath power to rayse moneys or taxes or to dispose of lands" (which, incidentally, had become a favorite occupation of the Assistants).

They then proceeded to fine the Assistants for disregard of an order of a previous General Court and went on to establish the government for the future.

Four General Courts were to be held yearly, and not to be dissolved without the consent of the majority. "In the court of elections every freeman was to give his own voice." As regarded the other three courts it was ordered that "it shall be lawful for the freemen of every plantation to choose two or three of each town before every General Court to confer and prepare such public business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next general court, and that such persons as shall be hereafter so deputed by the freemen of the several plantations to deal in their behalf in the public affairs of the commonwealth shall have the full power and voices of the said freemen derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, granting of lands, etc., and to deal in all other affairs of the commonwealth wherein the freemen have to do, the matter of election of magistrate and other officers only excepted."

Representative Government (1634–1660)

From now on Massachusetts had a supreme legislative body more democratic in character than the Court of Assistants.

The representation of the towns in the General Court was apportioned by an act of 1636 which provided that towns having less than ten freemen were not entitled to be represented; that towns with more than ten but less than twenty should send not more than one deputy; towns having between twenty and forty freemen might send two; and towns with more than forty freemen, not more than three; but by a later act (1639) it was provided that no town should in any case send more than two. The number of annual sessions of the General Court was limited to two instead of four. The spring session not only transacted legislative business, but was also a "court of elections" for the choice of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants. At this court of elections voting was by "papers," and it remained the privilege of any freeman to appear in Boston personally and give his vote; but a statute of 1637 provided that the freemen in their respective towns might fill out their ballots in the form of proxies and entrust these to their deputies to bring to the court.

So many of the freemen continued, however, to attend in person that with the growth of population "the multitude was found to be overburdensome and the day appointed not to afford sufficient time"; and accordingly by an act of 1641 an effort was made to introduce compulsory indirect voting by requiring the freemen of each town to select a delegate for every ten of their voters, and confer on these delgates the exclusive right of attending the court of elections in Boston to vote on behalf of all the freemen of the town. In 1647 the system was further changed by an act requiring all elections for Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants and other colony officials to take place in the towns, the "beans and papers" by which the voters expressed their choice to be then sealed up and brought to the court of elections by the deputies of the towns. At the same time a primary or nominating system for the choice of candidates for Assistants was provided which was amplified in 1649 and in later years. The magistrates seem to have been particularly anxious to devise some way of discouraging the freemen from appearing in person in Boston, doubtless because of their fear of the influence of a large democratic assembly on the conduct of the General Court; but

it is not clear that they ever succeeded in putting an end to the practice.

The Negative Voice (1630–1660)

Side by side with this development of representative and electoral machinery there went on the evolution of the colonial government in other directions: the closer definition of the respective functions of the Assistants and town deputies in the General Court; the establishment of separate judicial institutions; the provision of a code of general laws; and the organization of local government in the towns.

The charter provided that in the General Court action was to be taken by "the Governor, or, in his absence, the Deputy-Governor, and such of the Assistants and freemen of the said company as shall be present, or the greater number of them so assembled, whereof the Governor or Deputy-Governor and six of the Assistants, at the least to be seven, shall have power," etc. This ambiguous, or at least incomplete, language may mean on the one hand that the Governor and six of the Assistants were to have a veto on action taken by a majority of the freemen; or, on the other hand, may mean only that the Governor and six Assistants must always be present to constitute a quorum of the Court, the decisions of which might, however, be arrived at by a majority vote of the whole number, including both Assistants and freemen. If the former construction be adopted, we have in substance the requirement of a bi-cameral legislature; if the latter, the votes of the Assistants, even conceiving them to be unanimous, might be overridden by the greater numerical strength of the freemen. Some support would seem to be given to the latter construction by the fact that the concurrence of only six Assistants, (*i.e.* a number which is not a majority of the whole membership of the board), is required; and that if we suppose a veto given to this number, difficulty would arise in a case where more than the required number of Assistants sided with a majority of the freemen, while at the same time an actual majority of the Assistants voted in the opposite sense. On the theory of a bi-cameral legislature such a result would defeat the measure; but the charter requirements for its passage would have been complied with.

This question arose at the autumn General Court of 1634. It was not settled by constitutional argument or on the basis of legal principles of construction, but under the influence of a sermon. In the face of the difficulty of the problem a fast day was appointed and John Cotton preached. He argued that a society consisted of three elements, the magistracy, the ministry and the people; and that the concurrence of all three was essential to what could be called a popular decision. His eloquence prevailed, and in Winthrop's words, "it pleased the Lord so to assist him and to bless his own ordinance that the affairs of the court went on cheerfully; and although all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the magistrates, yet no man moved aught about it."

The question, however, apparently continued to be regarded as still an open one, and arose again in 1642 in connection with the famous case of Sherman v. Keane for the recovery of a lost sow. The plaintiff, a poor widow, had lost her case before the lower court, and appealed to the General Court, which, as will appear in the sequel, was not only a legislative body, but also the highest judicial court in the colony. Popular prejudice was strong against the defendant, a well-to-do shopkeeper, who in Winthrop's words "was of ill report in the country for a hard dealer in his course of trading," and perhaps for this reason a majority of the town deputies in the General Court voted to reverse the judgment. The Assistants on the other hand voted to sustain it, and the question of the "negative voice" of the magistrates was thus opened once more to public controversy.

Arguments were published on both sides, and we have one of these preserved in the form of a defence by Winthrop of the power claimed by the Assistants. After an effort to deduce the power in question by verbal logic from the words of the charter, he relies fundamentally on the argument that "if the negative voice were taken away, our government would be a Democratie, whereas now it is mixt. . . . Now if we should change from a mixt Aristocratie to a mere Democratie, 1st, we should have no warrant in scripture for it: there was no such government in Israel. 2nd, we should voluntarily abase ourselves and deprive ourselves of that dignity which the providence of God hath put upon us, which is a

manifest breach of the Fifth commandment; for a Democratie is, among most civil nations, accounted the meanest and worst of all forms of government."

The view of Winthrop and the Assistants prevailed, and the question was finally set at rest by an act of the General Court of 1644 which provided that in General Courts thereafter the Assistants and the deputies were to sit and deliberate as separate bodies, and that the concurrence of both should be necessary for the adoption of a measure. The same practice was to be followed when the Court was acting "in matters of judicature." The inconsistency of this arrangement with the requirements of the charter seems plain. It was especially unfair when the Court was acting in a judicial capacity, because in almost all such cases the Court was hearing appeals from the Assistants, and to allow the Assistants a negative voice in such cases means nothing less than giving them the power to defeat appeals from their own decisions. Accordingly this part of the act was repealed in 1649, when it was provided that in judicial cases the two houses should sit together and reach their decision by a majority vote of the whole membership.

The Aristocratic Constitution (1634–1660)

The controversy over the "negative voice" of the Assistants, was but a phase of a stubborn conflict which had been going on ever since the freemen asserted themselves in 1634 between their deputies and the small group of "elder statesmen" from whom the Assistants always continued to be chosen. There is something truly remarkable about the faithfulness with which year after year the same small body of men continued to be elected to the chief offices in the colony. Between 1630 and his death in 1648 Winthrop was Governor for no less than twelve years, and during every year but one between 1649 and 1664 Endecott was Governor. In all the years when Winthrop or Dudley were not holding the office of Governor, they were holding that of Deputy-Governor or Assistant. Prior to 1650 the list of Assistants is practically confined to the three leaders just mentioned and a small group of others, including Bradstreet, Nowell, Humphrey, Pynchon, and John Winthrop, Jr.

Apparently the electors had a full measure of confidence in these tried and trusted leaders, and were willing to keep them in office, but they were not altogether content to allow them the full measure of power which they claimed. One of these claims, the substance of which the freemen showed themselves ready enough to accept by constantly re-electing them to office, but which they were reluctant to admit as a matter of right, was that magistrates were entitled to life-tenure so long as they faithfully performed their duties. In 1636 the leaders were momentarily successful in inducing the General Court to establish a "council for life, for that it was showed from the word of God that the principal magistrates ought to be for life;" and to this council Winthrop, Dudley, and Endecott were chosen. But the council had no chance to take root and create for itself a real place in the government of the colony in the face of the dislike of it which at once developed.

This dislike came to a head at the General Court in the spring of 1639 at a moment when some of the freemen were dissatisfied with the act already mentioned which reduced the representation of certain towns from three deputies to two. Accordingly the magistrates gave way, and consented to an interpretative act declaring that the life concillors should exercise no authority except such as might be conferred on them from time to time by their election as annual magistrates, thus reducing the council to a nullity; and perhaps by virtue of this concession the reduction of deputies was allowed to stand.

The act of 1644, finally recognizing and ratifying the possession of a negative voice by the Assistants, may be regarded as a compromise putting an end to the long strife between the freemen and the magistrates in a manner eminently favorable to the latter. It confirmed the control of the colony's policy by the group of earnest and zealous leaders who had watched over it from the beginning, and who in spite of much petty squabbling among themselves, were remarkably able to cooperate on all the larger lines of their policy. This control they sought in every way to retain in their own hands.

One of the most interesting of their devices toward this end was to keep down the number of the Assistants. The charter fixed this at eighteen; but during the first generation of the colony's history, the complete membership was never filled. In

a full board the leaders would perhaps have been in danger of being voted down by outsiders; by keeping the board small they retained their monopoly of its membership. Perhaps the same motive was at the bottom of a curious law of 1647 which restricted to seven the number of candidates for Assistant for whom the freemen might vote in casting their ballots in the towns.

Power of the Clergy (1630–1660)

This concentration of authority in the hands of the "elder statesmen" had a very important result in that they always acted in close concert with the leaders of the clergy; and the confirmation of their power and influence accordingly meant the fastening upon the colony of the influence of the clergy in a way that would hardly have been possible had political power been more decentralized. The magistrates turned continually to the little group of clerical leaders, to Hooker, Cotton, Wilson, Shepherd, and their like, for semi-official advice and assistance, continually referring to them for ultimate decision matters of doubt and difficulty; and they also relied upon them to act as their spokesmen in presenting and defending their policies before the people.

Thus, in the words of Professor Osgood, "the ministers of New England, like the ecclesiastics of the middle age, were statesmen and political leaders. No affair of government was indifferent to them. They helped to uphold the church and commonwealth against threats of attack by the home government, the efforts of Gorges and Mason, the complaints and agitations of schismatics. They co-operated in forming the New England Confederacy. . . . With the magistrates, they constituted for half a century the governing class of Massachusetts—the oligarchy which shaped its policy and growth." And the experience of fifty years showed that the clergy were more aristocratic in policy, more severe and cruel in judgment, and more ruthless in their authority than the Assistants.

The Colonial Judiciary (1630–1664)

The power of the magistrates, or Assistants, rested to a large extent on their control of judicial functions in the colony.

At the first meeting of the "Court of Assistants" after they had landed in the colony, they conferred on their members the "power that justices of the peace hath in England." During the years between 1630 and 1634 general judicial power in cases of every description had been exercised indiscriminately by the few General Courts that met during that period; there is some evidence that in 1634 the freemen in asserting the powers of the General Court declared its supremacy in "matters of judicature"; finally in 1636 an act was passed which organized a regular judicial system, by establishing four county courts and providing that the Assistants should meet in four annual "Quarter Courts" for judicial business. The county courts were to be held at Ipswich, Salem, Cambridge and Boston by such of the Assistants as were specially designated for each county by the General Court, and by "such other persons as shall be appointed by the General Court, so as no court shall be kept without one magistrate at the least, that none of the magistrates be excluded who can and will attend the same." They had jurisdiction over all civil cases where the damages claimed were less than £10, and over all criminal cases "not concerning life, member or banishment;" and an appeal from their decision lay to the magistrates meeting in the Quarter Courts.

Apparently at a later date the county courts were given original jurisdiction over all civil actions, and the meetings of the Court of Assistants were reduced to two annually. At first there was much confusion between the appellate jurisdiction of the General Court and that of the Court of Assistants, which for a time were practically concurrent; this was later corrected by prescribing that appeals to the General Court should lie only from the Court of Assistants and only in certain classes of cases.

It will be noted that the Assistants, or magistrates, sat as judges in every one of the courts of the colony. Sitting as a body with the Governor and deputies they constituted the General Court. Sitting in a body they constituted the Quarter Courts. Sitting in small groups, or individually in company with commissioners, they constituted the county courts. Individually they had jurisdiction over small causes. And this judicial power carried with it a large amount of administrative

power. Thus from 1641 to 1664 the county courts were the agency to which the General Court delegated the very important function of admitting or refusing to admit new freemen,—in other words, they had control over the right of suffrage. They also had the appointment of a large number of petty officials, including a veto on the election of militia officers; and in certain cases they were entitled to levy rates and taxes. It is hardly too much to say that the entire administrative as well as judicial machinery of the colony was gathered by the Assistants into their own hands.

Body of Liberties (1632–1641)

Under these circumstances it is not unnatural that a question should have been raised as to whether their discretion was restrained within sufficient limits. This movement early took the form of a demand for a fixed and definite code of laws. The movement began the year after the General Court had asserted its power. In the words of Winthrop, "the deputies having conceived great danger to our state in regard that our magistrates, for want of positive laws, in many cases might proceed according to their discretions, it was agreed that some men should be appointed to frame a body or grounds of laws in resemblance to a *magna charta,* which being allowed by some of the ministers and the general court, should be received for fundamental laws."

The committee which was appointed, consisting of Winthrop, Dudley, and two others, do not appear, however, to have taken any notice of the task thus thrust upon them, for we find the next General Court returning to the same subject. The committee was enlarged by the addition of three clerical members, Cotton, Peter, and Shepherd, and "entreated to make a draft of laws agreeable to the word of God, which may be the Fundamentals of this Commonwealth, and to present the same to the next general court, and it is ordered that in the meantime the magistrates and their associates shall proceed in the courts to hear and determine all causes according to the laws now established, and where there is no law, then as near the law of God as they can." In pursuance of this commission Cotton compiled a code "in exact method" to

which he gave the title of "Moses his Judicialls," and which he presented to the General Court for their adoption; but it apparently did not satisfy their requirements and was left to be published by its author in the form of a treatise.

Once more the Court recited that "the want of written laws hath put the court into many doubts and much trouble in particular cases," and appointed a committee, this time with a slightly different membership; and in the following year the same procedure was repeated. Thus in four successive years the General Court had demanded laws and appointed committees without result. The reason for this delay is given by Winthrop. "The people," he writes, "had long desired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unsafe while so much power rested in the discretion of the magistrates. Divers attempts had been made at former courts and the matter referred to some of the magistrates and some of the elders; but it still came to no effect. . . . Two great reasons there were which caused most of the magistrates and some of the elders not to be very forward in this matter. One was want of sufficient experience in the nature and disposition of the people, considered with the condition of the country and other circumstances, which made them conceive that such laws would be fittest for us which should arise *pro re nata* upon occasions, etc., and so the laws of England and other states grew, and therefore the fundamental laws of England are called customs. 2. For that it would professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provide we shall make no laws repugnant to the law of England, and that we were assured we must do. But to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression; as to make a law that marriages shall not be solemnized by ministers is repugnant to the laws of England; but to bring it to a custom by practice for the magistrates to perform it is no law made repugnant, etc."

By 1641 the persistence of the freemen had overcome opposition. A compilation prepared by the Reverend Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich after being sent about among the towns for criticism and suggestions was adopted by the General Court in the form of one hundred laws, known as the "Body of Liberties." The provisions which make up this instrument resemble in character those of a modern state constitution rather

than a statutory code. They are arranged in no exact order and cover such subjects as the qualification of members of the General Court, relations between church and state, the principles of town government, the requirements of just procedure in judicial proceedings, and the maximum rate of interest.

The first Liberty declares that the rights of persons and property are inviolable except by law; the second guarantees equal and speedy justice to all. The rule is laid down that no man shall be tried twice for the same offence, torture is forbidden, and there is a prohibition of cruel and barbarous punishments. No legal process or pleading was to be invalidated by immaterial technicalities. General Courts were not to be dissolved without the consent of a majority of the members. Slavery was prohibited except in the case of "lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us." The relief of persons shipwrecked upon the coast was enjoined; and cruelty to dumb animals was prohibited. Taken as a whole, the code forms, as its name indicates, a sort of Bill of Rights or Declaration of Privileges, like those numerous subsequent Bills of Rights which are so prominent a feature of our American Constitution.

General Laws of 1649

The fact that the Massachusetts freemen imagined that they were getting anything of value by an instrument of this kind, which was subject to repeal at any time, and which could after all only be violated by officials over whom they already had full elective control, illustrates the tenacity of tradition which applies old ideas to situations radically different; and is also an early instance of a typically American confidence in the magic of committing generalities to paper.

Really the freemen desired something more than generalities; they desired specific rules to bind the discretion of their magistrates; and this is shown by the fact that the adoption of the Body of Liberties did not satisfy them or abate their insistence upon having a written code of laws. In 1645 and 1646 committees were once more appointed for this task "so as we may have ready recourse to [written laws] upon all occasions, whereby we may manifest our utter disaffection to

The Capitall Lawes of *New-England*, as they ſtand now in force in the Common-Wealth.

214

BY THE COVRT,

In the Years 1641. 1642.

669. f. 6 99

Capitall Lawes, Eſtabliſhed within the Iuriſdiction of *Maſſachuſets.*

1. IF any man after legall conviction, ſhall have or worſhip any other God, but the Lord God, he ſhall be put to death. *Deut.* 13. 6, &c. and 17. 2. &c. *Exodus* 22. 20.

2. IF any man or woman be a Witch, that is, hath or conſulteth with a familiar ſpirit, they ſhall be put to death. *Exod.* 22. 18. *Lev.* 20. 27. *Deut.* 18. 10, 11.

3. IF any perſon ſhall blaſpheme the Name of God the Father, Sonne, or Holy Ghoſt, with direct, expreſſe, preſumptuous, or high-handed blaſphemy, or ſhall curſe God in the like manner, he ſhall be put to death. *Lev.* 24. 15, 16.

4. IF any perſon ſhall commit any wilfull murther, which is manſlaughter, committed upon premeditate malice, hatred, or cruelty, not in a mans neceſſary and juſt defence, nor by meer caſualtie, againſt his will; he ſhall be put to death. *Exod.* 21. 12, 13, 14. *Num.* 35. 30, 31.

5. IF any perſon ſlayeth another ſuddenly in his anger, or cruelty of paſſion, he ſhall be put to death. *Num.* 35. 20, 21. *Lev.* 24. 17.

6. IF any perſon ſhall ſlay another through guile, either by poyſonings, or other ſuch diviliſh practice; he ſhall be put to death. *Exod.* 21. 14.

7. IF a man or woman ſhall lye with any beaſt, or bruit creature, by carnall copulation, they ſhall ſurely be put to death; and the beaſt ſhall be ſlaine, and buried. *Lev.* 20. 15, 16.

8. IF a man lyeth with mankinde, as he lyeth with a woman, both of them have committed abomination, they both ſhall ſurely be put to death. *Lev.* 20. 13.

9. IF any perſon committeth adultery with a married, or eſpouſed wife, the Adulterer, and the Adulthereſſe, ſhall ſurely be put to death. *Lev.* 20. 10. and 18. 20. *Deut.* 22. 23, 24.

10. IF any man ſhall unlawfully have carnall copulation with any woman-childe under ten yeares old, either with, or without her conſent, he ſhall be put to death.

11. IF any man ſhall forcibly, and without conſent, raviſh any maid or woman that is lawfully married or contracted, he ſhall be put to death. *Deut.* 22. 25. &c.

12. IF any man ſhall raviſh any maid or ſingle woman (committing carnall copulation with her by force, againſt her will) that is above the age of ten yeares; he ſhall be either puniſhed with death, or with ſome other grievous puniſhment, according to circumſtances, at the diſcretion of the Judges: and this Law to continue till the Court take further order.

13. IF any man ſtealeth a man, or man-kinde, he ſhall ſurely be put to death. *Exod.* 21. 16.

14. IF any man riſe up by falſe witneſſe wittingly, and of purpoſe to take away any mans life, he ſhall be put to death. *Deut.* 19. 16. 18, 19.

15. IF any man ſhall conſpire, or attempt any invaſion, inſurrection, or publick rebellion againſt our Common-wealth, or ſhall indeavour to ſurprize any Towne or Townes, Fort or Forts therein: or ſhall treacherouſly, or perfidiouſly attempt the alteration and ſubverſion of our frame of pollity, or government fundamentally, he ſhall be put to death. *Num.* 16. 2 *Sam.* 3. & 18. & 20.

Per exemplar Increase Nowel, Secret.

Printed firſt in *New-England*, and re-printed in *London* for *Ben. Allen* in *Popes-head Allen.* 1643.

From a copy of the English edition in the British Museum

BROADSIDE OF THE "CAPITALL LAWES" OF 1642

arbitrary government and so all relations be safely and sweetly directed and protected in all their just rights and privileges."

The committees worked slowly and after yearly proddings by other General Courts the fruit of their labors was the code of 1649. No copy survives of it, but we are in a position to reconstruct its outlines. It was a document of a very different character from the Body of Liberties. It was no mere collection of general guarantees but a systematically arranged compendium of the whole statute laws of the colony. It was what the freemen had wanted from the beginning, and with additions and amendments, it remained the basis of the law of Massachusetts throughout the remainder of its colonial history.

Magisterial Power (1644)

During the long struggle for laws, the insistence of the freemen had been stiffened by several clashes with the magistrates over the extent of their discretion. The question came to the front in 1644 after the freemen had been compelled to yield in the matter of the negative voice. The specific complaint of the freemen was that during recesses of the General Court the Assistants continued to exercise their administrative and judicial powers, and, in doing so, frequently took action in matters where there was no law or order of the General Court prescribing a rule for them to follow. Accordingly the deputies proposed that the General Court should appoint a standing committee to sit during its recesses and exercise its power "to order all the affairs of the commonwealth." This proposal was naturally rejected by the magistrates on the ground that it would "put out the magistrates from that power and trust which the freemen had committed to them" under the charter by electing them to office.

This dispute was submitted to the clergy as a sort of supreme court on constitutional questions; and their opinion delivered by Cotton, sustained the magistrates on the main point that the General Court could not confer on the proposed commission the powers of "constant judicature and counsel which are the principal work" of the magistrates under the patent. On the other hand, the elders limited the dis-

cretion of the magistrates by holding that they had no power "to dispense justice in the vacancy of the General Court without some law or order of the same to declare the rule"; and that "no magistrate hath power to vary from the penalty of any law without consulting the General Court." This latter ruling in the main sustained the contention of the freemen that the discretion of the magistrates should be limited by law and overruled the argument which Winthrop made in favor of free judicial discretion on the ground that magistrates should be left free to adjust correction to the offence in accordance with the Word of God. "Whatsoever sentence the magistrate gives," wrote Winthrop, "the judgment is the Lord's though he do it not by any rule prescribed by civil authority."

Local Government (1630–1689)

The essential feature of Massachusetts government during the first generation of its history can be summed up in one word, centralization — a concentration of influence, power, offices, functions of every kind, in a small and compact group of leaders. Yet under the surface of this centralization a development was going on which was ultimately to undermine it. This was the growth of towns and town-governments. Massachusetts was settled at the outset by groups rather than individuals,—not by isolated pioneers, but by parishes and congregations which transplanted themselves from England and sought to reconstruct their communal life in the new environment. As the colony expanded, the settlement of new areas was likewise effected by budding groups and communities.

The leaders at first looked with dislike on this process of dispersion and sought to keep a firm hand upon it. They passed an order that no new plantations were to be set up without leave of the Governor and Assistants and they assumed the right to appoint local officers, constables and the like, for those which had already been established. But the process of town-formation outran the control of the magistrates,— new communities came into existence as squatter settlements, and named officers and levied rates without authority from the government of the Company. The leaders

soon bowed to the inevitable; they recognized the existence of the towns in 1632 when they invited two deputies from each "plantation" to confer with them about "taxation"; and by the Township Act of 1636 they laid the basis of a system of town government and local autonomy. Each town was given the right to manage its own affairs, to make ordinances and enforce them by penalties, and to choose its own local officers; and an even more important function was conferred on the towns in connection with the distribution of land.

By the charter, original title to all the land covered in the Massachusetts grant was vested in the Massachusetts Bay Company; but by the Township Act the General Court delegated to the towns the right of distributing the land within their boundaries. For this reason as town after town was set off, the greater part of the land in the colony came ultimately into their possession for subsequent distribution to individuals. The grants by the General Court were made in large tracts, six miles square or more, from which the town community then proceeded to make allotments to its existing members, reserving the surplus as "common land" for later distribution or for new inhabitants. Each town thus became a close economic community with a direct interest in admitting or excluding new members.

The feeling of local solidarity which resulted is illustrated by an order made by Watertown in 1638 to the effect that no townsman should sell or alienate his lot on the so-called "towne-plot," or central village,—"it being," the order continues, "our real intent to sit down there close together." This solidarity made itself felt on the one hand in the care which the town bestowed on helping its own indigent members, even to the point of supplying a "common shroud"; and on the other hand in excluding for any or no reason strangers and candidates for admission to the community.

Town Suffrage (1630–1647)

At first an effort was made to keep the control of the towns exclusively in the hands of the class who were alone entitled to govern the colony,—*i.e.* the church members. By an act of 1636 "it was ordered that none but freemen shall have any

vote in any town in any action of authority . . . as receiving inhabitants and laying out of lots." This law remained in force for more than ten years. The towns were still comparatively small and with the exception of those in Essex County were clustered in the neighborhood of Boston. The town leaders, lay and clerical, were the very men who constituted the ruling oligarchy of the colony. It is significant that the earliest stubborn resistance to their rule originated in the Essex county towns which were farthest removed geographically from the seat of government.

It was inevitable that as the area covered by the colony increased, it would become more and more difficult for the elder statesmen to retain control of local government. Meanwhile in the towns the class of non-freemen were becoming more and more important; and in 1647 they received an enlargement of their political rights in town affairs. By an act of that year they were permitted to serve as jurymen and to vote for selectmen, as well as to vote in the town-meeting on questions of roads, schools, and the distribution of lands; and they were even allowed to hold the office of selectman provided that a majority of the board were freemen. The town-meeting thus became a democratic assembly, where membership was not restricted to a class or creed, as yet the only organ of democracy in the colony, but the seed of much that was to be most characteristic of its later history.

Rule by Church Members (1630–1648)

In 1647, however, democracy was a thing still far in the future. It is interesting to note that Winthrop's narrative connects the concessions then accorded to non-freemen in town affairs with the historic protest of the "Remonstrants" against the limitation of political rights in the colony to church members. This protest took the form of a petition to the General Court signed by Samuel Maverick, one of the earliest settlers and wealthiest men in the colony; by David Yale, a close relative of some of the leaders of Connecticut; by Dr. Robert Child, a physician and scientist (who was, however, a newcomer); and by other men of prominence. It demanded that the circle of church membership should be enlarged, and that

"civil liberty and freedom be forthwith granted to all truly English." In the words of Professor Osgood, "the petition was a protest of the unenfranchised against the policy which without express warrant in the charter or in English law, excluded them from equal privileges in church and commonwealth." Winthrop and his associates undertook to answer the petition by pointing out the verbal similarities between the Body of Liberties and Magna Charta; but they evaded the question of the limitation of political rights to church members. All that Child and his fellow-signers achieved by their effort was a fine and a term of imprisonment. In the following year the clergy put forward the Cambridge platform, which narrowed the standard of orthodoxy, called on the civil government to use its coercive power against heresy, schism, and "pernicious opinion" and ushered in the darkest period of religious bigotry and persecution in the history of the colony.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies following Chapters vii (Winthrop); viii (Sister Settlements; ix (Confederation); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

A. Sources

LECHFORD, Thomas, *Plain Dealing, or Newes from New England* (London, 1642; reprinted in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* 3rd Series, Vol. III, Cambridge, 1832).—A bitterly critical account of the Massachusetts leaders and policy by an expelled attorney. Valuable on law and order.

NOBLE, John, Editor.—*Records of the Court of Assistants of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1630–1692.*—(2 vols., Boston, 1903–1908).

SHURTLEFF, Nathaniel B., Editor.—*Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* (5 vols. in 6, Boston W. White, 1853–1854).—Reprint of the original minutes, etc. of General Courts to 1868. Minutes of the Courts of Assistants down to 1641 in Vol. I.; also charter, lists of freemen, and correspondence.

WHITMORE, William H., Editor.—*The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, reprinted from the Edition of 1660 with the Supplements to 1672, containing also the Body of Liberties of 1641* (Boston, Rockwell & Churchill, 1889).—A Reprint of Body of Liberties of 1641 and second code, (of 1660), with laws enacted from that date to the adoption of third code (1672).

WINTHROP, John.—*History of New England* (edited by James Savage, 2 vols., Boston, 1825).—Winthrop's own acount, in the form of a diary or annals, of the history of Massachusetts down to his death in 1648, containing his explanations of his conduct and that of his associates at many important crises in the constitutional history of the colony. See *Commonwealth Hist.,* I, chap. viii.

WINTHROP, Robert C.—*Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (2 vols., Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1864).—Chiefly valuable for the letters of Winthrop, and papers and memoranda in Appendix to Vol. II. See *Commonwealth Hist.,* I. chap. viii.

YOUNG, Alexander.—*Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, Little and Brown, 1846).—A collection of miscellaneous original documents, including John White's *Brief Relation,* and *Cambridge Agreement.*

B. General Works

ADAMS, James Truslow.—*The Founding of New England* (Boston, Atlantic Monthly Pub. Co., 1921).—A rewriting of New England colonial history, with emphasis upon economic and social factors. Unfavorable to early leaders.

ELLIS, George E., *The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1629–1685* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1888).—

Discussion of the charter and its transfer (chap. ii.); Puritan conception of "Biblical Commonwealth" (chap. v.); "Church Membership and the Franchise" (chap. vi.); "Administrations under the Charter" (chap. vii.); Judicial in tone; valuable point of view; much important material.

FISKE, John.— *The Beginnings of New England* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892).—Brilliantly written summary; often inaccurate on important points; subservient to preconceived generalizations.

OLIVER, Peter.—*The Puritan Commonwealth* (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1856).—A learned lively well written, extremely one-sided diatribe against the colonial leaders and their policy.

OSGOOD, Herbert L.—*The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (3 vols., New York, Columbia University Press, 1904).—An exhaustive treatment of the institutional history of the colonies, Vol. I contains the best account of Massachusetts institutions prior to 1660.

PALFREY, John Gorham.—*History of New England* (5 vols., Boston, 1858—*et seq.*).—Vol. I. contains thorough treatment of the Bay Colony prior to 1660. Careful workmanship, notwithstanding antiquated point of view.

C. Monographs and Special Studies

ADAMS, Charles Francis, Jr.—"Genesis of the Massachusetts Town," (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings,* 1891–1892, 2d Series VII, 172 ff.).—Theory that the New England town was an indigenous American development. Comments of Chamberlain in *Ibid.,* 214.

BISHOP, Cortlandt F.—*History of Elections in the American Colonies* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, III, New York, 1893).—Includes data for Massachusetts.

CHAMBERLAIN, Mellen.—"The New Historical School," (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings,* 1889-1890, 2nd Series, III, 264 ff.).—Origin and legal position of Massachusetts towns criticising the idea of town independence.

CHANNING, Edward.—*Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America* (Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in History and Political Science,* 2nd Series, Baltimore, 1884).—Briefly traces the continuity between earlier English local institutions and the New England towns.

DAVIS, Andrew McFarland.—"John Harvard's Life in America," (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications, 1908-1909,* XII, 4 ff.).—Conditions leading to the demand for a code of written laws (pp. 11–20); life and manners in the first decade.

DEANE, Charles.—"The Forms Used in Issuing Letters Patent by the Crown of England," (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings, 1869–1870,* 1st Series, Vol. XI, 166 ff.).—Argument against legality of removal of the charter.

FORD, Worthington C.—"Voting with Beans and Corn," (Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings 1923–1924,* IV, 230 ff.).—Use of so-called vegetable ballots.

GOODELL, Abner C., Jr.—"Origin of Towns in Massachusetts," (*Ibid,* 320 ff.).—Same point of view as Chamberlain.

HAVEN, S. F.—"Origin of the Massachusetts Bay Company," (*Archaeologia Americana—Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society,* vol. III, pp. ix-cxxxviii; 1857).—Valuable at-

tempt to identify all the members of the Massachusetts Bay Company prior to the removal of the charter.

HAYNES, George H.—*Representation and Suffrage in Massachusetts* 1620–1691. (Balto., Johns Hopkins Univ., 1894).—A well arranged and documented study.

KITTREDGE, George Lyman.—"Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant," (The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications,* 1919, XXI, 6.).—An account strongly favorable to Winthrop and the official leaders of the colony.

MORISON, Samuel E.—"A Poem on Election Day in Massachusetts," (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications,* XVII, 54 ff.).—Contains a brief discussion of colonial elections in Massachusetts.

PARKER, Joel.—"The First Charter and the Early Religious Legislation of Massachusetts," (*Lowell Institute Lectures by Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* Boston, 1869, pp. 355 ff.; also printed separately, Boston, Wilson and Son, 1869).—Contains a discussion of the removal of the charter of religious restrictions and common law in the colony, from a legal point of view. A strong defence of the action of the Massachusetts leaders.

PARKER, Joel.—"The Origin, Organization, and influence of the Towns of New England," (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings, 1866–1867,* 1st Series. IX, 14 ff.).—A good introduction, records unbiassed.

PARKER, Joel.—"Remarks" in *Ibid.,* 188 ff.—Defence by Judge Parker of legality of the removal.

SCOTT, William Robert.—*Constitution and Finance English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (3 vols., Cambridge University Press, 1910–1921).—Definite treatise on the early companies, those formed for colonial enterprise in America.

WASHBURN, Emory.—*Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts from 1630–1775* (Boston, Little & Brown, 1840).—A pioneer work, not always accurate, but useful.

WASHBURN, Emory.—"Transfer of the Colony Charter of 1628 from England to Massachusetts," (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings, 1858–1860,* 1st Series, Vol. IV., 154 ff.).—Contains an account of the *quo warranto* proceedings of 1635.

WHITMORE, William H.—*Bibliographical Introduction to the Colonial Laws of Massachusetts* (Boston, Rockwell & Churchill, 1899).—A thorough and learned history of early legislation and various editions of the laws.

WINSOR, Justin.—*The Memorial History of Boston, 1630–1680* (Boston, Osgood, 1880-1881).—See pp. 141-190, by George E. Ellis.

CHAPTER VI

THE WILDERNESS AND THE INDIAN

By Charles C. Willoughby
Director of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University

First Acquaintance (1605–1635)

The modification of the landscape by the Indians of Massachusetts was much greater than is generally known. We are apt to picture the country when first seen by Europeans as covered with primeval forests and thickets of shrubs and vines, with few open spaces or fields. This was true only of the more remote uninhabited sections. Each year the tribal lands of the Indians were burnt over in November when the grass was withered and the leaves were dry; and often again in the spring, for the purpose of killing the undergrowth and keeping the woodlands open. Wood says that one may ride a hunting in most places in the land, for there is no underwood except in the swamps and low ground which are wet; that the fires consume all the undergrowth which otherwise would overgrow the country making it impassable and spoil the Indians' hunting grounds. Morton writes that if it were not for this custom, one could not pass through the country out of a beaten track, and that if one is seeking large trees and good timber he must look for them in low grounds which are wet, "for the fire so scorcheth the older trees in the uplands that it hinders their growth." As a result the "trees grow here and there as in the English parks which makes the country very beautiful and commodious."

Champlain, who explored this coast in July, 1605, and again in the following year, says that all along the shore there is a great deal of land cleared up and planted with Indian corn. The country is very pleasant and agreeable, and there is no

lack of fine trees. This explorer merely skirted the coast, stopping here and there to map the harbors and to visit the numerous villages which he discovered. Had he travelled inland he doubtless would have found the same conditions.

Captain John Smith refers in 1616 to "the countrie of Massachusetts which is the Paradise of all those parts. For heere are many isles all planted with corn; groves, mulberries, salvage gardens and good harbours. . . . The Sea Coast as you pass, shews you all along large corn fields and great troupes of well proportioned people." The islands referred to were those of Massachusetts Bay. Smith found that the French had been here trading with the natives for a period of six weeks prior to his visit; so he did not stay to confirm the story that there were three thousand Indians on the islands.

When Governor Bradford sent an expedition to Boston Bay in September, 1621, he found that most of the islands had been inhabited and that some had been cleared from end to end; but the people were all dead or had removed. Upon the mainland of the Bay only a few families were seen. This was after the great plague which nearly depopulated a considerable portion of Massachusetts, and made it possible for the colonists to retain their foothold in the country.

When Steven Hopkins and Edward Winsloe set out to visit the home of Massasoit they went by way of Namasket, a village near the present site of Middleboro, to the Taunton River, along the banks of which they journeyed to Pokanoket near the present location of Bristol, Rhode Island. The report says that upon this river "are and have been many towns. The ground is very good upon both sides, it being for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived here which died in the great plague not long since, and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields so well seated without men to dress and manure the same."

The exact nature of the pestilence of 1616–17 which devastated the tribes is unknown. It is mentioned by most of the early writers, however, who obtained their information from the surviving Indians. That it materially reduced the numbers of the Pennacook, Massachuset, and Wampanoag is certain. Morton, an early observer, says the Indians "died on heapes as they lay in their houses; and the living that were

able to shift for themselves, would runne away and let them dy, and let their Carkases ly above the ground without buriall. For in a place where many inhabited, there hath been but one left to tell what became of thte rest; the livinge being (as it seemes) not able to bury the dead, they were left for Crowes and Kites and vermin to pray upon."

A careful tabulation of the number of Indians of the various tribes within the present bounds of Massachusetts during the period between 1620 and 1660, based upon the writings of Gookin, Mayhew and others, indicates a population of about seven thousand. Previous to the great epidemic the number was, of course, much greater. Gookin's estimate of the population before the plague, based upon what the "most creditable and ancient Indians affirm" is approximately nine thousand men or a total of about thirty thousand.

From the foregoing extracts it will be seen that the country was an attractive one; that a considerable portion of it was cleared, and under cultivation; and that the custom of burning it over once or twice each year kept it open, except in the swamps and lowlands, and in the mountainous sections of the western parts of the state. The rivers, streams, and lakes were the natural highways, and in addition there were overland trails leading to the various villages and hunting grounds.

All the resident tribes belonged to the Algonquian linguistic family, although the Mohawk claimed the country eastward to the Connecticut River, and for a while collected tribute from their Algonquian neighbors living west of that stream.

The tribal lands were well defined, and such as were cleared for cultivation were allotted to the different families. Sometimes a single household would have two or more fields at some distance from each other. Roger Williams says that the Indians were "very exact and punctual in the bounds of their Lands, belonging to this or that Prince or People (even to a River, Brook) &c. and I have known them to make bargain and sale among themselves for a small piece or quantity of ground."

The accompanying map shows the distribution of the different tribes and the location of most of the Indian villages of the seventeenth century.

Indian Tribes (1620–1675)

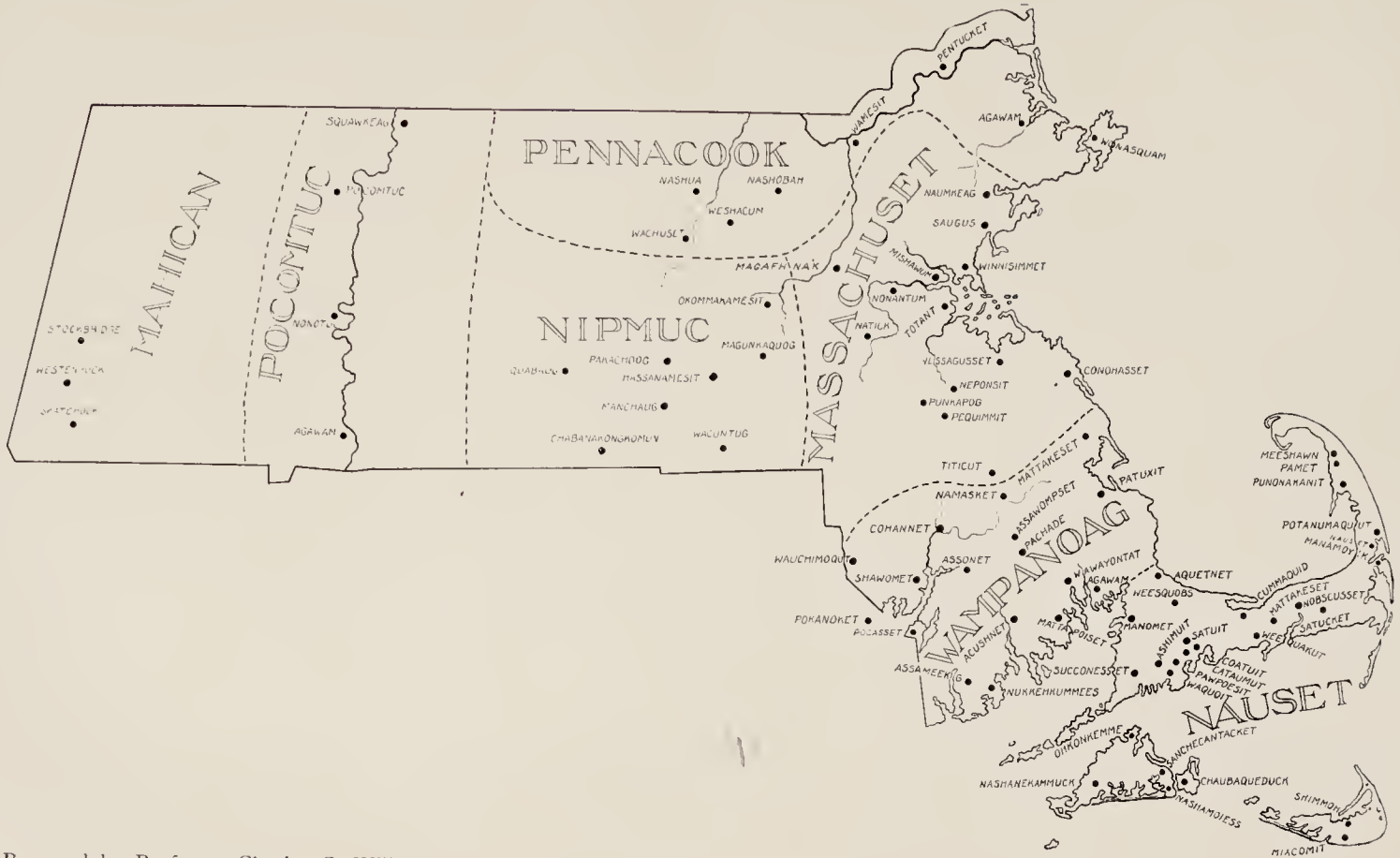
For the history of Massachusetts it is very important to keep in mind the main tribes which came in contact with the settlers.

Pennacook. A confederacy of tribes holding alliance generally with the Abnaki of Maine. In addition to their territory in Massachusetts they occupied a portion of southern Maine, most of New Hampshire, and a part of eastern Vermont. Their culture had more in common with the Abnaki than with the other Indians of Massachusetts. At the outbreak of King Philip's war, the villages of Nashua and Wachuset joined the hostile forces, but the greater part of the Pennacook under Wannalancet remained friendly to the whites till the treacherous seizure of about two hundred of their number by Waldron in 1676. They then abandoned their country and moved to Canada, or joined the Mohican of the Hudson.

Massachuset. A tribe of importance prior to the epidemic of 1616–17 which nearly depopulated their territory. In 1631 they numbered only about 500. Some time thereafter they were gathered with other converts into the villages of the Christianized or praying Indians.

Wampanoag. One of the principal tribes of New England. In addition to the territory shown on the map, they occupied the small peninsula now included in Bristol County, Rhode Island, and formerly also the island of Rhode Island. The treaty between their sachem, Massasoit, and the colonists was faithfully observed till Massasoit's death in 1662. His son, Metacomet, better known as King Philip, took up arms against the colonists, owing to encroachment upon the Indians' lands and other causes. The war lasted two years, during which Philip and the leading chiefs were killed and the tribe nearly exterminated. The survivors joined the Saconnet in Rhode Island or became connected with the praying Indians of the southern part of Massachusetts.

Nauset. A tribe under the dominion of the Wampanoag, which occupied the peninsula of Cape Cod and the islands. They came in contact with the whites at an early period.



Prepared by Professor Charles C. Willoughby

DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES AND PRINCIPAL INDIAN VILLAGES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Although they attacked the colonists at their first meeting, they became friendly and with few exceptions remained so through Philip's war. Most of them became Christianized before the war. They gradually decreased in numbers and a few probably survive in the Indian settlement at Marshpee on the Cape, or at Gay Head, Marthas Vineyard.

Nipmuc. An inland tribe or group which lived in the central part of the state, and extended into Connecticut and Rhode Island. They had lost their independence and the different parts of their territory were subject to their more powerful neighbors, and even tributary to the Mohawk. There were several villages of praying Indians among them. Upon the outbreak of Philip's war nearly all of them joined the hostile tribes, and at its close fled to Canada or westward to their Algonquian kindred of the Hudson.

Pocomtuc. A tribe whose principal village of the same name was near the present town of Deerfield. They had a fort on Fort Hill which was destroyed by the Mohawk in 1666. All the Indians of the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts seem to have been under their dominion. All the villages joined the hostile forces under Philip. At the close of the war they fled to Scaticook on the Hudson, and afterward joined the French at St. Francis, Canada.

Mohican. This tribe occupied both banks of the upper Hudson in New York, and extended into the upper portions of the Housatonic Valley in Massachusetts. Their council fire was on an island near the present site of Albany, but the pressure of the Mohawk forced its removal in 1664 to Stockbridge in western Massachusetts. As the colonial settlements crowded upon them, they sold their territory and a large number emigrated to the Susquehanna River. Others were gathered into a mission at Stockbridge.

Indian Society (1620–1675)

According to Cotton Mather, society among the Indians of this commonwealth was composed of three classes, the highest being made up of people of royal blood, (and those who had been formally adopted into a clan). From this group

the chiefs, priests, and other tribal officials were drawn. The second class was composed of the common people called sannops, who constituted the mass of the community, and who possessed rights to the tribal lands. The third group consisted of outsiders who had joined the tribe but had not been formally adopted, together with their descendants, and others with no legal rights. The members of this group owned no land; they sometimes became attached to families as servants or obtained their living as best they could. The holding of slaves as practised by some western tribes was probably unknown in Massachusetts.

In order to understand the organization of a community it should be rememered that each sex had its own peculiar sphere of responsibility. It was the duty of the man to protect his wife or wives, their offspring and near kindred; to provide the products of hunting and fishing; to make weapons and wooden utensils; to build forts and procure suitable poles and bark for the lodge; to make canoes and dugouts; and to clear land for cultivation.

To women naturally was assigned the labor required in the house and the care of children; the tanning of skins and the weaving of mats and baskets; the making of boxes and utensils of bark; the covering of lodges and the making of clothing; the gathering of edible roots, berries, acorns, and other seeds and fruits. The sowing and cultivating of crops became almost exclusively woman's work. She was often assisted in these various duties by her children, and by old men who had become incapacitated for active fighting or hunting. This work, however, was entirely voluntary on the part of the men, who were under no obligation to do it.

Tribes and Chiefs (1620–1675)

A tribe was a body of people bound together by ties of consanguinity and affinity which formed a political and territorial unit. Its territorial boundaries were well established. A tribe usually constituted an independent state, although it sometimes formed an offensive or defensive alliance with one or more neighboring tribes. Such an alliance, of greater or less permanency, formed a confederacy.

The office of head chief or sachem was hereditary. If descent was reckoned through the female line, the tribal groups were called clans. Each clan commonly bore the name of some animal, bird, or reptile, known as the clan totem, the picture of which was often tattooed upon the person of its members. If male heirs were wanting, the title descended to a female, and sometimes, though rarely, to the chief's widow. Wood says "It is custom for their King's to inherite, the sons always taking the Kingdome after their father's death. If there be no son then the Queen rules. If no Queen then the next to the blood-royal."

The lesser chiefs or sagamores were appointed, and acted under the command and protection of the sachem, who had his band of councillors, made up of priests, orators, and lesser chiefs all of noble blood. The advice of the council was sought on all important matters relating to the welfare of the tribe in general. A lesser chief or sagamore was often the head of a clan, who had gathered around him his kindred and other followers into a community of one or more villages. The sachem was a despotic ruler, and personally inflicted punishment upon such of his subjects as were brought before him, either by execution, by whipping or by other means; though sometimes he would send a secret executioner to "fetch off a head by some sudden unexpected blow of a hatchet."

There were usually several sub-chiefs to a tribe, the number depending upon its size and importance. The priests or shamans were men of great influence; and occasionally the offices of chief and shaman was combined in a single individual as in the case of Passaconaway of the Pennacook. He was the most noted powwow of this section. Among his feats as related by Morton and Wood were: making a piece of ice appear in a bowl of water in midsummer, after darkening the air, and producing a thunder clap; making water burn, the rocks move and the trees dance; transforming himself into a burning man; burning a dry leaf to ashes in the winter, putting the ashes into water, and then producing a green leaf which you could not only see but carry away. Roger Williams says that after once being present at the incantations of a priest, he durst never be an eye witness, spectator, or looker on, lest he should have been a partaker of Satan's invocations.

Both chief and sub-chiefs received tribute from the people in form of food, skins, and other commodities. The sachem was the owner of all the lakes and streams in his territory and with other tribute claimed the skin of any deer killed while in the water.

At the time of the settlement of Plymouth, the great chief Massasoit had extended his dominions beyond the limit of the tribal lands of the Wampanoag, and probably collected tribute from the Nauset, Massachuset, and some of the villages of the Nipmuc.

Villages (1630)

In this partially open country such as we have described, in those localities which afforded suitable environment, stood the villages of the natives. The larger and more permanent settlements were the headquarters of tribes or tribal divisions, and were usually palisaded. These were the forts or strongholds of the people. During the hunting season and the period of summer excursions, such villages were frequently nearly deserted, the aged and infirm being the principal occupants. The more common type of village, however, sheltered but few families, perhaps a hundred people in all. Some of them were palisaded; many of them were not.

A third type consisted of a collection of small houses or a single communal house, occupied by a few families at certain times, as when camping at fishing stations or during the planting and harvesting seasons. The coverings of these habitations were often removable and could be transported from place to place, the framework being left standing for use another season. Single isolated houses occupied by one or two families, and temporary shelters for hunters, were not uncommon.

Forts (1620–1675)

The larger forts consisted of a score or more cabins enclosed by a high palisade, and the smaller ones sometimes contained but a single habitation. These stockades were usually circular or square, and enclosed an area of four acres or more in extent, down to about fifty feet in diameter. There were usually one or two entrances formed by overlapping ends

of the stockade in such a manner as to leave room for passage between them. These entrances were stopped with brush as occasion required.

Roger Williams says that "with friendly joyning" the Indians built their forts, all the men of a community taking part in the work. The manner of procedure was as follows. After choosing a suitable piece of ground, a trench was dug about three feet deep to receive the ends of the palisades, which were timbers or half-timbers as thick as a man's thigh or the calf of his leg. These were set close together and the earth rammed solidly around them; then a trench about three feet deep was dug parallel with the stockade on its inner side, at a distance of four or five feet from it, and the earth thrown against its base "for a better protection against the enemy's dischargements." Sometimes a trench was dug on both sides of the palisades, which were usually twelve to fifteen feet high above the ground.

Up to the time of Philip's war, stockaded Indian forts existed in various parts of Massachusetts. Two abandoned forts were seen by the Pilgrims at Cape Cod: the first was near Pamet River, and the second was south of Wellfleet Bay. The latter had evidently been abandoned during the epidemic. The dead had been buried both within and without the enclosure. Within were frames of houses, the coverings of which had been removed and carried away. The Pilgrims mistook this for a palisaded cemetery. The enclosure was a large one, made of young "spires" set close together in the ground.

The following autumn they discovered two small forts near the present site of Boston. The first was formed of poles set in the ground as close to one another as possible and enclosing a ring forty or fifty feet in diameter. A trench, breast high, was dug on either side. In the midst of this palisade was the frame of a house where the sachem, Nanepashemet, was buried. About a mile from this fort another was found of similar construction, on the summit of a hill where Nanepashemet had formerly lived and was killed. Gookin says that at Natick there was a handsome fort of a round figure palisaded with trees.

The remains of trenches and embankments marking the

sites of these old palisaded enclosures are found in various sections of this commonwealth. One of the best preserved and most extensive of these is at Millis.

Habitations (1620–1675)

The habitations of the Indians of Massachusetts were of two types; the round house, and the long house. (See illustrations at p. 154). The shape of the former was hemispherical, the ground plan having a diameter of about ten to sixteen feet. These small lodges were usually occupied by one or two families. The framework consisted of poles set into the ground, two to three feet apart. Several arches were made by binding and lashing opposite poles together; the two tallest arches were in the center, those upon either side being successively reduced in size. The remaining poles were securely lashed to these arches. To this hemispherical framework were added horizontal poles at intervals, and the whole was securely bound together.

The long house was nearly rectangular in ground plan, fifteen to twenty or more feet wide, and varied in length according to the number of families which it sheltered. The smaller, with two fires, usually sheltered four families; while those with three, four or more fires were occupied by six, eight or more families. The framework was made by setting poles in two parallel rows enclosing the sides of the floor space. Opposite poles were bent over and joined in pairs, forming a series of arches of equal height which were fastened together by horizontal poles placed at intervals. The poles for the ends of the hut were set in the ground and joined to the end arches giving the form to the finished hut shown in the illustrations.

The long houses were the typical winter habitations, and with their several fires could be kept more comfortable than the smaller round houses which were more commonly used in summer. According to Wood their houses are smaller in summer when their families are dispersed by reason of heat and occasion. "In winter they make some fiftie or three score feet long, fortee or fiftee men being inmates under one roof."

The earliest account of Indian habitations in the East is

that of Verarzanus, the Florentine who in 1524 spent fifteen days in one of the harbors—which one is the subject of much discussion. His haven, he says, was in latitude 41 degrees 2 terces, that of the northern portion of Buzzards Bay. Marthas Vineyard is thought to be the "Island *in form of a triangle,* distant from the main land three leagues, about the bigness of the Island of Rhodes," though Marthas Vineyard is less than one-fifth the area of the Island of Rhodes. The gulf in which he found a haven was "about 20 leagues in compass." This may have been Buzzards Bay or Narragansett Bay, a portion of which lies in Massachusetts. On the other hand he may have mistaken the peninsula of Cape Cod for an island as did Gosnold at first. This peninsula is much nearer the area of Rhodes. A sail of 15 leagues from the cape would have brought him to Boston Harbor. All things considered, the evidence seems to be in favor of one of the two bays previously mentioned; but it is not improbable that this haven may have been Boston. He writes: "We sawe their houses made in circular or rounde fourme 10 or 12 foote in compasse. . . . They moove the foresaide houses from one place to another, according to the commoditie of the place and season, wherein they will make their abode, and only taking of the cover."

The council house was of the same form as the long communal house, but was sometimes larger, even attaining the length of one hundred feet or more, and a breadth of thirty feet.

We are told by Gookin that "The best sort of their houses are covered very neatly, tight and warm, with barks of trees, slipped from their bodies at such seasons when the sap is up; and made into great flakes with pressures of weighty timbers, when they are green; and so becoming dry they will retain a form suitable for the use they prepare them for.

Birch, chestnut, and oak bark are recorded as being used for the purpose, and it is probable that the bark of other large trees was also used. The bark was fastened to the framework so that the pieces overlapped each other like shingles. Poles were fastened over the bark to assist in keeping it in place.

Portable mats made of the leaves of the cattail-flag were extensively used for lodge coverings. The leaves were firmly sewed together with a needle made from the rib bone of a deer. The leaves were strung together on cords of bast or Indian hemp in such a manner that each alternate leaf lay upon opposite sides of the mat. The edges of the mats were very neatly finished. When rolled up they occupied but a small space, and were light, portable and fairly durable.

Temporary lodges were sometimes covered with a thatch of grass or corn husk, or with the boughs of trees. The walls of the more permanent habitations were lined with bullrush mats very neatly woven. These mats were also used for bedding and to sit upon. They were woven of undyed rushes in combination with others which were dyed in various colors, the effect of the finished product being much like the coarser varieties of Chinese straw matting. Among the Ojibwa and other tribes of the Great Lakes region, these mats are still in use and good examples may be seen in ethnological museums.

Sometimes, though rarely, a house was built upon a platform raised above the ground, probably as a protection from fleas and other vermin. Such was the dwelling of Nanepashemet seen by the Pilgrims near the present site of Boston. "His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with poles and planks, some six foote from the ground, and the house upon that, being situated on the top of a hill."

The smaller houses usually were supplied with two opposite entrances. These were about three feet in height, and "according as the wind sets they close up one door with bark and hang a deer skin or the like before the other." The larger houses had several entrances according to their size and the number of occupants.

Interiors (1620–1675)

Over each fire was an opening in the roof about eighteen inches square for the passage of smoke. In windy weather, if the smoke became troublesome, this aperture was screened with a small mat placed upon the top of the lodge and arranged with a cord so as to be turned to the windward side. Disc-

shaped hearths about three feet across were often built of small field stones, and it is a very common occurrence to find these hearth stones, burnt a deep red, scattered over plowed fields.

Sometimes a scaffold two feet high was built over the fireplace by driving four crotched sticks into the ground; crossbars were laid over the crotches, and over these and at right angles to them were placed sticks upon which fish and other food was dried and smoked. The fire was usually made of dry wood (windfalls), but sometimes a tree was felled and the log drawn into the lodge. The fire was maintained on either side of the log near one end, and it was gradually pushed onto the hearth till all was consumed. Small torches made of pitch pine "cloven into little slices" were used as occasion required for lighting the interior of the lodge.

In the better class of habitations, bedsteads were made by setting forked sticks into the earth which supported stout poles, a foot or eighteen inches from the ground. Over these at right angles were laid other poles, or planks. The bedding consisted of a reed mat "two or three fingers thick," or of mats and skins.

This is what the pilgrims at Cape Cod saw in 1620. "The houses were made with long yong Sapling trees bended and both ends stuck into the ground; they were made round, like unto an Arbour, and covered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought matts, and the doore was not over a yard high, made of a matt to open; the chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a matt to cover it close when they pleased; one might stand and goe upright in them, in the midst of them were foure little trunches knockt into the ground, and small stickes laid over, on which they hung their Pots and what they had to seeth; round about the fire they lay on matts, which are their beds. The houses were double matted, for as they were matted without, so were they within, with newer & fairer matts. In the houses were found wooden Boules, Trayes and Dishes, Earthen Pots, Hand baskets made of crab shells wrought together; also an English Paile or Bucket, it wanted a bayle, but it had two Iron ears; there were also Baskets of sundry sorts, bigger and some lesser, finer and some coarser: some were curiously wrought

with blacke and white in pretie works, and sundry other of their household stuffe: Harts horns, and Eagles clawes—and sundry such like things there was; also two or three baskets full of parched Acornes, peeces of fish and a peece of broyled Hering."

Indian Physical Appearance (1524)

The earliest description of the Indians of this state is by Verarzanus. He writes:

"There were amongst these people 2 kings, of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare, the eldest is about 40 yeares of ag, the second was a yong man of 20 yeares old. Their apparell was on this manner: the elder had upon his naked body a harts skin, wrought artificialie with divers braunches like Damaske, his head was bare, with the hair tied up behinde with divers knottes: About his neck he had a large chaine garnished with divers stones of sundrie coulours, the yong man was almost apparelid after the same manner. This is the goodliest people, and of the fairest conditions, that wee have found in this our voyage. . . . The women are of the like conformitie and beawtie, verie handsome and well favored, they are as well mannered and continente as anye women of good education. There are also of them whiche weare on their armes verie riche skinnes of leopards [bay lynx], they adorne their heades with divers ornaments made of their owne haire, whiche hange downe before on both sides their breasts, others use other kind of dressing them selves."

The hair of the Indians of this section was dressed in various ways, the styles being determined in a measure by the age and station of the individual. At the age of puberty the boys were permitted to wear it long; previous to that period it was cut in various ways. Some of them wore a long foretop, a long lock on the crown, and one on each side of the head, the rest of the hair being cut even with the scalp. These various styles were probably the distinguishing marks of the different clans. The young men and soldiers frequently wore it long on one side, that of the opposite side being cut short. The long hair upon the left side was bound into a knot. The hair of King Philip's Mount Hope warriors was trimmed

"comb fashion"; that is like a cockscomb, one or both sides of the head being shaved, leaving a ridge of comparatively short upright hair extending across the head from front to back.

Another method which seems to have been quite general was to gather and tie the hair into a long round knot at the back of the head, like a "horse's tail bound with a fillet." In this knot or twist feathers of the eagle or turkey were fastened. The front hair was cut short or was shaved far up on the head, the long hair remaining being combed and twisted in various ways and intertwined with feathers as already noted. The beard was rarely allowed to grow, but was removed as it appeared.

There is little information as to the methods of dressing women's hair. Champlain saw a girl with her hair very neatly dressed with a skin colored red and bordered on the upper part with little shell beads. A portion of it hung down behind, the rest being braided in various ways. Williams says that the virgins are distinguished "by a bashful falling downe of their haire over their eyes."

Tattooing seems to have been generally practiced. Wood writes that many of the better class bore "upon their cheeks certain pourtratures of beasts, as bears, deares, mooses, wolves, etc., some of fowls, as of eagles, hawkes, etc., which be not a superficial painting but a certain incision or else a raising of their skin by a small sharp instrument under which they conveigh a certain kind of black unchangeable ink which makes the desired form apparent and permanent." Johnson notes a blue cross tattooed "dyed very deep" over the cheek-bones of the women.

Wood says: "Others have certaine round Impressions downe the outside of their armes and brests, in forme of mullets or spur rowels, which they imprint by searing irons." These star-shaped designs seem to have been favorite ones. They occur on historic lead buttons cast by the Indians in slate molds, and are also found on old splint basketry where they are stamped in color.

Face painting was common with both sexes, and among the men more especially when on war raids. Soot was commonly used for black, and red earth or the powdered bark of the pine tree for red. These were the more common colors.

White, yellow, and blue were also used. The women painted their faces with various colors, and in time of mourning with black. They "painted their faces in the hollow of their eyes and nose with a shining black out of which the tip of their nose appears very deformed, and their cheek bones being of a lighter swart black on which they have a blue cross dyed very deep." When Massasoit first visited the English at Plymouth "His face was paynted with a sad red like murry, and oyled both head and face that hee looked greasily: All his followers likewise were in their faces, in part or in whole painted, some blacke, some red, some yellow and some white, some with crosses and other Antick works."

Indian Apparel (1630–1675)

Nearly all of the early accounts agree that in warm weather both men and women commonly wore only the breech-clout. It was made of the skin of various animals, dressed with or without the hair. Champlain saw the skin of the doe and seal used for this purpose. Archer speaks of seal skin, and Brereton of black tanned skin. Later a strip of European cloth a yard and a half long was used in place of the skin of an animal. A girdle served to support the breech-clout, which passed between the legs of the wearer, its ends being joined to the belt or carried up before and behind between the body and the girdle, over which they hung like an apron, "A flap before and a tail behind." The apron mentioned by Williams, Brereton, and other writers was the broad end of the breech-clout hanging before.

Usually neither sex wore any other garment indoors, and it was not uncommon in early colonial days for both sexes to appear out of doors in this informal dress. In Wood's time, however, the women usually wore an additional short garment of skins or of European cloth wrapped like a blanket about their loins, reaching down to their knees, which they never put off in the company of Europeans.

In addition to the breech-clout, the men sometimes wore close-fitting leggings of tanned deer skin. These were worn for warmth in cold weather, on dress occasions, and by hunters as a protection from brush and briers. Their lower ends

were fastened within the moccasins and their upper extremities were secured by straps to the girdle, which was sometimes ornamented with pendants or "set with forms of birds or beasts." The leggings were ornamented with designs in yellow, blue and red. The women also sometimes wore leggings. Moccasins were made usually of moose skin, which was thick and durable. When moose skin could not be obtained, deer skin was substituted.

Mantles or robes for use in cold weather were made of the skins of the moose, deer, bear, wolf, beaver, otter, raccoon, fox, and squirrel, and were worn by both sexes. A raccoon skin robe was highly prized. It was "of more esteeme than a coat of beaver, because of the tayles that (hanging round in order) doe adorne the garment, and is therefore so much esteemed by them."

A single skin of the moose, deer, or bear served for a man's robe. Moose skins were commonly dressed without the hair and were made "wondrous white." When used as a mantle the white dressed moose skin was ornamented near its edges with a border in color laid on with size "in form like lace set on by a tailor, and some they strip in size with works of several fashions very curious according to the several fantasies of the workmen wherein they strive to excel one another."

Deer-skin mantles were dressed with or without the hair, and a perfect tail enhanced their value. Those especially prepared for summer wear were dressed usually without the hair. These garments were fastened at the shoulders or at the waist with a belt. This belt was sometimes hollow and served as a receptacle for parched corn, the usual food for a journey.

The common method of wearing a mantle left one arm exposed. In cold weather this arm was usually covered with a "deepe furr'd cat [lynx] skin like a long large muffe which hee shifts to that arm which lieth most exposed to the winde." One of the Indians, who, with Samoset, visited the Pilgrims, wore a "wild cat's skin or such like on one arm" not carried hanging over the arm as some have supposed. The women's robes were longer and fuller than those of the men. Instead of one deer or bear skin two were sewed at full length. These garments were so long as to drag on the ground "like a great ladies train" and were probably for winter wear.

Beautiful cloaks were manufactured of the iridescent feathers of the wild turkey, "woven with twine of their own making," so that nothing could be seen but feathers. These cloaks were usually the work of the old men, but sometimes were made by the women for their children. South of Cape Ann, Champlain saw robes woven of "grasses and hemp scarcely covering the body and coming down only to the thighs." These seem to have been for summer wear, perhaps as a protection from mosquitoes.

Implements and Ornaments (1620–1675)

The men wore at the girdle a pouch of dressed skin containing fire-making implements. A pipe and tobacco were also carried in the pouch, which was sometimes suspended from the neck.

Eagle or turkey feathers were worn in the hair. A headdress of upright feathers was also worn, which was probably similar to those common among many modern tribes. It was like a coronet, broadwise like a fan or like a turkey-cock's train.

A curious head ornament of colored deer hair was worn, similar to those common among certain western tribes during the century just past. The western examples are fastened to the scalp-lock and cross the head from front to back, the dyed hair of which they are made being longer in front and standing upright. Gookin describes those of New England as "deer shuts made in the fashion of a cock's comb dyed red and crossing their heads like a half-moon." The skin of a black hawk was highly prized as a headdress. White feathered bird skins, a fox's tail, or a rattlesnake skin were also used. Headbands decorated with wampum and other beads were not uncommon.

Bracelets, necklaces, and head-bands were common, especially among the women. Mrs. Rowlandson saw a necklace of human fingers. Ear pendants of copper were worn at an early period. Pendants in the form of birds, beasts, and fishes, carved from bone, shell, and stone were worn in the ears; also the brilliant skin of the humming bird. Verarzanus saw many plates of wrought copper.

At Buzzards Bay in 1602, Brereton saw a "Great store of copper, some very red, some of a paler color [brass]. None of them but have chains, earrings, or collars of this metal. . . . Their chains are many hollow pieces cemented together, each piece of the bigness of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelve of them together on a string which they wear about their necks. Their collars they wear about their bodies like bandoliers, a handful broad, all hollow pieces like the other but somewhat shorter, four hundred pieces in a collar, very fine and evenly set together."

From archaelogical data we learn that native copper ornaments were probably unknown to the Indians of Massachusetts. European copper and brass were acquired at a very early date and skilfully worked into tubular beads and other ornaments. Beads, plates, and triangular arrow points of copper and brass, similar to those seen by Brereton and other writers, have been taken from graves and village sites and may be seen in both public and private collections.

Beads and Wampum (1620–1675)

Both discoidal and tubular beads of shell were used in New England at an early date, but they were probably rare and highly prized in prehistoric days. Champlain saw shell beads used in embroidery and also as ornaments for the hair. Bracelets of small shell beads were found by the Pilgrims on the skeleton of a child at Cape Cod. Massasoit wore "a great chain of white bone beads about his neck."

There seems to be little evidence that the smaller tubular shell beads of the variety generally known as wampum were made to any extent by our Indians previous to the beginning of the seventeeth century. Prior to 1627 it was rare, its use being confined to "ye sachems and some spetiall persons that wore a little of it for ornament." This harmonizes with what we have already learned of shell beads from the early explorers.

During the visit of the Dutch to Plymouth in 1627, they sold to the English "50li. worth" of wampum to barter with the Indians for fur and other commodities. It was two years before this small quantity was disposed of. The demand,

however, steadily increased, and as it became known among the inland tribes the English could with difficulty obtain enough to supply the demand "for many years together."

The purple portion of the quahog shell (*Venus mercenaria*) was used for making the colored variety of wampum. Much of the later white wampum seems to have been made from the white part of the same shell. The columella of the periwinkle was also used for making the white variety.

Besides its use as currency, wampum was woven into garters, belts, bracelets, collars, ear pendants, neck ornaments, head bands, etc. It was used for ornamenting bags, wallets, and various articles of dress. The wampum belts, woven of purple and white beads in symbolic figures, served as an inviolable and sacred pledge which guaranteed messages, promises, and treaties.

Gardens and Fields (1620–1675)

Agriculture was the mainstay of the tribes of this commonwealth. Each family had its well-cultivated garden wherein were usually grown corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes, artichokes, and tobacco. According to Williams: "The women of a Family will commonly raise two or three heaps [of corn] of twelve, fifteene, or twentie bushells a heap, which they drie in round broad heaps; and if she have helpe of her children or friends, much more."

Therefore, a family would usually raise twenty-four to sixty bushels of unshelled corn. This apparently does not include the amount of green corn consumed, which was considerable. Judging by the average yield of the ordinary field of the New England farmer of today, which is but a reproduction of an Indian garden, and taking into consideration the somewhat larger yield of modern varieties of corn, it seems probable that the amount of land ordinarily under cultivation by a single Indian family would be from half an acre to about one and a half acres; or, in other words, a plot of ground one hundred and fifty feet to two hundred and fifty feet square. This estimate is corroborated by Gookin, who says the Indian fields at Wabquissit yielded forty bushels of corn to the acre.

The Indians taught the colonists their native agriculture—"to cull out the finest seede, to observe fittest season, to keep distance for holes, and fit measure for hills, to worme it, and weed it; to prune it and dress it as occasion shall require." Wood also says that the Indians exceed the English husbandmen in the care of their fields, keeping them clear with their clamshell hoes, not suffering a weed to "advance his audacious head above their infant corn, or an undermining worm to spoile his spurnes."

When a field was to be broken up they had a "loving sociable speedy way to despatch it; all the neighbors men and women, fortie, fiftie, &c. joyne and came in to helpe freely." In preparing new land the trees were cut off about three feet from the ground and the branches piled against the trunk and burned. Corn was planted between the stumps and in course of time the stumps and roots were torn up.

Each family had its garden, which was usually near the summer cabin, although sometimes a family had gardens a mile or two or several miles apart, and when the work of one field was over they would remove their cabin to the other. In many places along the Massachusetts coast, Champlain saw well-kept gardens with their accompanying cabins. He describes Nauset Harbor as three or four leagues in circuit "entirely surrounded by little houses around each one of which there was as much land as the occupant needed for his support."

Agriculture (1620–1675)

Planting time arrived when the leaves of the white oak were as large as a mouse's ear. On land already cleared the weeds were burned and the ground worked over with instruments of very hard wood shaped like a spade. The hills were three feet apart, and in each one were placed three or four kernels of corn and as many beans, and the earth heaped up with the shell of the horseshoe crab. Hoes of stone, wood, and clam-shell are also recorded. The Indians of the western portion of the state employed for this purpose an implement made of the shoulder-blade of a bear, moose, or deer, fastened to a wooden handle. Two or three herring or shad were placed in the hill as a fertilizer. It was the women's work to

plant and cultivate the gardens and gather the crops; "yet sometimes the man himself (either out of love for his Wife or care for his Children, or being an old man)" will assist.

Great care was exercised to keep the ground free from weeds and to protect the young plants from the depredations of birds. Watch-houses were erected for the latter purpose.

The corn (*Zea mays*) grown in the gardens of the New England Indians was of several varieties, the colors being red, blue, yellow, and white. The modern improved varieties differ but little from these earlier kinds. The bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) was also of different colors and varities. Josselyn writes: "They are variegated much, some being bigger a great deal than others; some white, black, red, yellow, blew, spotted." This is the common field and garden bean of the New England farmers.

The pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima*) and the squash (asquta-squash or isquontersquash: *Cucurbita polymorphia*) were raised throughout Massachusetts. In nearly all of the old-fashioned fields of the present day these vegetables are grown in the same hill with the corn, and it is probable that they were thus planted in the Indian gardens.

The cultivation of the artichoke (*Helianthus tuberosus*) was adopted from the Indians by the colonists. Its roots were used by the natives as an ingredient in stews. Champlain found it cultivated at Nauset Harbor in 1605, and at Gloucester in 1606. Tobacco was a smaller and more hardy species than that now grown in warmer climates. This was commonly the only plant cultivated by the men.

The corn was harvested by the women and thoroughly dried on mats, care being taken to cover it at night with other mats and to uncover it when the sun was shining. When thoroughly dry it was usually stored in caches, although it was sometimes placed in baskets or in wooden receptacles about three feet high made by cutting hollow logs into sections, and stored in the wigwam.

Morton writes: "Their barnes are holes made in the earth, that will hold a Hogshead of corne a peece in them. In these (when their corne is out of the huske and well dried) they lay their store in greate baskets which they make of Sparke with

mats under about the sides, and on the top; and putting it into the place made for it, they cover it with earth."

The Pilgrims opened a cache at Cape Cod, being attracted by the heap of sand. In it they found "A little old Basket full of faire Indian Corne, and digged further & found a fine great new Basket full of very faire corne of this yeare, with some 36 goodly eares of corne, some yellow and some red, and others mixt with blew which was a very goodly sight; the Basket was round, and narrow at the top, it held about three or four Bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made." These old cache holes are still found in many sections of this commonwealth where the land has not been cultivated.

Green corn was a favorite food, and for the purpose of procuring this for as long a season as possible there was a second planting. It was usually prepared by roasting or boiling. The later crop, if not ripe when harvested, was boiled on the ear, shelled, and carefully dried on mats or bark. Thus prepared it would keep indefinitely. The crop of ripe corn was husked, and also dried before storing.

Food in General (1620–1675)

Various preparations were made from maize. Nokake, one of the most valued, consisted of kernels parched in hot ashes and ground. This was especially useful in travelling, it being carried in a basket or hollow girdle, or in a long leather bag at the back. A few spoonfuls with a little water were sufficient for a meal. They also prepared a sort of pottage of unparched meal. Hulled corn and hominy were made from whole or cracked corn, the hulls being removed by steeping in lye made from wood ashes. The kernels thus prepared were boiled until soft. Succotash was a mixture of corn and beans boiled.

Gookin says: "Their food is generally boiled maize, or Indian corn, mixed with kidney beans, or sometimes without. Also they frequently boil with this pottage fish and flesh of all sorts, either new taken or dried . . . also they mix with the said pottage several sorts of roots . . . and pum-

pions, and squashes, and also several sorts of nuts or masts as oak acorns, chestnuts, walnuts: these husked and dried, and powdered they thicken their pottage therewith."

Cakes or round loaves made of corn meal were wrapped in leaves and baked in hot ashes. Crushed strawberries or other berries were often mixed with the dough. Another meal, used principally to thicken stews was made from acorns of the white oak, the bitter principle being removed by boiling in lye made from ashes of rotten maple wood. During this process a clear and sweet oil rose to the surface which was skimmed off and preserved in bladders. This was eaten with meat and was also used for anointing.

Another valued food oil was prepared from hickory nuts. These, shells and all, were crushed between stones and mixed with water, the oil which rose to the surface being preserved in suitable receptacles. Crushed hickory nuts were also used for thickening stews. Chestnuts were gathered, dried, and preserved for a "dainty" throughout the year.

Of the various roots used for food, the most important seems to have been the ground nut (*Apios tuberosa*) a climbing perennial herb with fragrant purple-brown flowers, common in moist thickets. It bears at intervals upon its thread-like roots numerous tubers about the size of a hen's egg. The farinacious roots of the common yellow waterlily were boiled and eaten.

All edible berries were gathered, and certain kinds such as wild currants and blueberries were dried upon mats in the sun, and preserved for winter consumption. Josselyn writes that dried blueberries were sold to the colonists by the bushel.

Nearly all the larger mammals of New England were used for food. "Their spits were no other than cloven sticks sharpened at one end to thrust into the ground. Into these cloven stickes they thrust the flesh or fish they would have roasted, beheming a round fire with a dozen sticks at a time, turning them as they see occasion."

Meat was preserved for a considerable time by cutting in strips and drying in the smoke. Moose tongues were preserved by smoking and were considered a great delicacy. Fish was dried upon scaffolds over a fire. Lobsters were preserved in like manner. Wood writes: "They drie [lobsters] to

keepe for Winter, erecting scaffolds in the hot sunshine, making fire likewise underneath them by whoes smoake the flies are expelled, till the substance remain hard and drie. In this manner they drie Basse and other fishes without salt, cutting them very thinne to drie suddainly, before the flies spoil them, or the rain moist them, having a special care to hang them in their smoakie houses in the night and dankish weather."

Oysters were also dried for future use. Williams writes that the Indians generally over the country delight in clams. In the winter and summer at low water the women dig for them. "These they boil and it makes their broth and their bread seasonable and savory instead of salt."

Hunting, Trapping, and Fishing (1620–1675)

The Indians were expert hunters, trappers, and fishermen. Extensive deer drives were organized in which a hundred or more Indians took part. V-shaped fences were sometimes built a mile or more in length, to guide the deer to a narrow opening where they were shot or snared. Deer were taken in snares which were sometimes baited with acorns, or set near a tree which had been cut down for the deer to browse upon. Wolves, bears, martens, and other animals were taken in dead-falls which varied in size according to the bulk and strength of the animal sought. When hunting the bear he was driven as near the cabin of the hunter as possible before killing, to save transporting the meat.

Fish were caught in nets set across small rivers or coves, or shot with arrows when the tide was low. Sturgeon were taken in nets, or were harpooned from a canoe at night, the fish being attracted by the light of burning birch-bark. Alewives were caught with a hoop-net attached to a long handle. Fish were also taken in weirs and in cylindrical basket traps, and with hook and line. Wood informs us that the lines were stronger than those of English make, and were attached to bone hooks.

The fish hook in general use among the northern Atlantic Coast tribes was shaped like the letter V, with one arm of bone about half the length of the other. These hooks are still in use

among the Montagnais Indians of Labrador, and hundreds of the bone points have been found in the shell heaps along the New England coast.

Champlain secured one of these hooks from an Indian near Plymouth Harbor. It was "made of a piece of wood to which they attached a bone . . . and fasten it very securely. The whole has a fang-shape and the line attached to it is made out of the bark of a tree. They gave me one of their hooks which I took as a curiosity. In it the bone was fastened on by hemp, like that of France as it seemed to me, and they told me that they gather this plant without being obliged to cultivate it." This was undoubtedly the common Indian hemp (*Apocynum canabenum*).

In calm weather lobsters were speared from a canoe. The staff was two to three yards long with one end pointed and notched. Harpoon points for taking sturgeon and other large fish were made of bone with one or more barbs. Near the base was a perforation for the attachment of the line, which according to Wood was sometimes two hundred feet long.

Weapons (1620–1675)

Bows of handsome shape were made of walnut and other woods, and strung with a cord of moose sinew. Elder shoots were commonly used for arrow-shafts. The sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft was stuck loosely into the pith at one end of the shaft, which was bound with cord to prevent splitting. The foreshaft was joined loosely that it might become detached when the deer or other animal was shot. Verarzanus saw arrows headed with "jasper, hard marble, and other sharp stones." A large proportion of the arrowheads found in the southeastern section of the state are of white quartz, and this is probably the white stone referred to. Triangular points of copper and brass were early substituted for those of stone, and were quite common at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Points made of splinters of bone, ground to the proper shape, were also common; and the tail of the horseshoe crab was often used. The Pilgrims at Cape Cod picked up eighteen arrows after an encounter with the Indians. These were

headed with brass, pieces of antler, and eagle claws. Turkey and eagle feathers were used for feathering arrows. Eagle feathers were preferred, however, for they would not "sing" in flying.

Quivers were often made of otter skin. Gookin writes that bark shields were used for defence. The common form of war club was made from the lower section of a small tree, the bulbous portion where the roots join serving for the head which was usually carved into a ball.

The tomahawk was a piece of wood about two feet long somewhat thickened at one end, through which a hole was made. Into this perforation was set the smaller end of a grooveless stone hatchet. This was a common form of stone implement or weapon. Gookin refers to them as "tomahawks made of wood like a pole axe, with a sharpened stone fastened therein."

Canoes (1620–1675)

By referring to the map of Massachusetts (at p. 130), it will be noted that the Pennacook Indians occupied the northeastern section of the state. The Pennacook area also extended into Vermont, New Hampshire, and the southwestern part of Maine. They are usually classed with the Abnaki group which centers in Maine and extends into the Provinces. Their material culture was somewhat different from the other tribes of Massachusetts. This difference is especially noticeable in their canoes. North of about the latitude of Salem the birch-bark type prevailed. South of this point the dugout seems to have been used almost exclusively.

The bark canoe is well known. The framework was usually of white cedar, and the covering of birch-bark; prepared roots of the cedar or spruce were used for sewing and wrapping, and the seams were rendered watertight with spruce gum. The model of the Abnaki canoe is familiar to all, as it is perpetuated in the modern club canoe of inland lakes and streams throughout Massachusetts.

The dugout, which was the common form over the greater portion of this commonwealth, was usually of pine or chestnut, though sometimes of oak. The larger ones were capable

of carrying twenty people. Ordinarily, however, they were only about 20 feet long with a width of 18 to 24 inches.

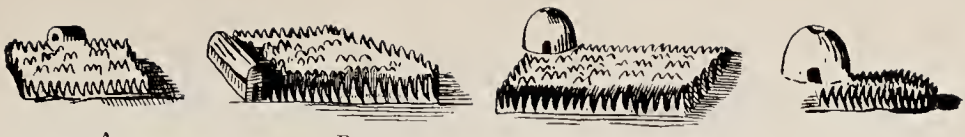
Speaking of the dugout seen near the present site of Boston, Champlain says: "They are made in the following manner. After cutting down at a cost of much labor and time the largest and tallest tree they can find by means of stone hatchets . . . they remove the bark, and round off the tree except on one side, where they apply fire gradually along its entire length; and sometimes they put red-hot pebble-stones on top. When the fire is too fierce they extinguish it with a little water, not entirely, but so that the edge of the boat may not be burnt. It being hollowed out as much as they wish, the scrape it all over with stones, which they use instead of knives. These stones resemble our musket flints." Such scrapers are very plentiful and are found in nearly all collections of New England stone implements.

Another account is by Williams. He writes: "I have seene a Native goe into the woods with his hatchet carrying onely a Basket of Corne with him, and stones to strike a fire when he had felled his tree (being a Chesnut) he made him a little house or shed of the bark of it, he puts fire and followes the burning of it with fire, in the midst in many places: his corne he boyles and hath the Brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish: but so hee continues burning and hewing untill he hath within ten or twelve dayes (lying there at his work alone) finished."

The stones to strike fire, referred to above, were a lump of iron pyrites and a piece of flint, each about the size of a hen's egg; or two lumps of pyrites. Fire was produced by striking these together, the sparks being caught upon "a piece of touchwood much like our sponge in England." When flint and pyrites were used, the flint was sometimes fastened to a stick which served as a handle. These fire-making tools were carried in a little bag of tanned skin fastened to the girdle. The two-part fire drill was also used, but pyrites was the favorite method in this locality.

Utensils (1620–1675)

The Indians were very proficient in making wooden bowls and spoons, a few of which may be seen in our museums.

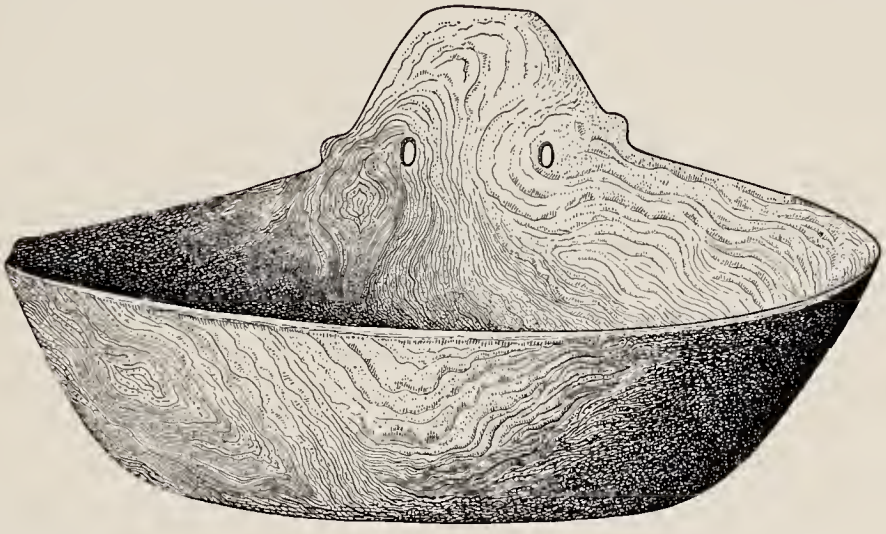


A B C D

After Champlain, 1605-06

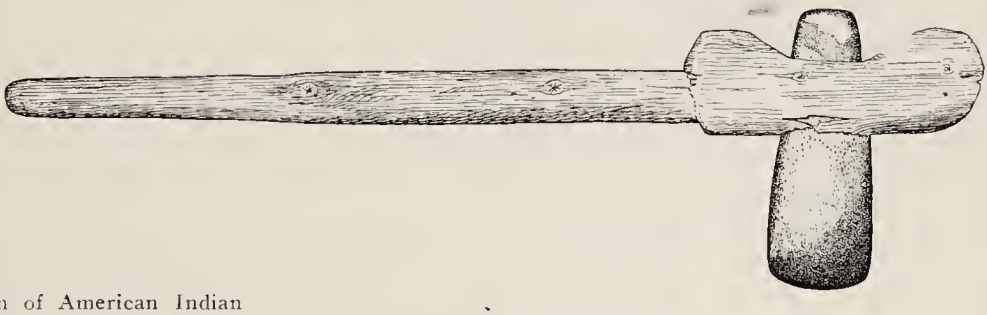
HABITATIONS AND GARDENS, COAST OF MASSACHUSETTS

A. House and garden at Chatham. B. C. At Nauset Harbor. D. At Gloucester.



Massachusetts Historical Society

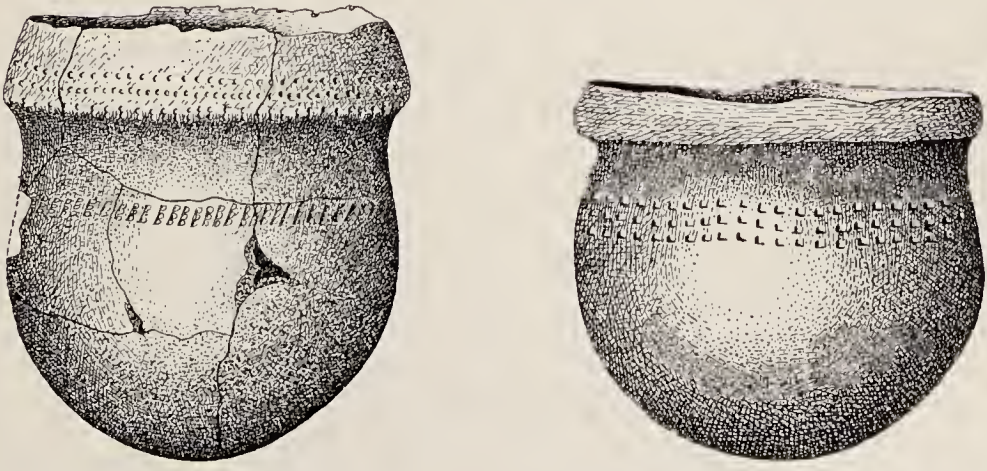
WAMPANOAG INDIAN BOWL OF WOOD



Museum of American Indian

STONE HATCHET IN ITS ORIGINAL HANDLE

Found in sand under salt water near New Bedford



Peabody Museum of Harvard University

POTTERY VESSELS FROM GRAVE AT WINTHROP, MASSACHUSET INDIANS

Drawings from Professor Charles C. Willoughby

Morton says: "They have dainty wooden bowles of maple, of highe price amongst them; and these are dispersed by bartering one with the other, and are but in certain parts of the Country made, where the several trades are appropriated to the inhabitants of those parts only."

Gookin writes of dishes, spoons, and ladles made "very smooth and artificial, and of a sort of wood not subject to split. These they make in several sizes." Josselyn refers to "dishes, spoons, and trays wrought very smooth and neatly out of the knots of wood." These were very skilfully made of the burly portions of maple, elm, and other trees, and were often ornamented with carved representations of the heads of dogs or other animals.

The colonists early recognized the excellence of the material used by the Indians in making their wooden utensils, and serviceable bowls were wrought by them from birdseye maple. Examples may be seen in colonial museums. They have a clumsy appearance, however, when compared with native work: their walls are proportionately thicker, and they lack the pleasing outlines and variety of design shown by the better class of Indian bowls.

Baskets and bags were made in great variety. Very few examples, however, have been preserved. The various forms of splint baskets and sieves used by many Algonquian tribes in the preparation of corn foods were doubtless in general use. In one of the houses at Cape Cod the Pilgrims found "baskets of sundry sorts, bigger and some lesser, finer and some coarser; some very cunningly wrought with black and white in pretty works."

Gookin says that rushes, bents (coarse grass), maize husks, silkgrass, and wild hemp were used for baskets and bags, some of which were ornamented with designs of birds, beasts, fishes, and flowers. To this list, Josselyn adds spark (rush) and the the bast of the lime tree. Wood says: In summer the Indians gather hemp and rushes and material for dyes "of which they make curious baskets with inter-mixed colors and portraitures of antique Imagery." Some of the bags and sacks woven of Indian hemp would hold five or six bushels.

Birch-bark buckets, boxes, and dishes were common, especially among the Pennacook. Josselyn writes: "Delicate

sweet dishes too they make of Birch-Bark sewed with threads drawn from Spruse or white Cedar-Roots, and garnished on the outside with flourisht works, and on the brims with glistering quills taken from the Porcupine, and dyed, some black, others red, the white are natural; these they make of all sizes from a dram cup to a dish containing a pottle, likewise Buckets to carry water or the like, large Boxes too of the same materials, . . . Kettles of Birchen-bark."

Gookin says: "Their pails to fetch their water in, are made of birch barks, artificially doubled up, that it hath four corners and a handle in the midst. Some of these will hold two or three gallons: and they will make one of them in an hours time."

Pottery vessels were in general use, but there are few references to them by the early writers. Champlain says that the Indians boil their corn in earthen pots. Morton writes: "They have earthen pots of divers sizes, from a quart to a gallon, 2 or 3, to boyl their vittles in, very strong though they be thin like our iron pots."

In Gookin's time there were few in use. He says: "The pots they seeth their food in, which were heretofore, and yet are in use among some of them, are made of clay or earth, almost in the form of an egg with the top taken off. But now they generally get kettles of brass, copper or iron. These they find more lasting than those of clay, which were subject to be broken; and the clay or earth they were made of was very scarce and dear."

A few of these pottery vessels have been taken from graves in this commonwealth, and many fragments have been recovered from the shell-heaps and old habitation sites.

According to Williams some of the Indians did not smoke: "But they are rare Birds; for generally all the Men throughout the Countrey have a tobacco-bag with a pipe in it hanging at their back; sometimes they make such great pipes both of wood and stone that they are two feet long, with men and beasts carved, so big and massive that a Man may be hurt mortally by one of them."

Josselyn refers to stone pipes with images upon them. A considerable number of tobacco pipes of various shapes, both of stone and terra-cotta have been recovered from Indian

graves in different parts of this commonwealth, and may be seen in museums and private collections. Besides tobacco, the natives used Kinnikinnick, a compound of tobacco and the bark of the cornus or similar material for smoking; also several substitutes.

Games (1620–1675)

The principal game played by the Indian was called "hub-bub." It consisted of a shallow wooden platter, ten or twelve inches in diameter; several small discs of bone, marked or simply colored on one side; and a package of counters, consisting of split sticks. Sometimes plum stones were substituted for the discs. In playing, the platter containing the dice was thumped on the ground. The discs "mount changing colors with the windy whisking of their hands to and fro, which action in their sport they must use, smiting themselves on the breast and thigh, and crying out 'hub, hub, hub.'" The counting varied according to the number of discs falling with the marked or painted side uppermost. Tally was kept with the splints. Much interest was taken in the game which was sometimes played in public in an arbor constructed for the purpose, on which were hung wampum and other objects wagered in the game. Village played against village, a player being chosen from each. These public games were attended by many spectators.

Another game called "puim" was played with fifty or sixty small "bents" (grass spires or small sticks) about a foot long. These were shuffled and divided among the players. He who received the greatest number advanced his count. Noted players of this game sometimes carried the bundle of puims in a perforation in the lobe of his ear in defiance of his antagonists.

Football was played upon broad sandy beaches free from stones. Village played against village, and a large amount of property changed hands, but there was little quarreling. A long line was drawn upon the sand midway between the goals, over which the contesting parties shook hands. The goals were sometimes a mile apart, and the ball was about the size of an English hand ball. This was pitched into the air with their bare feet. Sometimes it was two days before the goal was made, the ground won being marked each day. While the men played, the boys piped, and the women danced and sung.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliography following Chapter xix (King Philip's War); and thte General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

ARCHER, Gabriel.—*The Relation of Gosnold's Voyage* (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections,* 3rd Series, VIII).—A brief but clear account of Gosnold's voyage to Cape Cod and Buzzards Bay.

BRERETON, John.—*A Brief and True Relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia* [first print, 1602], Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections,* 3rd Series, VIII.— An account of Gosnold's voyage, with a short account of the Indians.

CHAMPLAIN, Samuel de.—*Voyages,* Vol. II, (Boston, Prince Society, reprint Boston, 1878–1882).—He visited our Harbors and mapped several of them. Excellent descriptions of the Indians, their houses, and gardens.

CHEEVER, George B.—[first print, 1622] *The Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth* (Cheever's reprint, N. Y., J. Wiley, 1849).—Contains various accounts of the Pilgrims' early intercourse with the Indians, especially with Massasoit and his people.

GOOKIN, Daniel.—[First print, 1792], *Historical Collections of the Indians of New England* (Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* I.).—An excellent general account of the natives, and conditions during middle of 17th century.

JOSSELYN, John.—[First print, 1675] *An Account of Two Voyages to New England* (Veazie reprint).—Valuable information about the group of Indians to which the Pennacook belong.

MORTON, Thomas.—[First print Amsterdam, J. F. Stam, 1637], *The New English Canaan* (Prince Society, reprint, Boston, 1883).—Morton of Merry-Mount. A most interesting volume; first book contains a fund of information about the natives.

VERARZANUS, John.—*The Relation of Hakluyt's Divers Voyages* (1582).—Earliest account of the natives. Harmonizes in all details with the later accounts of the Indians of Massachusetts.

WILLIAMS, Roger.—[First print, 1643] *A Key into the Language of America* (Rhode Island Historical Society, *Collections*).—By a keen student of the Algonquin dialect, and also of the customs of several tribes.

WINSOR, Justin.—*The Memorial History of Boston, 1630–1680.*—(Boston, Osgood, (1880–1881)—See pp. 241–274, by George E. Ellis.

WOOD, William.—*New Englands Prospect* [First print, London, Thomas Cotes, 1634].—(Boynton's reprint, Boston, 1898). Wood came to Massachusetts in 1629 and settled at Lynn. Excellent description of the Indians, the country and its natural history.

CHAPTER VII

JOHN WINTHROP, COMMONWEALTH BUILDER (1588–1649)

By Albert Bushnell Hart
Professor of Government Emeritus, Harvard University

The Winthrop Heritage

Writers of history are prone to describe the growth of a nation as though it were the growth of a tree—from the roots to a slip, a sapling, a young trunk; at last the full stately tree. In this realization of a nation as a growth, it is easy to leave out of account that just as the tree is an assemblage of cells, so a community is the combination of the lives of all those individuals who have been parts of the whole.

To portray even the outstanding individuals in the history of Massachusetts would make this work a necrology rather than a history. Nevertheless, it is impossible truly to tell the story of Massachusetts without taking into account in each volume at least one outstanding character, as a representative of the aspirations and the accomplishments of his generation; who exemplifies the standard, the aims, and the successes of the Massachusetts group of which he was a part.

For the seventeenth century of Massachusetts history the selection of such a typical, characteristic person is obvious. John Winthrop, in his life of sixty-one years, passed through the experiences of an English churchman, an English puritan, a colonizer, an American puritan, and an upholder of a new type of community life and enduring popular government, which is interwoven in the fabric of modern American democracy. The life of John Winthrop is the inner life of a new community, of which he was the leader and guide in its first critical decades.

Born in England, in 1588, the year when the destruction of the Armada opened the western seas and lands to English ships and colonists, John Winthrop was in the thick of the growing English nation for forty-three years. His family pedigree has been carefully plotted by his descendants and other American writers. The Winthrop and the Washington families have a family history singularly alike. Both appear in neighboring counties—Robert de Winetorp in Lincolnshire, in 1200 and Sir William de Wessington in Durham in 1187. Both familes acquired sequestered priories, the Washingtons bought Sulgrave, (county of Northampton); the Winthrops, the estate of Groton, (county of Suffolk). John Winthrop emigrated to Massachusetts in 1630. John Washington emigrated to Virginia in 1658.

The Winthrop family had the habit of keeping family letters and other data; hence we are tolerably acquainted with three Adam Winthrops in the sixteenth century in succession, all men of mark. The second Adam was a clothier, that is, a merchant of cloth; also an official of Trinity and St. John's College, Cambridge. The third Adam was a lawyer and a master-hand at diary entries in the spaces of his almanacs; his only son John, born at Edwardston, near Ipswich, January 12, 1588, was like his father Lord of Groton, though never a peer.

Of the life of John Winthrop as a boy, as a student of Trinity College (entered at the age of fourteen and never graduated) we know much through the family papers. That is, we know that this clearly honorable young man, afterward wrote of himself in humble Puritan style as infused with "wordly cares—a secret desire after pleasure and after liberties and unlawful delights." The only specifications are "sitting up late, eating too much, gunning—or a slighting manner of family worship." In later life he gave up tobacco, apparently on religious grounds. Such self-accusations were the religious stock in trade of the Puritan dispensation.

The Englishman (1600–1628)

John Winthrop was thoroughly a family man. He married four times and was thrice a widower. In 1605 he married Mary Foorth, who bore him six children—the eldest being

John, Jr. who became a figure in Massachusetts and colonial history. Mary died in 1614; and in 1615 Winthrop married Thomasine Clopston, who lived less than a year. In 1618 he married Margaret Tyndal who bore him eight children, and lived till 1647. In the last months of his life Winthrop married a young wife, Martha Coytman, who survived him.

The letters between John Winthrop and Margaret Winthrop, of which many are extant, are among the choicest flowers of Puritan literature. In one of the earliest the gentleman alluded to the "unequal conflicts which for my sake thou didst lately sustain," apparently in favor of a rival. He fortifies his argument by bringing in the God of Israel; Caleb and Joshua; the World; Christ and his Apostles; Demas; "Solomon's choyse Psal. 37:5, Phil. 4:6, 7," and "Meanes better than 80 lb. a yeare." The next letter he is able to sign as "thy husband by promise." Despite this quaint and businesslike appeal, the spirit of the letters is that of deep tenderness and mutual and lofty confidence. Says she in one later, "I have many reasons to make me love thee whereof I will name two: first, because thou lovest God, and secondly, because thou lovest me."

Like George Washington, in his family relations Winthrop takes great marital responsibilities to himself; for instance, "I send two pieces of Lockerum; cloth for a cloke and sute for Forth & for a night gowne for thyself." Here is what her husband said of Thomasine in 1616: "She was a woman wise, modest, loving, & patient of iniuries; but hir innocent & harmles life was of most observation. She was truly religious, & idustrious therein; plaine hearted, & free from guile, & very humble minded; ffor hir cariage towards myselfe, it was so amiable & observant as I am not able to expresse; it had this onely inconvenience, that it made me delighted too muche in hir to enjoye hir longe."

The Winthrops were people of means; John Winthrop must have inherited property from his father, including the Manor of Groton; and also from his wives. He sent his eldest son to college and the young man, without finishing his course became a lawyer. From early in 1626, John Winthrop held an Attorneyship of the Court of Wards and Liveries, which was a kind of special counsellorship; and he was frequently in

London. He drafted parliamentary bills, including "An Act for the preventing of Drunkenness and of the great waste of Corn." He was co-executor of a will with John Hampden, and was a friend of Sir John Eliot. His income rose to the large sum of £700 a year. Then for reasons now unknown, in 1629 he lost this appointment, much to his chagrin.

The Puritan

The first thirty years of Winthrop's life coincide with the first epoch of English colonization in America. He was born thirteen years after the first attempts at American settlement by Raleigh and Gilbert. He was head of a family when the Virginia colony was planted in 1607. He was of the religious and social strain from which came the Plymouth colonists of 1620. He was a close friend of some of the New England Council chartered in 1621 under which settlements were made in the later Maine and New Hampshire. The troubles between King and Parliament greatly disturbed him. Early in 1629 he wrote to his wife, "I am very persuaded, God will bring some heavye Affliction upon this lande & that speedylye; but be of good comfort, if the Lord seeth it wilbe good for us, he will provide a shelter & a hidynge place for us & others."

The Winthrop family was one of the numerous substantial heads of small communities who took on themselves the weighty responsibilities of carrying on the Puritan movement. John Winthrop wrote down the low estimate in which he and his Puritan friends were held by their own class in 1616 as follows:

"All experience tells me, that in this way there is least companie, and those who doe walk openlye in this way shalbe despised, pointed at, hated of the world, made a bye-worde, reviled, slandered, rebuked, made a gazinge-stock, called puritans, nice fools, hipocrites, hair-brainde fellows, rashe, indiscreet, vain-glorious, and all that naught is."

This obloquy was shared by several thousand families of well-to-do Englishmen, who carried the Protestant movement to a rigor and lovelessness matched only in Scotland and Geneva. The extreme of extremes in this respect was reached by the colonists in America who were to be led by

Winthrop. The significance of Puritanism was that in England existed from 1575 to 1660 a large number of wealthy families (in many cases titled) who in parting from Rome separated themselves also from the joyousness of religion, and from the sweet and tender spirit of the New Testament. From them passed many strong spirits into America.

The later intimate relations with Isaac Johnson and others prove that John Winthrop must have been early cognizant of the efforts of a group of Puritans to raise money and to secure a charter for a colony in New England on a large scale. The first public step was the Charter of March 4, 1629, contemplating the control of such a colony by authorities resident in England. An evidence of a change of purpose was the "Agreement at Cambridge (Aug. 26, 1629) by which the signatories declared themselves willing to go overseas. To this document John Winthrop subscribed his name.

Negotiations, of which there is now no record other than that it was an expensive process, secured the desired legal decision that the patent might be transferred and operated out of England. October 20, 1629 came a step momentous for the future commonwealth of Massachusetts. At a General Court of the Company held under the charter it was voted that relying on the "extraordinary great commendation of Mr. John Wynthrop, both for his integrity and sufficiency as being one very well fitted and accomplished for the place of governor," he should be governor for the next year. In this vote were combined two influences which were later to create a great colony. At one end of the line, the Puritan gentlemen who were willing to venture their money and influence in the enterprise; and at the other the Puritan gentlemen and commoners who were willing to betake themselves over seas. The two groups were by no means identical.

Following out a lifelong habit Winthrop analyzed the arguments for agreeing to this important demand in a document which he called "Particular Considerations"; it is an excellent example of his precision, his logical process and his sense of moral obligations. Here is the list.

"1: It is come to that issue as (in all probabilitye) the wellfare of the Plantation dependes upon his goeinge.

"2: He acknowledges a satisfactorye callinge, outwarde from those of the Plantation, inwardly by the inclination of his own hearte to the worke, & bothe approved by godly & iuditious Devines. If he should refuse this opportunitye, that talent which God hath bestowed upon him publike service, were like to be buried.

"4: His wife & suche of his children, as are come to years of discreation, are voluntarylye disposed to the same Course.

"5: Most of his friends (upon the former considerations) doe consent to his change."

The assemblage of the colonists in England, their preparations for the voyage and their departure in one of the largest fleets which up to that time had ever crossed the seas under the English flag are elsewhere described in this volume. Seventy days they were at sea.

Winthrop's Journal (1630–1649)

For Winthrop's posterity by birth, and for his immensely larger political posterity of citizens of Massachusetts, the voyage is especially notable for the beginning of his *Journal* or *History of New England*. Some of the manuscript of the *Journal* is still in existence. All of it was a hundred and fifty years later transferred to print. The entries were not made daily and in many cases were carefully written up after some episode was completed. Two editions have appeared in print, besides a special edition of other documents, all described in the select bibliography for this chapter. Two were enriched with elaborate notes by the learned Savage and the eminent Robert C. Winthrop, the latter of whom added many documents from the family archives of his ancestors. As a literary production, as a basal account of the most fascinating period in Massachusetts annals, as a revelation of the inner life and motives of a noble statesman, it is the most valuable source for the early history of the English colonies in America. Personal and family entries are numerous throughout. To modern ways of thinking a disproportionate space is given to signs and portents and incidents, such as make up much of the tabloid newspapers of the present day: a battle between a mouse and a snake; a bad man shipwrecked and lost, a good man shipwrecked and saved; accidents, crimes, occurences, even

scandals. A larger part of the space is devoted to careful and often minute accounts of the discussions on public questions and the organization of a government competent to cope with difficulties and dissensions.

This includes numerous characterizations of his associates, the worthies and unworthies of Massachusetts. The invaluable portions of the *Journal* for the historian of Massachusetts are the careful detailed accounts of controversies or crises during the nineteen years of his public service. In them we read the private thoughts of the governor and his defenses of his own actions. These long summaries and digests of arguments pro and con must have taken up many hours of the time of a busy statesman.

That Winthrop expected his journal to be read by posterity seems certain. The name *History of New England,* the care with which events are described, the noting of dates, are evidences of expectation that he might be still read in our generation. In fact, he was the first critical historian of the English settlements in America, and remains to this day the soundest and most interesting writer on Massachusetts during the seventeenth century.

Here is an example of the minor entries in the *Journal* as they run: Longer extracts printed below will bring out the graver and more solid portions of the *Journal.*

[1631] "A cow died at Plimouth, and a goat at Boston, with eating Indian corn.

"October 23.] Mr. Rossiter, one of the assistants, died.

"25.] "Mr. Colburn (who was chosen deacon by the congregation a week before) was invested by imposition of hands of the minister and elder.

"The governor, upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so as it grew, by little and little, to disuse."

Private Life in Massachusetts (1630–1649)

Winthrop was elected Governor of the Company a second time during the voyage and from the first was indisputably the most important man in the colony not only from

his station but from his social standing. So far as we now know he turned all his estates in England (except one settled upon his wife) into ready money, which he invested in the enterprise, and in establishing himself under new conditions. He had an important part in the final selection of Boston as capital of the colony, and at once built a house, handsome for the times, the frame of which had first been set up in New Town. His eldest son, John Winthrop, Jr., came out and lived several years in the colony and then transferred himself to Connecticut where he became Governor and a leading spirit. In his will of 1639 (afterward cancelled) he mentioned his sons Adam, Stephen, Deane and Samuel.

Winthrop was a shrewd hardheaded man with a Yankee eye to the future. The strain of the first few years of want and suffering in the colony bore also upon him. Apparently most of his original capital melted away. Nevertheless he became a landed proprietor, partly from his share as a freeman in several divisions of land, partly from generous grants made by the General Court from time to time. His property included "fifty acres of meade ground near the Wanuttymies River" (1632); "the Ware [Weir] at Watertown with Mathew Cradock," probably the dam of late years ascribed to Leif Erickson; one hundred and fifty acres at Romney Marsh; particularly the estate of six hundred acres at Ten Hills (1631), within the present bounds of Medford, where he built up a country estate; one thousand acres at Concord (1638); Conants Island (1632). By the malfesance of his agent Luxford he suffered heavy losses on his Ten Hills estate.

For several years he took no salary as governor though he did receive some presents from private persons, a practice which he then publicly renounced. A public subscription was raised for him, and he also received a compensation from the General Court as salary. Nevertheless, the inventory of his furniture at his death shows a moderate personal property; and his wealth, whatever its amount, must have been chiefly in land.

He had another wealth of friends because he knew personally all the significant ministers and private men in the early colony and was associated closely with the other statesmen of his period. Some he praises and some he excoriates

From the original map in the Massachusetts Historical Society

GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S ESTATE OF TEN HILLS IN 1687

in his *Journal*. The grave and reverend seignors of the Assistants he knew intimately.

Judging not only by the *Journal* which came from his own hand, but by all the records available, Winthrop was a just and upright man, a good husband, a good father, a kind neighbor, considerate of the Indians, polite even to Catholic clericals who came down from Canada; an example to his times and to later times of a high minded, active, considerate and upright Puritan gentleman. Yet he was always subject to the assumptions and prejudices of a superior among men mostly of lesser importance.

Women were, of course, looked up as not only weaker but less gifted in mind. He records in 1633 that, "At the lecture in Boston a question was propounded about veils. Mr. Cotton concluded, that where (by the custom of the place) they were not a sign of the woman's subjection, they were not commanded by the apostle. Mr. Endicott opposed, and did maintain it by the general arguments brought by the apostle. After some debate, the governour, perceiving it to grow to some earnestness, interposed, and so it brake off."

Winthrop's nature opinions upon the female sex are summed up in the often quoted discussion of women's rights in the *Journal* (1645):

"Mr. Hopkins, the governour of Hartford upon Connecticut, came to Boston, and brought his wife with him, (a godly young woman, and of special parts,) who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been growing upon her divers years, by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband, being very loving and tender of her, was loathe to grieve her; but he saw his error, when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her. He brought her to Boston and left her with her brother, one Mr. Yale, a merchant, to try what means might be had here for her. But no help could be had."

The Charter (1628–1684)

Keeping in mind this constitutional process, the ground is now cleared for a brief sketch of the development of the government of Massachusetts during Winthrop's life.

The foundation stone was of course the charter, and volumes have been written upon the efforts in England to modify the charter, or to compel its surrender, by efforts renewed from time to time, till in 1684 the charter was judicially declared not to be in force. This struggle is described in later chapters of this volume.

The charter was written in very general terms. Particularly the critical grant of legislative power is stated as follows: "to make, ordeine, and establishe all Manner of wholesome and reasonable Orders, Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinances, Direccons, and Instruccons, not contrarie to the Lawes of this our Realme of England, as well for setling of the Formes and Ceremonies of Governmt and Magistracy, fitt and necessary for the said Plantacon, and the Inhabitants there, and for nameing and stiling of all sorts of Officers, both superior and inferior, which they shall finde needefull . . ."

It did not provide for a delegate legislative system, which therefore had to be improvised, as is described above. It did not clearly define the authority of the governor and assistants leaving much to be improvised thereafter. There was no distinct provision for a judicial system and nothing resembling a bill of rights.

The Freeman Question (1630–1649)

Though Winthrop in England once had an inclination toward the ministry, he never carried it into effect. His connection in Massachusetts in the beginning was that of president of a colonizing corporation. He was governor of Massachusetts by annual election twelve years in the twenty years, from 1629 in England, to his death in 1649. The other governors were: Dudley, (1634, 1640, 1645); Haynes, (1635); Vane (1636); Bellingham, (1641); and Endecott, (1644, 1649).

He was usually deputy governor and always assistant, when not in the higher office. To understand his significance in the

development of Massachusetts, it is necessary to review the organization of government which Winthrop and his colleagues, with the aid of the whole Massachusetts people, devised, completed and carried on, till the annullment of the charter in 1684.

England was well accustomed to corporations acting under a royal charter which prescribed the manner in which the powers of the company could be exercised. The original charter of 1628, modified in 1629, contemplated a body of participant members called "freemen"; they were the stockholders. The freemen were annually to elect a governor, a deputy governor, and a board of assistants—corresponding to the modern president, vice-president, and directors of the company. Hence the "General Court" of the Massachusetts government on shore in 1630 was the first of a long series. A large number of the colonists, heads of families, at once applied for admission as freemen of the company and on October 19, 1630, more than one hundred were admitted. Between that time and 1648, that is, in Winthrop's lifetime, nearly all of the persons proposed were admitted. The total number of freemen up to 1684 has been stated as 2500.

Under the charter none of the freemen had a right to vote except personally in the quarter or general courts. In 1631 the general court took the extreme step of voting (May 18, 1631) that none should be admitted freemen who were not members of the church. The number of freemen was too great for a genuinely corporate government; hence the system gave rise to strains and stresses which raised a series of constitutional questions and had to be hammered out somehow.

The first question was, should there be a liberal policy of admission such as would tend to attract colonists of a responsible type; the solution was to make admission to the Company a privilege difficult to attain. The next question was whether the freemen had the right to elect only the assistants, or both assistants and governor. After a brief struggle the assistants gave up the claim to a right which by the charter was expressly conferred on the freemen at large. The next issue was on the right of towns to elect deputies so as to make a meeting that would be manageable. That was settled in connection with a difficulty on the "Watertown rates" and a

delegate assembly was set up. Next came the question whether that assembly had sole legislative powers, or whether the magistrates (governor, deputy governor and assistants) had a "negative voice." On this question the freemen gave way; and thus was founded practically a legislative body of two houses.

In every one of these struggles Winthrop, took a prominent part because of education, experience in England and the prestige of office. He was almost always in favor of methods which brought into relief the authority of the governor and the magistrates. Thus by a succession of trials of strength, usually in good temper and a sporting spirit, Massachusetts worked out in what was in effect a constitutional system for a democratic commonwealth.

The Suffrage (1631–1649)

The question of suffrage and limitation to church members at once aroused opposition both in Massachusetts and England. Fenwick, a friend of the colony, wrote to Winthrop, "One thing only I doubt will seeme strange heare, that you confine all civil freedome within the lynes of your church." During Winthrop's life the question led to violent controversy including open protest by Child and others (1645) and an appeal to the English government to repeal a limitation which did not obtain in elections for Parliament. The first issue was the small number of persons who were admitted to the freedom of the company; even a church member had no prima facie right to be chosen freeman, though most male church members achieved that dignity. Still stronger was the contest which at once manifested itself between the freemen and the non-members who could never hope to be freemen, because, they were under the control of the accredited members of each individual church who might exercise authority to admit to the church or to refuse admittance. Upon this discrimination, recent writers on Massachusetts history, particularly the startling work of James Truslow Adams, have founded an indictment of the whole government and voting population of Massachusetts.

Some of these writers seem entirely unaware of the fact that a large part of the public business in the colony was from the first carried on in the towns; that the vote of the General Court on the election of freemen did not exclude non church-members from town meetings or town office or jury service. In 1647 the Court allowed such persons to take an oath of fidelity to the government, "to be jury-men, and to have their vote in the choice of the selectmen for town affairs, assessment of taxes, and other prudentials proper to the selectmen of the several towns, provided, still, that the major part of all companies (of selectmen) be freemen that shall make any valid act."

Exact figures of the result of this distinction cannot be had; but it is frequently stated that four-fifths of the rightful voting population was disfranchised. It certainly was not the intention at any time that residents for brief periods, or indentured servants, or ordinary wage servants, should have suffrage anywhere. In any case, down to the American Revolution, 1775, the voters in Boston (all men) were in proportion to the population not more than one-third of the adult men. Property and tax qualifications kept down the suffrage in all the colonies. It is doubtful whether there ever was any feeling of common grievance even among non-voters. The only attempt to organize a general remonstrance upon this ground was that of Dr. Child and his friends in 1645, which broke down under pressure.

Elections of deputies were held in town meetings. From early times the governor, deputy and assistants were chosen by the freemen or by the deputies by "papers," that is, ballots; and there were even some features of a primary election.

Magistracy and Governor (1630–1636)

Massachusetts was from the beginning a commercial as well as an agricultural community, and granted or acknowledged large self-governing powers in the settlements that were called towns. Before arrival at a settled government the colony passed through a series of constitutional crises, each in the long run resulting in a definitely adjusted institution which thenceforward was permanent.

In this process of commonwealth building, John Winthrop was by far the strongest individual force. He was always a magistrate, always present at the discussion, always on the bench when the magistrates sat as a judicial court. His journal contains many entries of proceedings by which his judgment was overborne, and some records of disagreeable personal dissensions. Yet though a natural conservative and very tenacious in claiming and holding authority for his end of the government, he had nevertheless a strong belief in personal rights and freedom of judgment and he was willing on occasion to accept the middle ground of compromise.

The governor was always the most important and powerful man in the commonwealth, and four sergeants carrying halberds, were expected to accompany the governor in and out of the place of meeting. In 1639 he formed the idea that it would save trouble if he were elected governor for life. This proposition was abandoned, as was a similar proposal that there be a standing council, renewed only when vacancies accidentally occuried. In 1632 Winthrop insisted that "the patent, making him a governour, gave him whatsoever power belonged to a governour by common law or the statutes," and he was even accused by one of the deputies of intending "to make himself popular, that he might gain absolute power, and bring all the assistants under his subjection." The magistracy, that is, the assistants plus the two gubernatorial offices, exercised considerable administrative power beside sharing in the enactment of laws. In 1636 Winthrop was brought in very close contact with Thomas Dudley, his principal rival in the state, who several times defeated Winthrop for the governorship. We have elaborate accounts of Winthrop's private opinion of Dudley, but unfortunately no Dudley's *Journal* from which to know his private views on Winthrop. Dudley was peppery, had a strong sense of his own dignity, was easily aroused and a good fighter. His occasional choices as governor served to ease the tension; and when two young people of the two families married each other the old feuds were appeased. Winthrop was not always reasonable as was shown by his pointed attack on Dudley for "putting wainscott in his house at New Town" which proved to be nothing but clapboards. In their numerous differences and quarrels Winthrop usually

sought accord and in the end the fiery Dudley ceased to glow. Considering the close contact and the intensity of Puritan life, the two men worked well together.

Sir Henry Vane arrived in the colony in 1633. He was a young heady and rather indiscreet man and represented a distinct opposition to Winthrop, whom he twice defeated; but they parted good-friends. John Endecott, governor under the first settlement at Salem, was several times governor of Massachusetts. He was a fiery spirit who early got into trouble through his highly indiscreet and dangerous act of cutting out the cross from the English flag. Other friends, rivals and foes appear in various parts of this volume.

The General Court

The General Court, originally a mass meeting of freemen, became an elective body. The name in the course of time was applied to the two orders of deputies and assistants acting in coordination. Thus, Winthrop says, "The general court began at Newton, and continued a week, and then was adjourned fourteen days. Many things were there agitated and concluded, as fortifying in Castle Island, Dorchester, and Charlestown; also against tobacco, and costly apparel, and immodest fashions; and committees appointed for setting out the bounds of towns." The number of deputies was two from each town, though all did not attend. The "speaker" for the deputies is mentioned in 1641.

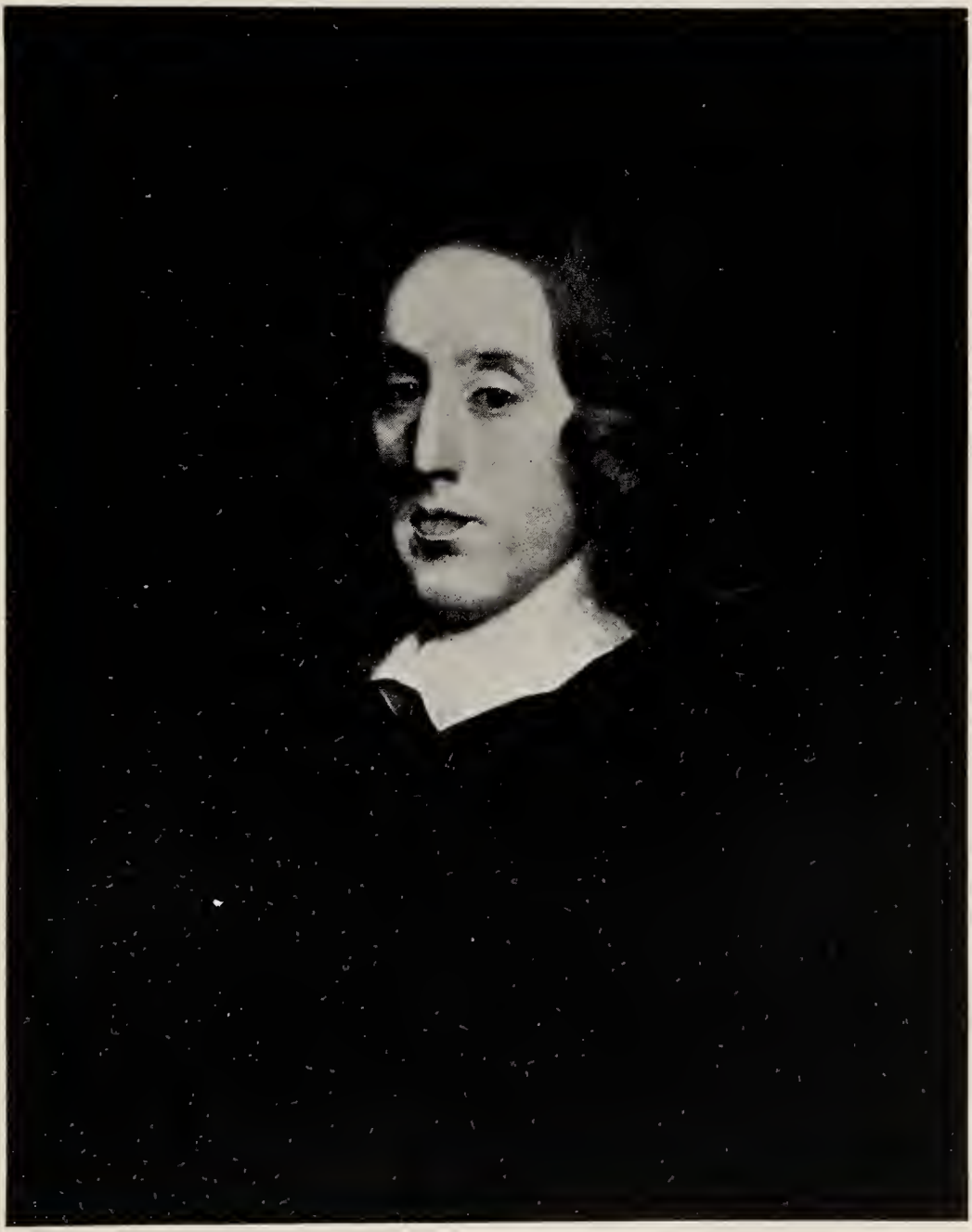
The assistants, (after the settlement of the negative voice), were part of an upper house in legislative matters. Part of them were also made justices for the hearing of causes. Sometimes the court of justice was made up of the governor and assistants as a body.

Political Controversies (1630–1649)

The political development of the colony went through a series of crises, the first being the refusal of the principal inhabitants of the town of Watertown to pay taxes levied by

the magistrates. Winthrop laid down the constitutional doctrine that such a levy by the authority of the assistants was legal and reasonable; because once a year the freemen who lived in Watertown could join the others in electing the assistants who would make up the budget. He says, "The ground of their error was, for that they took this government to be no other but as of a mayor and alderman, who have not power to make laws or raise taxations without the people." In 1632 he yielded the point that the governor was to be chosen not by the assistants but (as the charter directed) by the freemen; and he was reelected. The next year Rev. John Cotton insisted that "a magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause," but public sentiment on that point was made clear when Thomas Dudley was chosen governor, Ludlow, deputy governor, and Winthrop one of the assistants. In 1634 a permanent system of deputies from the various towns was established. An effort was made to quash the charter by proceedings in England. On request of the magistrates, the ministers considered the question, and "they all agreed that if a general governour was sent, we ought not to accept him but defend our lawful possessions, (if we were able;) otherwise to avoid or protract." This year also was settled once for all the question of "the negative voice." This was a triumph for the magistrates, inasmuch as it was conceded that no statute could be passed by the freemen in general court or their deputies without the assent of the magistrates. In fact a *quo warranto* directed against the charter of the colony was proposed but there is no evidence that it was ever a completed proceeding.

During the years 1634 to 1637, Winthrop was deeply concerned in the Antinomian difficulties. He returned to the governorship in 1637 and served till Dudley was elected in 1640. The deputies a second time protested against the negative voice of the magistrates in 1644, in which year Endecott was elected governor. The deputies unsuccessfully desired a right of representation in the proceedings of the magistracy in the interim between the meetings of the court. Except for the service of Dudley in 1645, Winthrop continued governor till his death.



From a copy in the Boston Athenaeum of the portrait by Sir Peter Lely

SIR HENRY VANE

Suffrage Question Reviewed (1645)

In the very last years of his public service, a new controversy arose, headed by Dr. Child, who made desperate attempts to appeal to England. Winthrop was very desirous of going to England in behalf of the colony. However, the general court chose a man from outside the colony, Edward Winslow from Plymouth, "as a fit man to be employed in our present affairs in England." The issue was squarely the exclusion from suffrage of the non-church members. An attempt was made without much effect to secure a monster petition, and the malcontents openly defended their principle that they were deprived of a natural right and were entitled to test that question overseas. In this important issue, involving the liberties of the individual and the powers of civil government, the general court would not act without "the advice of the elders." They replied, as was expected, in an articulated document "denying any right of appeal or other ways of interrupting our proceedings." Naturally the conservative element was very unwilling to permit anything that might result in the loss of the charter.

Winthrop took a very high and arrogant tone and insisted that it was a crime punishable by the court to sign or to urge a petition even though respectfully addressed to the court. As governor, he informed Child and his friends that "he would admit no appeal, nor is it allowed by our charter"—a proof from a negative. He went on almost in a fury to tell the petitioners that "they complained of fear of perpetual slavery, etc., but their intent was, to make us slaves to them, as such they themselves were." As to Dr. Child, "in regard he had no cause to complain [presumably being himself a freeman] and yet was a leader to the rest and had dared himself proudly etc., in the court," he was duly fined fifty pounds, one of the charges being "that they had transgressed the rule of the Apostle—to be quiet and to meddle with their own business." Winthrop seems to think it very unreasonable that "the other petition was from some non-freemen (pretending to be in the name, and upon the sighs and tears of many thousands—but of the many thousands they spake of, they could hear but from twenty-five to the chief petition." In the end Child was jailed

till the ship on which he expected to sail was gone. Others connected with him were so heavily fined that they were obliged to remain in prison. An elaborate statement was drawn up and sent to England inveigling against this movement; was passed by the General Court and duly superscribed, "John Withrop governor."

The Antinomians (1633–1637)

One very important question of public policy has been reserved for more detailed treatment. No episode in Massachusetts history has been more searchingly studied than the serious difficulties with dissidents in doctrine, especially the Antinomians, Baptists, Quakers, and Church of England men.

The foundations of Puritan religion may be summed up as a profound distrust of the authority of ecclesiastics, coupled with a profound veneration of the authority of the scriptures, provided they are properly interpreted. The most damaging enemy of the Established Church, both in England and New England, was Archbishop Laud, whose persecutions drove many of the strongest Puritan ministers across the ocean. At first professing allegiance to the mother church, and punishing the fiery Endecott for cutting the cross out of the flag at Salem, they almost immediately betook themselves to the anti-episcopal practice of setting up individual churches which chose their own ministers.

Winthrop showed no hostility to this movement and became a pillar of the only Boston church formed in his lifetime. Judging by the *Journal,* Winthrop's thoughts were always much on the personal conduct of Christians and less on their doctrinal belief. As is set forth elsewhere, the church or rather the ministers as a class became a political institution. The church doctrines were hammered out in sermons and slowly confirmed by synods and writers of theological books. Yet each church had its own confession of faith and Winthrop describes the formation of several such church bodies.

The difficulty of government by the scripture was that not only churches and church-members but non-members, magistrates and rogues were all tangled up in a network of religious enquiry which concerned itself with every act and every thought

of every person. The minds of men were turned upon the dreadful effects of error in religious belief, and held damnation to be a reasonable penalty for a failure to interpret the scriptures properly. Texts were applied to all men of all classes, from babies to Boston ministers, one of whom, Rev. John Cotton, on one occasion "showed, (out of 'the Canticles, 6,') that some churches were as queens, some as concubines, some as damsels, and some as doves, etc."

Even ministers were subject to the cold pressure of public opinion. Winthrop speaks with approval of the proceedings in 1634 against Rev. John Eliot who in a sermon had criticised the peace with the Pequod Indians. And adds:

"We took order, that he should be dealt with by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Welde, to be brought to see his errour, and to heal it by some public explanation of his meaning; for the people began to take occasion to murmur against us for it."

In the great controversy with the Antinomians, which lasted from 1634 to 1637 the trouble was not so much with the doctrines as with the large number of good people in Massachusetts who preferred the minority doctrine; and in this case Winthrop was the official leader of the majority. Possibly there may then have been persons in Massachusetts who really understood the intricate differences between the orthodox and the Antinomians; although it must be observed that the dissidents were not by any means in agreement with each other.

Doctrines were always plentiful in Massachusetts. The serious offence of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was not that her theology was erratic, so much as her introduction of two startling novelties into orthodox Boston. First she attacked the spiritual accuracy of the ministers, who were the most powerful group of men in the colonies. She excepted only John Cotton, who in his heart sympathized but ultimately recanted. Still worse, this first woman in Massachusetts who needed no man to tell her what she ought to believe, was also the first founder of a woman's club in America; and the club criticised the theology of the most doctrinal sermons. Winthrop sums up the trouble as follows:

"One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church of Boston, a woman of a ready wit and bold spirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors: 1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. 2. That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification.—From these two grew many branches; as, 1, Our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself."

Toleration and Intolerance (1631–1640)

Apologists ever since that day have endeavored to make out that the real reprehension of Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends, and of Roger Williams and his friends, was that they struck at the foundations of the body politic. It was certainly annoying for the ministers to be criticized, but it cannot be gainsaid that for the most part the Antinomians were people of orderly lives and Christian conversation. In the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson before Governor Winthrop her quotations from Scripture seem as apt as those brought against her.

Roger Williams came into the controversy not so much as an Antinomian or even a pernicious Baptist, but as the leader and pastor of the unruly church at Salem which defied the General Court. In 1633 the governor and council, reviewing a book of Williams, "found the matters not the least so evil as at first they seemed. Whereupon they agreed, that, upon his retraction, etc., or taking an oath of allegiance to the king, etc., it should be passed over." Winthrop liked not the business; and remained on terms of personal friendship for the rest of his life.

Toleration then and until the end of the Charter was not the practice of any Protestant church, except bodies like the Baptists and the Quakers, who were so far away from the orthodox course that there were no wrong believers left theologically below them. In this case as in some others, Winthrop though an upright man could not rise above the prejudices and extravagances of rigid Calvinistic and Puritanic doctrines.

Personally he inclined to mercy; and as a member of a dissident church order which in his own lifetime practically cut the cable connecting it with the ecclesiastical organization and doctrines of the home country, he might well have pleaded for toleration in non-essentials. The trouble was that to the Puritan mind, every text of Scripture was essential, every action of the mind was essential, and the only way to secure any kind of uniformity was to accept what the majority of the ministers laid down as the meaning of scripture.

The Massachusetts point of view on toleration did not go to the extent of the English theologian Cartwright who said, "Hereticks ought to be put to deathe now. If this be bloudie and extreme, I am contente to be soe counted, with the holie Ghoste. I denie that upon repentance there oughte to followe any pardon of deathe." Similarly Baxter, author of *Saints Rest,* openly declared. "I abhor unlimited liberty or toleration for all." Even Ward, the Cobbler of Agawam in Massachusetts and violent critic of the government said, "He that is willing to tolerate any religion, or discrepant way of religion, besides his own, unless it be in matters merely indifferent, either doubts of his own or is not sincere in it."

In fact the prosecutions of Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson were a reflex of political strife. The Boston people were long favorable to the Antinomians; outside towns except Salem were mostly against them. Sir Harry Vane was a moderate departer from the extreme faith, and when he was elected governor in 1635 the orthodox were for the time defeated.

The instinct of Winthrop's mind, as revealed in many passages of his journal and letters, was kindness, forbearance and respect for honest adversaries. It was Winthrop who cured his poor neighbor of stealing wood by inviting him to help himself from the Winthrop woodpile throughout the winter. Yet he always stood by the right of the colony to expel those whom the government disliked, whether criminals or unruly persons or non-conformable in religion. Justice requires that he be placed in the background of 1637 and not of 1927.

Winthrop records that "when one Painter . . . now on the sudden turned anabaptist" and refused to have his child baptized, he was "again brought to the court not only for his former contempt, but also for saying that our baptism

was antichristian; and in the open court he affirmed the same. Whereupon after much patience and clear conviction of his errour, &c. because he was very poor, so as no other but corporal punishment could be fastened upon him, he was ordered to be whipped, not for his opinion, but for reproaching the Lord's ordinance, and for his bold and evil behaviour both at home and in the court. He endured his punishment with much obstinacy, and when he was loosed, he said boastingly, that God had marvellously assisted him."

Even very troublesome dissidents received some mercy, as in the case of Francis Hutchinson (1641) who "reviled the church of Boston, calling her a strumpet". He also had the assurance to tell Governor Winthrop. "If you should proceed with a brother other than you ought, I might deal with you in a church way." This attack on official dignity was much resented, so that Hutchinson though he "did freely and very affectionately confess his error and his contempt of authority," was fined fifty pounds and jailed, "in case he could not pay it." But afterwards says Winthrop, "because the winter grew on; and the prison was inconvenient [a very mild expression], we abated to twenty pounds."

Government by Ecclesiastics (1630–1649)

To understand Winthrop and the times it is necessary throughout to keep in mind the existence of a powerful and permanent supergovernment unknown to the charter, unrecognized by the law, and contrary to the spirit of popular government. This was the ministers, who were called upon from time to time by the general court or by the magistrates to give their opinion upon pending action. The ministers were the only combination of men in the colony all of whom were educated. Indeed for their benefit and that of their sons and their friends' sons was created Harvard College, in which Winthrop was constantly interested.

Individual ministers had the habit of sermonizing on public questions; in addition, there was something like an unofficial council of the elders. For instance, in 1644, upon the very serious question whether the magistrates would act without authority from the general court "in cases where there is

no particular express law provided, there to be guided by the word of God," the General Court sent for "all the elders to reconcile the differences between the magistrates and deputies." The next day after due consultation their opinion "was affirmative on the magistrates' behalf in the very words of the question, with some reasons thereof. It was delivered in writing by Mr. Cotton, in the name of them all, they being all present."

Nothing in the Massachusetts system of government was so undemocratic and so unfortunate. The ministers constituted practically a third house of the legislative body. They naturally preserved the privileges of their order. They were conservative, they were often more cruel than the magistrates or deputies. Moreover they were practically a self-nominated body, admission to which required a previous university or college education, a good will of a town, and the willingness of their fellow ministers to receive them.

The question of the maintenance of the ministers came to be a state concern, and Winthrop seems relieved, in 1633, because after much deliberation and serious advice, the Lord directed the teacher, Mr. Cotton, to make it clear by the scripture, that the minister's maintenance, as well as all other charges of the church, should be defrayed out of a stock, or treasury, which was to be raised out of the weekly contribution; which accordingly was agreed upon.

The churches were in a sense founded by the general court because they were set up in new towns which required the consent of the colonial government. In local town affairs also the ministers were looked upon as authoritative counselors. A whimsical controversy arose in 1639 over the site of the new church building in Boston whether on the Common or "near the market place." In this Winthrop was interested, he says, because it was "the governour's first lot and he had yielded it to the church." Like many religious disputes, nowadays, there was a commercial issue at stake "The tradesmen, especially, who dwelt about the market place, desired they might stand still near the market, lest in time it should divert the chief trade from thence". At an adjourned meeting, according to Winthrop, numbers still believed "that the green were the fitter place, yet, for peace's sake, they yielded to the rest

by keeping silence while it passed. This good providence and overruling hand of God caused much admiration and acknowledgment and of the special mercy to the church."

Winthrop records several disputes between churches, and also the approaches toward some sort of general authority in ecclesiastical matters over all the churches. Ministers from various churches assembled to install new ministers, and in some cases, as in that of Reverend Mr. Mather, of Dorchester, refused to approve the new organization. In 1633 Winthrop records "some exception to the fortnightly meeting of the ministers" as fearing it might grow in time to a presbytery or superintendency to the prejudice of the church's liberty."

Hence, the difficulties of the so-called Cambridge Synod in 1637, a meeting of ministers, with two moderators and a scribe. "The erroneous opinions which were spread in the country, were read, being eighty-two." When some of the Boston church called for the names of individuals who held such opinions, the moderators anticipated sharp parliamentary practice by attempting to rule them out; some of the magistrates even laid down the threat that such a demand "becomes a civil offense and will be treated accordingly." Some of the Boston men retired to attend no more. The Synod duly condemned the eighty-two errors (August 30, 1637) including such a frightful and dangerous belief as, "A man may not prove his election by his vocation, but his vocation by his election."

The proceedings were much affected by a dreadful portent; in the midst of the sermon by Mr. Allen of Dedham "there came a snake into the seat, where many of the elders sate behind the preacher." Winthrop promptly interpreted this portent intruder as "The serpent is the devil; the synod, the representatives of the churches of Christ in New England."

Reverend John Cotton, the ablest though not the most courageous of the ministers once insisted "that the ministers' maintenance should be by voluntary contribution, not by lands, or tithes, etc.; for these have always been accompanied with pride, contention and sloth, etc."

Another remarkable proof of the reliance of the civic authorities upon the ministers was the selection of John Cotton to draft the Body of Liberties. That code of laws which, with

modifications, was adopted by the General Court, together with the charter, constituted the only written constitution of the little commonwealth.

Social Control by the Colony (1630–1649)

From the very beginning, the colony, under the direction of Winthrop and his associates, began a course of social and economic legislation which involved intimate control of many private actions and commercial transactions. Besides the authority often exercised of deporting people who were not thought likely to become a part of tthe community, imposed serious restrictions on immigration. As early as 1630 it was voted that "no person shall settle within their jurisdiction, neither leave from the whole or major part of their body." When Winthrop returned to the governorship in 1637, he favored a law under which no newcomer could inhabit in the jurisdiction unless allowed by some one of the magistrates thus preceding, by nearly three hundred years, the quota system of the present United States.

Winthrop brought with him servants from England, and servants as a class occupied very much the present position of aliens in the United States: their labor was needed, but they were no part of the political community. Whether Winthrop held Indian slaves is not distinctly set forth in the journal, but it is recorded that after the Pequod war in 1637 "we sent fifteen of the boys and two women to Bermuda" to be sold there as slaves. On the other hand, negro slavery appears never to have been recognized in Massachusetts. In 1645 Richard Saltonstall demanded "justice on Captain John Smith and Thomas Keyser of Boston for importing negroes from Guinea."

Social relations were from the first strictly regulated, as witness the statute of 1637 for the restriction of liquor selling on the ground that "It hath appeared unto this court, upon many sad complaints, that much drunkenness, waste of the good creatures of God, mispence of precious time, and other disorders, have frequently fallen out in the inns and common victualing houses within this jurisdiction, whereby God is much dishonored, the profession of religion reproached, and

the welfare of this common-wealth greatly impaired, and the true use of such houses (being the necessary relief of travelers) subverted. Likewise prohibition was laid on "the game called shovelboard" whereby much precious time is spent unfruitfully and much waste of wine and beer occasioned thereby."

Banishment was made the penalty for several offences, as was evidenced by the treatment of Philip Radcliff, agent for Governor Cradock, who had passed harsh judgments on some of the authorities, for which offence he was deprived of his ears, whipped and banished; and survived to be on inveterate and dangerous enemy of the colony.

The extent of legislation on Massachusetts trade and commerce is reserved for treatment elsewhere. Winthrop built the first ship constructed in the colony, the *Blessing of the Bay,* and seems to have made some money out of the shipping business. His son John, Jr., set up iron works in 1645 and asked for "some encouragement from the General Court." An early regulation of retail prices received evident approval, and a very heavy fine on Mr. Robert Keaine who "was wealthy and sold dearer than most tradesman" although "being an ancient professor of the gospel."

The colonial statute for establishing schools in every township of fifty householders and a grammar school in every town of a hundred families is not traceable direct to Winthrop, but he was greatly interested in Harvard College, and notes in 1642 "Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge; they were young men of good hope, and performed their acts, so as to give good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and the arts." He notes later, (1645) "three graduates of Harvard, honest young men, good scholars, and very hopeful," including Mr. George Downing, son of Mr. Emanuel Downing of Salem. Many descendants of John Winthrop are enrolled in the colonial and later lists of Harvard graduates.

Democracy and Liberty

The state of Massachusetts is justly proud of descent from a democratic commonwealth, and many of its present institutions can be traced from the earliest colony. Among those

who had the privilege of participating in the government, there was from the first an equality of political privileges—suffrage, jury service, eligibility to office, status before the law. Yet down to the early nineteenth century, the precious privileges of self-government belonged only to a relatively small class in the community. Colonial democracy in Massachusetts, as in all the other colonies and in England, was simply an equality of the members of the governing class.

From time to time a protest was made in behalf of the large and intelligent but unrepresented body of people, who were subject to the authority of the community. Even within the sacred circle of the freemen, arose very early a distinction between the deputies who represented the run of the freemen grouped in towns, and the magistrates, elected out of a well-to-do and educated class, among whom inheritance had considerable influence.

John Winthrop accepted all these differences of social prestige and of weight in the government, although he was familiar with the ideas of equality in political power. No passage in Winthrop's life is so interesting and so characteristic as his famous discussion on democracy before the General Court of Massachusetts. A question arose out of the action of the town of Hingham in choosing one Allen to be the captain of a train band. The magistrates considered military science to be a function of the colonial government and refused to sanction Allen. The minister, Mr. Hubbard, sided with his town, and joined with his parishoners in a petition which charged injustice and illegal decisions by the magistrates. Therefore, he and others were summoned by the general court and bound over for trial for what might be termed lese-magistracy. Deputy-Governor Winthrop took this as a personal and insulting criticism upon himself.

Whereupon, says the *Journal,* "The court assembled in the meeting house at Boston." Two of the magistrates and about half of the deputies "were of opinion that the magistrates exercised too much power and that the people's liberty was thereby in danger." The deputies were asked to consult the opinion of the elders but declined it. Eventually the deputies accepted the penalty of a fine on the petitioners; whereupon the deputy governor again took his place upon the bench and

delivered what he called a "Little Speech" which he carefully preserved in his *Journal*. The document is often quoted as a classic definition and defence of true liberty. It is in effect Winthrop's apologia for his principles of government by the few. He says: "The great questions that have troubled the country are about the authority of the magistrates and the liberty of the people. It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and, being called by you, we have our authority from God, in way of an ordinance. . . . The covenant between you and us is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, that we shall govern you and judge your causes by the rules of God's laws and our own, according to our best skill.

"For the other point concerning liberty, I observe a great mistake in the country about that. There is a twofold liberty, natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt) and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists: it is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts: *omnes sumus licentia deteriores.* This is that great enemy of truth and peace, that wild beasts, which all the ordinances of God are bent against, to restrain and subdue it.

"The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal; it may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions, amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. . . .

"On the other side, ye know who they are that complain of this yoke and say, let us break their bands, etc., we will not have this man to rule over us. Even so, brethern, it will be between you and your magistrates. . . . If you stand for your natural corrupt liberties, and will do what is good in your own eyes, you will not endure the least weight of authority, but will murmur and oppose and be always striving to shake off that yoke; but if you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you, in all the administrations of it, for your good."

Service of John Winthrop (1630–1649)

This is the declaration of a man of honor, a man of thought and a man of eloquence, who takes upon himself the task of defending the superiority of the social class of which he is a member. He starts out with the incontrovertible doctrine that there is no government without restriction; and that there is a moral responsibility which is a limitation upon "civil or federal liberty." He sets forth clearly the assumption that a part of the community can make rules and create obligations upon another part which cannot relieve itself of responsibility. Thence he proceeds to the implied principle that magistrates in Massachusetts are of a superior strain. Since he cannot point to hereditary governors he particularly insists that the vote creating a magistracy endows the magistrate with indelible authority. "Then will you quietly and cheerfully submit under that authority which is set over you, and all the administrations of it, for your good." What is this but a member of the House of Lords talking to an elective Commons. Another limitation on this claim was that in the practice of the colony of Massachusetts any one of the commons possessed of the suffrage might lawfully be made a magistrate, and thus become a part of an authority not only superior to the rest of the community but expecting to regulate the community. The remedy for mal-administration was, according to Winthrop, no stronger than "good advice from any of you or in any other way of God." In fact, Winthrop is here appealing, as he did throughout his life to the hereditary desire

of Englishmen to yield to decisions made by the richer, better educated and better born part of the community.

His doctrine, however eloquently expressed, did not really rise higher in his own community than the actual practice of a system by which neither statutes nor birth, could constitutionally create superior class; its lofty status was based only on the habit of the community to elect to administrative office the men whom it considered superior. The colony of Massachusetts remained under the domination of three whom John Adams, later called "the rich and the well born" for a hundred and fifty years after the delivery of this inspiring speech.

The sage Confucius always admitted the superior rights of "the superior man." Any dispassionate study of Winthrop on the background of his times and circumstances must concede that he was the greatest Massachusetts figure of his century. He was honorable, he was usually just, he was considerate, he was long-suffering, he was wise, he was religious, he was a statesman, and he loved his fellowmen. He had at heart, above all things else, the welfare, the power and the perpetuity of his beloved Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also bibliographies following Chapters i (English Conditions); v (Charter and Colony); ix (Confederation); x (Social); xiii (Literature); xiv (Religious Freedom); xvii (Colonies and England); and the General Bibliography at the end of Vol. V.]

ADAMS, Brooks.—*The Emancipation of Massachusetts.*—(Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1887; new ed., 1919).

ADAMS, James Truslow.—*The Founding of New England.*—(Boston Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921).—Unfavorable to the theocratic government.

CHANNING, Edward.—*History of the United States* (6 vols. to 1925, N. Y., Macmillan).—See Vol. I, Chapters, xii, xiii, xv.

ELLIS, George Edward.—*The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.*—(Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1888).

FELT, Joseph B.—*Ecclesiastical History of New England.*—(Boston, Congregational Board of Publication, 1855).

FISKE, John.—*The Beginnings of New England.*—(Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1889, and later editions).

HART, Albert Bushnell.—Editor.—*American History told by Contemporaries* (4 vols.) (N. Y., Macmillan, 1898–1902).—Vol. I contains extracts from Colonial writers including Winthrop.

HIGGINSON, Francis.—*New England's Plantation.*—(London, Sparke, 1630).—Valuable source.

HOSMER, James Kendall.—*The Life of Young Sir Harry Vane.*—(Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1888).

KITTREDGE, George Lyman.—"Dr. Robert Child, the Remonstrant."—Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications* Vol. XXI, 1919).—On suffrage controversy of 1645.

LETCHFORD, Thomas.—*Plain Dealing, or Newes from New England.*—(London, 1642. Reprinted in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collection* 3d Series, Vol. III. Cambridge, 1832).—Severe critic of the Massachusetts government.

MATHER, Cotton.—*Magnalia Christi Americana 1620-1689.*—(Original ed., London 1702; reprint, Boston 1730; reprint in 2 vols., Hartford, 1920).—Includes biographical sketches of many colonial worthies.

NOBLE, John, editor.—*Records of the Court of Assistants of the Massachusetts Bay Colony 1630-1692* (2 vols., Boston, County of Suffolk, 1901-1904).—Official source of great value.

OLIVER, Peter.—*The Puritan Commonwealth.*—(Boston, Little, Brown, 1856).

OSGOOD, Herbert L.—*The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (3 vols., N. Y., Macmillan, 1904-1907).—Constitutional treatment. See Vol. I, Part Second, Chaps. ii–iv.

PALFREY, John Gorham.—*History of New England.*—(5 vols., Boston, Little, Brown, 1858–1890).—Old fashioned but fair and detailed.

PARKER, Joseph.—"The First Charter and the Early Religious Legislation of Massachusetts."—(*Lowell Institute Lectures etc.,* Boston, 1869).

WARD, Nathaniel.—*The Simple Cobbler of Agawam.*—(London, 1647; later reprints).

WASHBURN, Emory.—*Judicial History of Massachusetts from 1630 to 1775* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1840).

WINSOR, Justin.—*Memorial History of Boston* (4 vols., Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1855–1886). Cooperative local history carefully worked; a splendid bibliography.

WINSOR, Justin.—*Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols., Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1884–1889).—Cooperative; excellent narratives and prodigious bibliography.

Winthrop Papers.—Edited by Moore, George; Winthrop, Frederic; and Ford, Worthington C. (1 vol. published, Boston, Massachusetts, Historical Society, 1925).—Winthrop family papers down to 1628.

WINTHROP, Robert C.—*Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (2 vols., Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1869).

YOUNG, Alexander.—*Chronicles of the First Plantations of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, Little and Brown, 1846).

CHAPTER VIII

SISTER NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS (1620-1660)

By Abner L. Braley
President of the Old Bridgewater Historical Society

Political Divisions to 1689

The formal historians of the New England colonies have often looked upon them as made up out of parallel and separate settlements, bound together by ties of common race, religion, origin and conditions, but individual units from the beginning. In fact New England was founded originally upon one grand charter and the territorial histories of all the later subdivisions are closely connected.

The account of land titles and colonial grants begins with the original Virginia charter of April 10, 1606, under which a Plymouth Company was established, with a right to found a colony north of 37 degrees and south of 45 degrees. In 1607 the Popham settlement on the Kennebec was made under authority of the Plymouth Company.

When this failed and no other permanent settlement was in view, a new grant was made by the Crown to the Council for New England, November 3, 1620. Under this authority were set up various conflicting grants along the coast of what is now Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, including royal charters to Mason for what is now New Hampshire, (1635) and to Gorges, for what is now Maine, (1639). The Massachusetts charter of March 4, 1629, was issued directly from the Crown. In 1635 the Council for New England was dissolved, thus leaving in the hands of the Crown all ungranted lands from the French possessions on the north to the Dutch on the south.

In the southern belt of the Council territory, a grant was made to the towns of "Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England" (March 14, 1644) by commissioners of Parliament. Under the Restoration a royal charter was granted to Connecticut, April 20, 1662, and another to Rhode Island, July 8, 1663. Plymouth for twenty years stood on a patent from the Council for New England (June 1, 1621), establishing no government and stating no boundaries. A later patent of January 13, 1630, authorized a colonial government and defined the inland boundaries. At first issued to Bradford and others, in 1641 it was transferred to the people of the colony.

These are the fundamental documents upon which were based the right both to occupy and dispose of the land in this immense area and to set up governments for the inhabitants. The grants were vague, were frequently drawn with little knowledge of the face of the country, and were often in conflict with each other. The most important of them was the Massachusetts charter of 1629 which left open for future controversy three important difficulties. (1) The boundary of Massachusetts was to be three miles north of the Merrimac River, presumably on the supposition that that river ran from West to East instead of heading far to the north and making a right angle turn east to the sea. (2) The southern boundary was to be three miles south of the Charles River, which might mean, the source of the Charles, the mouth of the Charles, or the most southerly bend of the Charles. (3) The territory granted under the charter extended westward to the south-seas which were three thousand miles distant, and the interior was speedily hemmed in by the claims of other European powers. It was seventy years before, under the second charter of Massachusetts in 1691, the bounds were so described as to make possible the adoption of the present north and south boundaries of the state, and to accept the hard fact that superior claims of the Dutch and the Indians prevented the colony from extending to the Hudson.

The object of this chapter of the *Commonwealth History* is to bring out the creation, growth and relation to

what was essentially the parent colony of Massachusetts, of these various communities; four of which, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut, have now for a century and a quarter been separate organized colonies or states.

The Gorges Grant (1620–1625)

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, soldier of Elizabeth, born about 1565 and much alive till 1647 was an able man. A favorite of Essex, he fell into disgrace after the latter's fall, later to be restored to favor. His interest in the colonization of the North American coast began with the arrival, landing on the site of the later Plymouth, of George Waymouth, sent out in the summer of 1605, by a company, at whose head was Lord Arundel of Wardour, to explore the North American coast about Plymouth harbor. Waymouth brought five Indians, kidnapped on the coast of Maine. Three fell to Gorges, and through them he became interested in their country, and thereafter was active in fitting out voyages of exploration, among which may be mentioned the expedition of Richard Vines, who in 1616 landed at the mouth of the Saco and spent the winter.

The next great step was what has been called the "Great Patent of New England" of November 3, 1621, mentioned above. It was issued by James the First to forty patentees, including prominent members of the nobility, who were empowered to hold territory extending from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of North latitude and westward from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The patentees were not only authorized to settle this territory, but also to govern it; and no one could enter, visit or trade in any of the ports within the limits of the patent unless he had previously obtained a license from the council then established "at Plymouth in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America." Like the London Company this Council received a monopoly of fishing and trading within the grant.

The Council for New England drew up a "platform of the Government" to cover a proposed county on the Ken-

nebec forty miles square, with a city at the junction of the Kennebec and the Androscoggin. The plan was based on the feudal system then fast decaying in England. The proposal was a total failure in New England, as was the similar plan of John Locke for the Carolinas, half a century later.

In 1623, Robert Gorges, a younger son of Sir Ferdinando, was sent out to New England as governor and lieutenant-general of the territory covered by this patent. With him came Francis West, Admiral of New England, bearing a commission, says Bradford, "to restraine interlopers, and such fishing ships as came to fish and trade without a license from ye counsell of New England. He could do no good of them, for they were to stronge for him, and he found ye fisherman to be stuberne fellows." With him came also Reverend William Morrell, a clergyman of the establishment, to superintend the foundation of Episcopal churches in New England.

No evidence has been produced that up to 1622 English settlers obtained a permanent foothold on any part of what is now the coast of Maine. The outcry against the monopoly of fishing and trading, and the lack of persons willing to invest money in an enterprise so unpopular hampered the Council for New England in the efforts to improve its grant.

Nevertheless, August 10, 1622, the Council granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, a stirring soldier-adventurer, "All that part of the mainland in New England lying upon the sea-coast betwixt the rivers of Merrimack and Sagadahock, and to the furtherst heads of the said rivers and forward up into the new land westward until three score miles be finished from the first entrance of the aforesaid rivers and half way over, that is to say, to the midst of the said two rivers." This was to be called the "Province of Maine," the first use of that designation. The grantees were also authorized to establish such government "as shall be agreeable as near as may be to the laws and customs of the realm of England."

AMERICA
Painted to the Life.

A

True Hiſtory of the originall undertakings of the advancement of Plantations into thoſe parts, with a perfect relation of our *ENGLISH* Diſcoveries, ſhewing their beginning, progreſs, and continuance, from the year, 1628. to 1658. declaring the forms of their Government, Policies, Religions, Manners, Cuſtomes, Military Diſcipline, Warres with the *INDIANS*, the Commodities of their Countries, a Deſcription of their Townes, and Havens, the increaſe of their trading with the names of their Governours and Magiſtrates.

More

Eſpecially an abſolute Narrative of the North parts of *AMERICA*, and of the diſcoveries and plantations of our *Engliſh* in *NEW-ENGLAND*.

Written by Sir *FERDINANDO GORGES* Knight and Governour of the Fort and Iſland of *Plimouth* in *DEVONSHIRE*, one of the firſt and cheifeſt promoters of thoſe Plantations.

Publiſht ſince his deceaſe, by his Grand-child *Ferdinando Gorges* Eſquire, who hath much enlarged it and added ſeverall accurate Deſcriptions of his owne.

A work now at laſt expoſed for the publick good, to ſtir up the heroick and active ſpirits of theſe times, to benefit their Country, and Eternize their names by ſuch honourable attempts.

For the Readers clearer underſtanding of the Country's they are lively deſcribed in a compleat and exquiſite Map.

Vivit poſt funera virtus.

LONDON; Printed by *E. Brudenell*, for *Nathaniel Brook* dwelling at the Angel in *Corn-hill*. 1658.

From the Harvard University Library

Levett's Grant in Maine (1632–1639)

On May 5, 1623, within the limits of this very patent, the Council granted six thousand acres of land to Christopher Levett, a member of the Council for New England, and also of the Council to assist Robert Gorges in administering the government of New England. His purpose was to found a city of York on the Maine coast.

Levett and his companions arrived at Odiorne's Point, "the first place I set my foot upon in New England" in the fall of 1623, where he met Gorges and West. With them at Pannaway, at the mouth of the Piscataqua river, the so called government of New England was organized.

Levett then proceeded to explore the Maine coast from York Harbor or "Aquamenticus" up to Portland Bay, including other places, of which he gave a picturesque account, including an account of "Crystal Hill," or Mount Washington, obtained from the Indians.

Levett settled at York and erected a house and defenses there; when he returned to England in the summer of 1624, he left ten men in charge of his interests at Casco Bay. Besides the regular settlements, there were probably many fishing vessels on the coast; and their crews may well have set up fishing stages on land for caring for their cargoes. In 1625 the inhabitants of New Plymouth made a trip to the Kennebec and exchanged for "A shallop's load of corn—seven hundred pounds of good beaver and some other furs." The trade with the fishermen on the coast of Maine proved profitable, and in 1628 the Plymouth men obtained from the Council for New England a grant of land extending from Gardiner to the falls on the Kennebec. There they set up a trading post at Augusta, and later acquired one at Penobscot. Though Levett returned to England (February 11, 1628), a proclamation was issued by the Crown styling him "our well-beloved subject" and appointing him governor for "those parts."

When John Endecott and his company, sent out by the Massachusetts Company, reached Salem, June 19, 1630, Levett was one of those to welcome them. Soon after

he died at sea. He had previously disposed of his interests in and about Casco Bay.

Laconia, Lygonia and Other Grants (1629–1636)

November 7, 1629, Gorges divided with Captain Mason the land they had received from the Council in 1622; and, ten days later, the Council granted them additional land known as the "Laconia Patent." The result of all these transactions was that the territory between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, extending from the sea-coast up into the land as given in Mason's patent, was still the property of Gorges and remained the Province of Maine. Settlements and trading stations now began to be made on the Maine coast, including the present Saco and Biddeford. By 1630, no less than 84 families had located at Pemaquid, on the St. George's river, and at Sheepscott.

July 6, 1631, Winthrop in his *Journal* records the arrival of the ship *Plough* carrying ten passengers who came "with a patent for Sagadahoc, but not liking the place came hither." This was the Lygonia or Plough Patent granted by the Council, June 26, 1629. These voyagers seem to have belonged to the religious sect called "Familists" and shortly "vanished away" from the Massachusetts theocratic rule.

This patent is an example of the duplication of grants on the coast, north of acknowledged Massachusetts, for it included land already granted to Levett in 1623, as well as land granted to Lewis, Bonighton and others in 1630. It purported to cover a tract forty miles in length and breadth upon the "south side of the river Sagadahock," which was covered by the grant of 1622 to Mason and Gorges and by the confirmatory grant of the Council in 1629, ratifying the division between Gorges and Mason.

Thirteen years later (April 7, 1643) the survivors of these patentees sold their interest to Alexander Rigby; and from that purchase flowed much trouble to Gorges and his heirs. In 1631 the Council granted 1,500 acres on the east side of the Nonesuch river to Thomas Cammack, a nephew of the Earl of Warwick, now President of the

Council for New England, who seems to have lived in Neal's New Hampshire settlement previously. They also granted to Richard Bradshaw 1,500 acres above the head of Pejepscot Bay and "on the north side" thereof. Bradshaw settled on the south shore of Cape Elizabeth, east of the Spurwink. The Council also made other grants to Robert Trelawny and Moses Goodyear up to the "bay and river of Casco," and to Walter Bagnall, Richmond's Island.

Other considerable grants were made in 1631 by the Council to Ferdinando Gorges, grandson and heir of Sir Ferdinando, and to others of the Agamenticus river. Within these limits rose the town of Agamenticus.

The Council also granted on February 29, 1631, to Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge, 12,000 acres near the Pemaquid river, with special inducements if permanent colonists were settled there. Notwithstanding these lordly disposals of virgin territory, the Council for New England by 1635 was nearly at the end of its service.

The Council, therefore, determined to surrender its charter, and to divide the territory it covered amongst the members. Gorges received the territory assigned to him in 1622, and also 10,000 acres on the east part of the Sagadahoc river. The formal surrender of the charter took place on June 17, 1635.

Gorges in Maine (1635–1649)

In the meantime, difficulties between the Crown and the Massachusetts Bay Company had developed. The Crown in April or May, 1634, placed the administration of colonial affairs in the hands of eleven commissioners, one of whom was the active and eventually discredited Archbishop Laud. Gorges wrote to the King on May 12, 1634, suggesting that New England be divided into several provinces, with one governor-general, and other high officers, civil and ecclesiastical; he seems to have supposed that he was sure of appointment as governor of New England.

The attack on the Bay Company in 1635 and its avoidance of the action of the King's Bench in 1635, declaring its charter null and void, are elsewhere discussed. Nevertheless, Gorges in 1640 signed a letter to Governor Winthrop, "Your very loving friend," and prays for "an union or conformity of all parties." In answer to complaints about the attitude of Massachusetts, he wrote "Seldom doth any prince abandon people or leave the possession of Kingdoms for those causes." In fact, the Massachusetts was in far better order than the Maine settlements, founded for the purpose of trading. "Here lacks good government in the land, for a great many men deal very ill here for want of government."

March 21, 1636, William Gorges appears to have held at Saco, where he settled, the first court in Maine, composed of seven men including the governor. Sir Ferdinando Gorges continued to enjoy favor from the Crown. April 3, 1639, he was confirmed by the King in his allotment on the division of the Great Patent (1635). The new grant restored the name of "Maine" and forbade any other to be used. In this charter, vice-regal powers were granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. He received also a law-making power well nigh absolute, with the concurrent power to establish courts and appoint magistrates.

Under this government an elaborate organization was placed on paper. It included a council consisting of a deputy-governor, and six councillors with legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The territory was divided into bailwicks or counties, subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into parishes and tithings. Courts were set up and councils met during the rule of Deputy-Governor Thomas Gorges, a trained lawyer, from 1640-1643.

Agamenticus, a small fishing borough was erected into a city of Gorgeana (March 1, 1642), with an elaborate paper scheme of government: a mayor, 12 aldermen and 24 councilmen and local courts with appeals to himself or to his deputy; but this city vanished in the changes which rapidly followed. A dispute between John Winter and George Cleeve, two Maine settlers, moved the latter to go to England, where he induced Alexander Rigby to

purchase, as we have seen, the Lygonia patent. Rigby appointed Cleeve deputy-governor, and, upon charges made by the latter against Sir Ferdinando, a royalist, to the House of Commons, that body appointed a commission of four persons in New England, including Governor Winthrop, to hear the matter. Winthrop, and his advisors would not interfere. The time for Massachusetts to extend her boundary was not yet ripe. A sensible diplomatic note was sent to Richard Vines, then Gorges' deputy-governor at Saco, expressing the hope of a peaceable adjustment. Finally, the general court of Massachusetts heard the controversy and "could find for neither," exhorting the disputants to live peaceably until the matter could be determined in England.

The Earl of Warwick and the Commissioner for Foreign Plantations heard the dispute (March 27, 1647) and decided that Rigby was the lawful owner of the Province of Lygonia; it assigned to Gorges and his heirs only the tract between the Kennebunk and the Piscataqua rivers. Sir Ferdinando died in 1647. In this territory left to Gorges were three settlements, Piscataqua (Kittery), Gorgeana and Wells. In 1649 Edmund Godfrey, at a meeting of the inhabitants of the three places, was chosen governor—presumably the "first governor elected by the people in what is now the State of Maine."

In the year 1650, therefore, the present state of Maine was divided into three parts.

(1) The land between the Piscataqua and Kennebunk rivers belonged to the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges;

(2) The land between the Kennebunk and Kennebec rivers comprised the Lygonia or Plough patent, over which George Cleeve ruled as deputy-governor.

(3) The Sagadahoc territory, east of the Kennebec, lying as far as the Penobscot river.

Colonel Rigby died on April 18, 1650, leaving confusion in Lygonia. In 1652 Edward Rigby, his heir, with the heirs of Gorges and other patentees of Maine and New Hampshire joined in a petition against the encroachments of Massachusetts on their respective territories. It was too late.

Maine in Relation to Massachusetts (1652–1659)

Throughout these controversies the leaders in Massachusetts looked on with watchful eyes. The fur trade and fishing of Maine were valuable and Massachusetts men were constantly risking their ships, property and lives on the coast. The long controversy over La Tour and D'Aulnay—elsewhere described—turned on supposed rights of France to grant monopolies of trade in that region.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the General Court of Massachusetts (May 31, 1652) voted that the extent of their boundary line "is to be from the northernmost part of the river Merrimack and three miles more north, where it is to be found, be it an hundred miles more or less from the sea," and "thence upon a straight line east and west to each sea, and this is to be the true interpretation of the limit northward granted in the patent." A committee a few months later (Oct. 19, 1652) brought in a report of a survey of the "most northern part of Merrimack river, respecting the lyne of our pattent."

The interpretation of the General Court meant that the northern boundary was a straight line east and west from a point three miles north of the source of the Merrimack river. This claim was not sustained. Massachusetts obtained from the Council in England only "the lands which lie and be within the space of three English miles to the northward of the said river called Monomach, alias Merrimack on to the northward of any or every part thereof." This meant that the boundary began on the Atlantic Ocean, three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack and followed the upper river to the source or within three miles of the source.

The reasons for this claim of Massachusetts, are to be found in a wish to draw the scattering and isolated settlements together, and also to obtain the profit that would accrue from a control of the fur trade in the north. To carry out this claim, three commissioners conferred at Kittery (July 9, 1652), with Godfrey and others representing the Province of Maine, and at last the inhabitants

signed a "submission" on November 20, 1652. October 23, 1652, Simon Bradsteet and others were appointed commissioners "to settle the civil government amongst the inhabitants of Kittery, the Ile of Shoales, Accomenticus, and so to the most northerly extent of our patent."

Massachusetts in Control in Maine (1653–1658)

The submission of the various settlements to the control of Massachusetts was a long and tedious affair—Gorgeana, Wells, Saco, Cape Porpoise requiring tact to conquer. When Cleeve landed in the Bay in September, 1653, he was informed of the new claim which brought a part of Lygonia within Massachusetts. The only answer to his protest was that Massachusetts' "general claim hath been constantly from the first to three miles northward of the most northern part of the said (Merrimac) river in length and longitude, through the mainland, from the eastern sea, to the sea on the west."

Some months later (Oct. 19, 1654) it was reported to the General Court that the colony's northern line crossed the northern-most point of Upper Clapboard Island about "a quarter of a mile from the main in Casco Bay." At last, (July 13, 1658), the controversy with George Cleeve was ended, and the inhabitants of Black Point, Blue Point, Spurwink and Casco Bay to the number of twenty-nine signed the "form of submission."

The Commissioners' instructions allowed them to grant the people equal protection and privileges with those of Massachusetts. They were empowered to establish courts and to appoint officers to preserve the peace, and had large discretionary power. Kittery was to remain a town and to have a deputy to the general court, even two, "if they think good." All the then inhabitants were to be regarded as freemen, and to have the right of suffrage. The wisest concession was that allowing the men of the new county of York not to be drawn outside their territory for any general military training without their consent.

Thus ended Sir Ferdinando Gorges' Province of Maine. To one examining his letters, his *Brief Narration* and

the account of his life, his career seems a great one. His moto "Constans et fidelis" was well chosen. It was poetic justice that Massachusetts was in the last extremity compelled to pay a large sum to his heir for the release of his rights, as will be related in a later chapter.

Foundations of New Hampshire (1621–1640)

With Sir Ferdinando Gorges was associated Captain John Mason, formerly Governor of Newfoundland, who, at the age of thirty-six was favorably known to the poet and active "adventurer," Sir William Alexander. Hence March 9, 1621–2, the New England Council granted to him land lying between the Naumkeag and Merrimac rivers, extending back from the shore to the heads of these rivers with all islands within three miles of the shore. This tract was called "Mariana," and is now within Massachusetts.

By a second patent of August 10, 1622, the Council granted to Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, also a friend of Alexander, land between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers extending sixty miles into the mainland, including all islands within five leagues of the premises. A third grant was made November 15, 1622, to David Thomson, who had previously been in New England. It included 6,000 acres and one island in New England. Nothing extant shows where in New England the land was located; but evidence exists of an earlier patent to Thomson and others "for a pt. of Piscattowa river in New England." With him were associated three merchants of Plymouth on a basis of sharing of profits and expenses.

In the winter of 1622-3, Thomson sailed in the ship *Jonathan* and established his settlement at Little Harbor or Pannaway on the south side of the mouth of the Piscataqua River, perhaps the first settlement by Englishmen within the bounds of the present state of New Hampshire. It was here in 1623 Robert Gorges, Francis West and Christopher Levett organized their government. Thomson removed (1626) to the island in Boston Harbor which still bears his name.

Edward Hilton with other associates received a patent (March 12, 1629-30) covering land about eight miles from the mouth of the river. From Hilton and associates a large interest in this tract passed to Lord Say and Sele and others favoring the Puritan party in England, in 1632. The name "New Hampshire" appears among the last grants made by the New England Council before its dissolution. November 7, 1629, the Council granted to Mason part of the same territory included in the Gorges and Mason patent of August 10, 1622, "namely from the middle of the Merrimac to the Pascataqua rivers, which said portions of lands with the appurtenances, the said Captain John Mason, with the consent of the President and Council, intends to name New Hampshire."

Ten days later the Council, by the so-called Laconia patent, granted to Gorges, Mason and "such as they shall allow of and take into adventure and joyn with them in their plantations and discoveries, a tract of land (west and northwest of the New Hampshire grant) bordering upon the great lake or lakes commonly called or known by the name of the river and lake . . . of the Iroquois, a nation of savage people."

By a timely act the Council granted and confirmed to Gorges, Mason and seven associates, a tract called the Pescataway Grant, in consideration of "divers special services by them already done for the advancement of the said plantacion by makeing of clapboards and pipestaves—makeing of salt panns and salt, transporting of vines for makeing of wines, searching for iron oare, being all business of very great consequence." Mason became a member of the New England Council in 1632. Upon the division of the lands amongst the members of the Council, on the cessation of the Council (April 22, 1635), Mason was confirmed in his possession of New Hampshire and Masonia, which latter tract was 10,000 acres on the southeast part of the river Sagadahoc at "ye mouth or entrance thereof."

The Mason Colony (1631–1640)

The divisions and locations of these three patents, particularly the Piscataqua patents, can hardly be stated with

accuracy or accorded with other grants. They were in controversy from their inception, and to this day it is impossible to reconcile them entirely. The Hilton patent, the claims of the Laconia Company, formed by the Council November 3, 1631, are hard to bring into accord. The Laconia Company was formed to engage in trade with the Indians, to sell them goods and trinkets and to receive furs in return. They expected to unload their goods at the mouth of the Piscataqua river, and to transport them by water up the river to Lake Champlain. They also attempted to carry on the manufacture of clapboards and pipe-staves, and to refine salt from sea-water. They set up a fishing place at the Isles of Shoals.

In spite of the activities of Walter Neal, their agent or "governor" at Piscataqua from 1630 to 1633, as Hubbard says, "After three laborious years, they returned to England with a 'non est inventa Provincia'." After winding up the Laconia Company, Mason became the owner of a large part of the shares. Mason sent over about seventy settlers and tradesmen (including eight Danes) and expended prior to 1635 about £22,000 sterling, a very considerable fortune for that day, in clearing lands, building houses and providing for the "comfort and defence of his colony."

After the death of Mason in 1635 it was found impossible to carry on the settlements. The servants desired their payment, and finally the lands and buildings were seized and divided amongst them.

In 1651 John Mason, Mrs. Mason's attorney, came to New England and claimed the settlement of Newichwanock. The matter was referred to the General Court of Massachusetts, who decided that the lands in question were in Massachusetts territory. They ordered on the judgment that a quantity of land with the privilege of the river be laid out to the use of the widow of Mason, and the other heirs. Captain John Mason, left by his will one thousand acres of land for "the maintenance of an honest, godly and religious preacher of God's word in some church or chapel or other public place that shall be appointed for divine worship within the said county of New Hampshire,"

and also one thousand acres for the maintenance of a free grammar school "for the education of youth—in my said County of New Hampshire."

Another settlement not based on the Massachusetts grant was made in 1638 by John Wheelwright, at Swamscott Falls, upon land asserted to have been purchased from the Indians. He and thirty-four others entered into a "Combination" (June 5, 1639), which has been called "the first government instituted by inhabitants within our [New Hampshire's] boundaries, of which there is an authentic record." By this document the signers bound themselves to submit "to such godly and christian laws as are established in the realm of England to our best knowledge, and to all other such laws wh. shall upon good grounds be made and enacted amongst us." Similar combinations were made about the same time by the inhabitants of Dover and Pannaway (Little Harbor).

Annexation of New Hampshire to Massachusetts (1636–1644)

The relations between the Colony of Massachusetts Bay and the New Hampshire settlements may best be seen by an examination of the notes and comments of Governor Winthrop in his *History of New England.* The General Court ordered (March 3, 1636) a "round house" to be built at Hampton, then Winnicumet, considered to be within its rule. It is clear from a consideration of the journal of Governor Winthrop that the rulers of the Bay had cast their eyes northward. The presence of the able, if unsavory, Burdet, of the bluff Underhill and others, notably Wheelwright, in these places, could not but be irritating to those who had just repressed a dangerous religious outbreak.

In 1638 Winthrop notes the escape of a man arrested with others for killing an Indian who had fled to "Pascataquack" and apparently been aided to escape from there, with the caustic comment "it was their usual manner (some of them) to countenance, etc. all such lewd persons as fled from us to them." From that entry on there

is evidence of growing irritation, especially with Exeter, culminating in the grim response to Burdet and others of "Pascataquack" in 1638: "Whereas there had been good correspondency between us formerly, we could not but be sensible of their entertaining and countenancing, etc., some that we had cast out—that our purpose was to survey our utmost limits and make use of them."

In June, 1644 the owners of the Hilton and Pascataqua patents, which had fallen into the hands of persons favorable to the Bay Colony, sold their interests to the Bay Colony, reserving certain lands for themselves, with whatever jurisdiction or rights they possessed. September, 1641, the Massachusetts General Court passed an act annexing Portsmouth and Dover. A few weeks later it was further provided that they should have the same administration of justice as Ipswich and Salem; and that, until the commissioners who had been appointed to attend to these matters, should reach these settlements, the persons who already had authority under the "combinations" should remain in power.

The settlements had the right to choose two deputies to the General Court, and on September 27, 1641, the Court further made the significant order that all the present owners of the Pascataqua plantations who were the freemen, were to remain freemen and could send a deputy to the General Court, although they were not at present church members.

In 1643 Exeter was annexed, although not permitted to send a deputy, and Mr. Wheelwright removed to the Town of Wells. Thus all the New Hampshire settlements came under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

The reasons for these annexations are easy to see. The Laconia and Mason establishments were business enterprises. They lacked leadership. The Exeter settlement was distracted by quarrels, by the presence of persons undesirable to Massachusetts and, possibly, by the spies of Massachusetts herself. Mason died on the eve of his departure for New England and his associates quickly passed from political power. Massachusetts, then, with a shrewdness and subtlety which reflects credit on her leaders, did

the logical thing. By consolidating the settlements the unhappy and discordant elements were thus brought under a strong, if harsh government.

Roger Williams in the Narragansett Country (1631–1644)

The early history of Rhode Island centers around Roger Williams. Born in England about 1600 he was the recipient of a university education, and possibly a student at law under Sir Edward Coke. He landed in Boston February 5, 1631, in the ship *Lyon,* bringing the reputation of a "young minister; godly and zealous having precious gifts."

Settling at Salem in 1631, he soon came into controversy with the clergy of the Colony. He held that "The power of the magistrates extended only to the bodies, and goods, and outward estates of men"; thus arguing that the ecclesiastical and civil powers were distinct, and that the officers of each should confine themselves to their appropriate work.

Removing from Salem he spent two years in Plymouth, and later returned to Salem, where he was still over the church at the time that Endecott cut the cross of St. George out of the English flag (1634). The turmoil that followed, including an examination before the General Court, finally led to his banishment in 1635, he being ordered to depart within six weeks, an order which was stayed until the spring of 1636 on account of his infirm health.

Williams continued to trouble the authorities, so, it being rumored that he had "drawn about twenty persons to his opinions and they were intended to erect a plantation about Narragansett Bay," Captain Underhill was sent to Salem, where he had retired, to take him and put him aboard a ship about to sail for England. It would appear however, that the "Ever-honored Governor," Winthrop, as Williams called him, had advised him of this action, for three days before, he escaped, to wander "one fourteen weeks" in a "bitter winter season" in the wilderness. He probably fled to Massasoit, at what is now Warren, Rhode

Island, with whom he had become friendly during his sojourn at Plymouth.

Establishing himself first at Seekonk, he removed, upon being warned by Edward Winslow that this was within the patent of New Plymouth. About June, 1636, at Mooshassuc, at the head of Narragansett Bay, with "at least three persons," he founded "Providence." Title to this land, he obtained from Canonicus and Miantonomo, sachems of the Narragansett. A controversy later arose as to whether Williams acted as agent for his associates or for himself, but on at least one occasion he sturdily claimed the land for his own.

The little village established a "Combination," in which the heads of the several households were the chiefs, and which served its purpose until 1640 when a commitee appointed by the inhabitants to prepare a plan of government, reported. The accepted report, entrusted the government to five men called "Disposers" to be chosen five times a year. A method of arbitrating disputes was provided for, and no newcomer was to be admitted if one inhabitant objected. It is significant to note, the provision, "As formerly hath been . . . so still to hold liberty of conscience" which marks the doctrine of "soul-liberty." This agreement was changed by one made five years later, admitting, "poorer men" to the franchise.

In March 1638, the General Court of the Bay ordered William Coddington and other followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, to quit the jurisdiction within two weeks, and they visited Providence where they were "courteously and lovingly received." Here, nineteen of their number March 24, 1638, signed an agreement incorporating themselves into a "Body politic," submitting to "Those perfect and most absolute laws" of Jesus Christ. Coddington was elected chief magistrate of the company which removed to the island, which they bought of the Narragansett sachems. Settling at Pocasset, now Portsmouth, they were joined by Mrs. Hutchinson in 1638.

In 1639, whether because of an increase of numbers or because of the disturbances of Samuel Gorton, who had come thither fresh from his Plymouth trials, Coddington

and eight others signed an agreement to settle in "the midst of the island or elsewhere," the agreement containing a provision by which "determinations" were to be "by major voice of Judge and elders; the Judge to have a double voice." This agreement, made in the spring of 1639, was followed two days later by an agreement of the remaining settlers of Pocasset who outnumbered the Coddington faction, acknowledging the supremacy of the Crown, and binding themselves to submit "unto his (the King's) laws according to matters of justice." William Hutchinson, the meek husband of Ann Hutchinson, was elected head of the colony in place of Coddington. The Coddington seceders settled at Newport in May 1639, and in the following March, representatives from Portsmouth and Newport, remodeled the original compact so as to provide for a Governor, a Deputy, and four Assistants. At the second General Court held for the entire Island at Portsmouth in March 1640–41, it was declared that "the government which the Bodie Politick doth attend unto in this Island . . . In favor of our Prince is a Democracie or Popular Government; that is to say, It is in the Powre of the Body of freemen, orderly assembled, or the major part of them, to make or constitute Just Lawes by which they will be regulated." Why Massachusetts was loath to transact business with, or, even courteously to treat "Those of Aquiday" is now apparent.

Gorton Episode (1640–1652)

Samuel Gorton,

> "A fiery etter-cap; a fractious chiel,
> As het as ginger and as stieve as steel"

now appears upon the scene. Arriving at Portsmouth in the summer of 1640, he was at once in trouble, and removed to Providence in the spring of 1641, where he soon was guilty of "Bewitching and bemadding poor Providence." In 1643, Gorton removed to Shawomet now Warwick, where he bought a tract of land from Miantonomo and Pumham, the local sachem. Soon after, Punham and another neighboring

sachem came to the Boston authorities, with one Arnold as interpeter, alleging that they were forced to assent to the sale to Gorton, and offering to submit to Massachusetts.

These proceedings seem to have been stirred up by Benedict Arnold of Pawtuxet, who in 1641 petitioned Massachusetts for aid against Gorton when a dispute with Weston, a Gortonist, had arisen. Then, the Bay had refused to interfere, hinting matters might be different if the petitioners submitted to the Bay jurisdiction, and Arnold and three others submitted accordingly in 1642. Gorton, at the time of the dispute, was living at Pawtuxet, and, on being notified of the action of the Bay, replied tartly and removed to Shawomet.

The action of Arnold at Shawomet had a different ending. An examination of Miantonomo and annoyances inflicted upon the Gortonists by the sachems, together with notices to appear at Boston, having no other effect than to extract an extremely irritating and witty letter from Gorton to the "Great and honored Idol General now set up in the Massachusetts," forty soldiers and three commissioners, were sent to Shawomet "To lay open the charges" against such a gadfly. A proposal for arbitration suggested by some of the Providence people was refused, and, after an opera-bouffé siege, Gorton and a few followers were captured, removed to Boston, and their property thoroughly pillaged.

This arbitrary proceeding concluded by the trial of Gorton and the other prisoners before the General Court in the autumn of 1643, the judgment being that the prisoners, securely ironed, should be distributed amongst the various towns to work at hard labor under severe restrictions. In the following year, the people disliking their treatment, they were suddenly banished, and made their way to Aquidneck, where they were grimly warned not to venture to Shawomet. Gorton and two others went to England in the early winter of 1644. There Gorton prepared his *Simplicitie's Defence,* and, securing a hearing before the Earl of Warwick and his fellow members of the Commission for colonial matters, plead his cause so effectually,

that the Commission ordered that the Gortonists should be allowed "Freely and quietly to live and plant upon Shawomet". There, Gorton and his associates lived, taking good care to call their abode "Warwick". Gorton acted as President of Providence and Warwick for about six months. (Oct., 1651–May, 1652.) His sect lasted for some time after his death.

Charter Difficulties of Rhode Island

In 1643, Roger Williams was sent to England by the Aquidneck and Providence colonists to obtain a charter. Massachusetts was not idle in the meantime, securing some months before the Rhode Island Charter was issued, what is called the Narragansett patent covering the present territory of Rhode Island which was never legally granted.

On March 14th, 1643–44, Roger Williams obtained a charter for the "Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England", granting the right of self-government to the towns already founded, by such governmental forms as the inhabitants should consider suitable for their condition, and prescribing that the laws and the penalties thereunder might, as near as could be, approach the English law. Territorially considered, the grant was vague. It included the tract

"Called-Narraganset Bay, bordering North and North East on the Patent of the Massachusetts, East and South East on Plymouth Patent, South on the Ocean and on the West and Northwest inhabitated by the Indians called Narragansetts, the whole tract extending about twenty and seven English miles unto the Pequod river and country."

It was not until three years after Williams returned that, on May 19th, 1947, "The major part of the Colonie" met at Portmouth, once Pocasset, to form the government, the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, Warwick, and Newport being presented. This body declared that six "Discreet and able" men were to be chosen from each town to compose the legislative body, legislation largely to be initiated by the town-meetings, who were to transmit the

result of their deliberations to the assembly. A referendum on measures passed by the assembly for the "Public weale" was provided, the executive power being lodged in a president, an assistant from each town, and other officers, including a treasurer. Judicial power was granted to a "General Court of Tryalls" as regards civil and criminal matters of importance, the "Common Council" of each town having charge of lesser matters. It is to be noted that it is stated that the "Forme" of government established was to be "Democratical," no person to be "taken or imprisoned" without "the lawful judgment of his peeres, or by some known law of the Generall Assemblie."

How this statement displeased some may be gathered from the action of John Bradshaw in England who granted as President of the Council of State, on April 3d, 1651, to William Coddington, an order appointing him Governor for life of "Aquedneck allias Rhode Island," with a council of six selected by the freeholders of Newport and Portsmouth, indicating the intended severance of the main-land from Rhode Island, so called since 1644. This coup d'etat, "an unexplained episode", soon ended. Roger Williams and Doctor John Clarke "just breathed" from his Bay controversy, were sent to England where, in spite of the opposition of Connecticut and Plymouth agents, on October 2nd, 1652, they procured an order from the Council of State annulling Bradshaw's decree. The restored government functioned until the new royal charter was granted July 8, 1663. After the Restoration, efforts were begun to obtain a royal charter, and difficulties arose which resulted in prolonged controversy.

The Connecticut colony claimed to have a patent whose elastic character will be later noted. In April, 1662, they obtained from the Crown a charter covering practically the entire territory of what is now Rhode Island. This proceeding roused Doctor John Clarke who had remained in England. As a result a charter was granted to Rhode Island in 1663 in which the lands of the Atherton Land Company were placed within the limits of Rhode Island.

In 1659 and 1660, alleged depredations of the Niantic Indians had resulted in an order from the Commission-

ers of the United Colonies in September, 1660, dooming Ninigret, sachem of tthe Niantics to surrender the alleged offenders, or to pay a large amount of wampum as a fine. On September 29, 1660, three of the Narragansett sachems executed a mortgage to pay this sum, and then speculators headed by Humphrey Atherton of Boston, and including John Winthrop, Junior, induced the Indians to give them, on October 13, 1660, a mortgage covering the remaining lands of the Narragansetts in consideration of the mortgagees paying the fine. A provision that the mortgage was to become an absolute conveyance in six months if the money advanced was not repaid, became effective, and in the spring of 1662, three speculators went to the premises in the southwestern part of the present Rhode Island, induced Ninigret to give livery of seizin, and settled. This arbitrary proceeding which has left a stain on the character of all concerned in it was resisted by the Rhode Island Colony.

Before the charter to Rhode Island was granted, the Company had been allowed, by what may be deemed a royal command, to determine whether or not they would come under Rhode Island or Connecticut. On July 3rd, 1663, the Company voted to come under Connecticut and this choice, ratified on the tenth of the following July by Connecticut, led the Company to name their location Wickford.

In 1664, the Royal Commissioners arrived in Rhode Island, received a submission from the Narragansett chiefs confirming their submission to the Crown made through the influence of Gorton in 1644; and on March 20th, 1665, set apart the Narragansett country from the Bay to the Pawcatuck river as "Ye Kings Province," ordering that "No person [shall] presume to exercise any jurisdiction therein but such as receive authority from us until . . . his Majesties pleasure be further known," placing Rhode Island officials in charge. It was ordered that after the speculators had been reimbursed for their outlay, their mortgage should be cancelled and possession restored to the natives. On September 15th, 1665, a supplemental

order was made permitting the occupants of the lands to posess them "During the royal pleasure."

The dispute as to the eastern boundary of Rhode Island was not finally adjusted until a period beyond the scope of this chapter. The dispute with Connecticut, and other disputes with Massachusetts over boundaries lasted well into the nineteenth century. Roger Williams brought a handful with him, but the tide of immigration flowed on. The rise of the Quaker sentiment, despite Williams' efforts, is remarkable. The attitude of Massachusetts towards Rhode Island cannot be justified. Friendship existed between Winthrop and Williams. Massachusetts owed a debt to Williams for his mediation with the Indians on many occasions which she never paid. Today her sons recognize that Williams, apostle of toleration, stands beside Winthrop: the twain, the greatest Americans of their age.

The Hegira to Connecticut (1632–1639)

In the account of the development of other New England colonies, outside of Massachusetts, it is clear that the numerous northern settlements were based on grants of their own. As in Rhode Island a considerable part of the population came direct from England, did not pass through Massachusetts nor recognize the supremacy of that colony.

The new settlements to the southwest which eventually became the separate colony of Connecticut were for some time populated through Massachusetts. It was the first instance of the budding process by which the people, habits and institutions of Massachusetts have gone forth to carry their interests and their principles into other communities. That process of resettlement was also a striking illustration of the practice of moving a community as a unit from England to America. We have seen in an early chapter of this volume that when the Massachusetts colony was founded, groups of English men and English women in families moved from some English town, carrying with them their Bibles, their ministers and their muskets, and in many cases the name of their original town, and settled down in the New World all together.

One of the most striking examples of this process was the so-called Braintree Company, recruited in County Essex, England, which in 1631 arrived in Boston and founded a new Braintree a few miles to the south. Leader, guide and inspirer of this group was the Reverend Thomas Hooker, one of the ablest ministers of the brilliant, educated body of Puritan parsons. Born in 1586, Hooker was a graduate of Emanuel College, that nursery of Puritan clergy. A lecturer, a schoolmaster, an exile to Holland, he arrived in Boston in 1633 where his flock had preceded him. Though made a freeman of the colony he was uneasy and with his flock moved to Cambridge. Even that favored place was not to their liking and the movable community made up its mind to plunge into the wilderness in 1634. Permission was asked by them of the Massachusetts government in 1635 and their request for leave to emigrate brought on a warm discussion in the General Court of the Bay Colony.

Quieted for a time by the enlargement of their lands, the Braintree folk renewed their application in 1635, and received leave to migrate, provided they remained under the jurisdiction of the Bay. Winthrop notes that, in the spring of 1636, Mr. Hooker and "most of his congregation," went overland to Connecticut. It was a true migration, the people carrying with them not only their household goods, but also their domestic animals. The Company settled on the present site of Hartford. A similar application from part of the people of Watertown and Dorchester, for leave to remove, was granted provided they remained under the jurisdiction of the Bay.

The emigration of these communities, under the leadership of their pastors, commenced in 1635, but was not completed until the summer of 1636. The congregations of Dorchester and Watertown settled near the first settlement at Hartford, and these three towns soon were assembled in the Colony of Connecticut. In February, 1637, the three towns took the names of Hartford, Wethersfield and Windsor, respectively.

It has been mooted as to why the people of three prosperous communities in Massachusetts should desire to re-

move to a country, which, though fertile, was inhabited by at least one tribe of fierce savages. Probably the "Westward Urge," so characteristic of the American people, had much to do with it. But, the primary reason lay in the distaste of Thomas Hooker for the theocratic form of government. The broad and liberal propositions laid down by him in his celebrated election sermon have become the commonplace of American democracy; but they were novel in England and seemed to many of his contemporaries dangerous in America.

The difference between the statement of Charles the First upon the scaffold and the statement of John Cotton that "A magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private person without just cause," fundamentally considered, is infinitesimal. But vital is the difference between Cotton, when he stated that "I do not conceive that God ever did ordain democracy as a fit government, either for church or commonwealth" and Hooker, when he preached that "They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of that power and place unto which they call them."

Earliest Connecticut (1631–1636)

The possibilities of the Connecticut river and its valley were already seen in England. For this is the only large river in New England, except the Merrimac, and its headwaters reached far up into the fur country. Hence a number of noblemen and gentlemen purchased from the Earl of Warwick in 1631, a tract of land which President Clap of Yale, in treating of the boundaries of Connecticut thus described: "All that part of New England, which lies west from Narragansett river, one hundred and twenty miles on the seacoast, and from thence in latitude and breadth aforesaid to the South sea. This grant extends from Point Judith to New York; and from thence in a west line to the South sea; and, if we take Narragansett river in the whole length, this tract will extend as far north as Worcester; it comprehends the whole of the Colony of Connecti-

cut and much more." Prior to the migration, Connecticut soil had first been trod by men from New Plymouth who, urged by the Dutch, established in 1634 a trading house near Windsor. The irritation at the calm dispossession of themselves by the settlers from Dorchester, is reflected in the pages of Bradford. When Plymouth had previously urged the Bay authorities to combine with them in "Keeping a house ther to receive ye trad when it came down out of ye inland," they met with scant encouragement.

In 1635, however, the Bay, "Hearing of the fame of Conightecute River, had a hankering mind" about it. The controversy between the Dorchester arrivals and the Plymouth people was settled by the award to Plymouth of one-sixteenth of their former land, their trading house and a payment of money, but, "The unkindness [was] not so soone forgotten."

In 1635, John Winthrop, Junior, who had been selected as Governor of "The River Connecticut with the places adjoining thereunto" arrived in Boston. Winthrop brought with him Lyon Gardiner, an experienced engineer and soldier, and was under contract to fortify the mouth of the Connecticut river. This purpose was effected at Saybrook just in time to scare off a Dutch vessel which came to take possession of the river's mouth. In 1635, George Fenwick, one of those interested in the Warwick patent, arrived and took posesssion of Gardiner's fort and little settlement, naming it "Saybrook" after two of the most active friends of the settlers amongst the patentees. Fenwick purported to convey in 1644–45, all the interest of the patentees in this place to the Colony of Connecticut; covenanting further to convey also to the new colony, if it came into his power, all the land between the river and the Narragansett.

"The war against the Pequoitt" waged by the Connecticut Colony is treated in the chapter on Expansion and Philip's War in this volume. Its influence upon the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven was profound. The practical extirpation of the warlike and numerous Pequods assured the settlers of a peaceful expansion of their settlements towards the Rhode Island frontier. The thoroughness with which the little band

of yeomanry, assisted towards the close by men from Massachusetts, brought under the yoke a hitherto untamable tribe, taught the remaining Indians a lesson. Uncas, the far-sighted, was prompt to serve the English, and the other tribes had great respect for the newcomers. However much we may deplore the methods used to conquer, we cannot be unmindful of the beneficent result. Great stretches of territory were opened to settlers which otherwise would have been the land of the enemy, and the genius of the colonies turned to agriculture, manufacture, and government, instead of to arms.

Connecticut in Relation to Massachusetts

We are now briefly to consider the commercial and political relations existing between Massachusetts and the Connecticut settlements.

For a year, the Connecticut colony remained under the rule of Massachusetts. The Roxbury emigrants, who had founded Agawam, now Springfield, were found to be within the elastic Massachusetts patent, and were severed from Connecticut.

Massachusetts and Plymouth raised men for the Pequod war, but only the Bay contingent had to be used. The growth of the power of Uncas and the strife between the Narragansetts and the Mohicans, culminating in the murder of Miantonomo in 1643, kept the Connecticut colonies in a state of terror. They continually appealed to the Massachusetts authorities for advice and aid. On the whole, the advice given was temperate and wise. The disputes with the Dutch, in which the Bay leaders had a leading part, are treated in another chapter.

Of the commercial activities of New Haven, a word must be said. While traffic with England was mainly through the port of Boston, some was transacted by means of the Barbadoes. "Within nine years after the commencement of the plantation" shoes were exported. In 1646, the "Company of Merchants of New Haven" chartered a ship, loaded her with merchandise, and sent her to England. Nothing more was heard from her, unless we ac-

cept the account of the re-appearance of the ship in the clouds above the town.

It was in encounters with the Swedes and the Dutch on the Delaware, that New Haven sustained its most severe reverses. Possibly in 1640, a company was formed at New Haven to systematize Delaware trade already engaged in. In 1641, Lamberton and Turner entered the Delaware, and bought land of the natives, which had been sold in part long before to the Governor of New Sweden, and in part had been disposed of only three days previously to the then Swedish Governor. A house was built and twenty families, numbering about sixty persons, soon arrived and settled at Varkens Kill now Salem Creek, New Jersey. Shortly after, Lamberton and Turner bought land on the Schuylkill river, on the west side, "extending from Crum creek." Here they erected a house and gave notice to all intruders.

The report of these doings aroused New Haven. On August 30th, 1641, it was determined that "plantations should be settled on the Delaware." From the despatcher's records it is evident that the Dutch and the Swedes were disturbed. A ship-load of colonists, touching at New Amsterdam, was warned that no settlement was to be made on the Delaware within the "limits of New Netherlands" without the swearing of allegiance to the Dutch authorities. The fur trade which the English acquired, induced Kieft to expel the squatters perhaps at both the Schuylkill and Varkens Kill settlements, the settlers being sent home to New Haven. The loss to the New Haven people is estimated at one thousand pounds.

In the summer of 1643, Lamberton, who still traded on the river, asserted rights to both the Varkens Kill and Schuylkill settlements, and was haled before a court held at Fort Christina on July 10th, 1643. The trial resulted in finding that

1. Lamberton had no title to land on the Delaware.
2. That he had incited the Indians to murder the Dutch and the Swedes.
3. That he had purchased beaver of the Indians without a commission.

It was determined that, as he was a foreigner, he should pay double duty on the furs, the case be dismissed and he be sent home.

Lamberton's complaints resulted in action by the New Haven members of the Commission of the United Colonies. Governor Winthrop, as President of the Commission wrote to Governor Printz, asserting the English title to the Delaware lands, and complaining that the Swedish authorities forced some English squatters to swear alliegance to the Swedish authority. Printz replied. At his suggestion the General Court granted a commission from the Commissioners of the Colonies and a copy of the patent to New Haven at their March sitting in 1643–44 which were, probably, not used.

At that same session, William Aspinwall and others were granted as "A free company of adventurers," a charter with the sole right of trading "for twenty and one yeares" in the territory they might discover. They thought that by sailing up the Delaware, the "Great Lake of the Iroquois" might be found, an error Mason and Georges fell into in New Hampshire. The company dispatched a pinnace laden with goods. This vessel was sent back; the "Adventurers" ruined.

It is probable that trading continued in the Delaware river in which New Haven merchants were engaged, although by 1647, the settlers had removed. In 1649, New Haven brought the matter before the Commissioners again, and in 1650, sent out a ship with fifty persons on board, only to have the ship sent back by Peter Stuyvesant, the successor of Kieft at New Amsterdam; and attempts to exert pressure through Edward Winslow then in England were not effectual.

In 1654 at the New Haven General Court correspondence between the Swedish Governor Rising and the Commissioners of the United Colonies was read. The Commissioners asserted in the correspondence the claim of New Haven to the Delaware lands. A Committee was chosen to consider the matter, whose efforts were not very successful but an attempt was made to buy out former Delaware owners. At the December session of the Court,

interest was aroused and in 1655 the Court granted leave to Samuel Eaton and Francis Newman to accompany the proposed colony which was to remain "A part or member of this jurisdiction." A reading of the account of this attempt at colonization shows that it was the most serious known attempt to settle on the Delaware by New Haven. It came to naught for Goodyear, the deputy-governor, sent to treat with the Swedes, found Elswick, their commissary in New York, and ascertained from him that the Swedish Crown had direct control over the settlements. After this, the attempts to settle on the Delaware, while the Swedes remained, ceased.

New Haven Colony (1637–1664)

Connecticut had as a neighbor a Bible-Commonwealth. In 1637, John Davenport, once Rector of Saint Stephens in London, with a company from London, Kent, and Herefordshire, arrived in Boston. They were "men of great estates, notably well versed in trading...choosing their seat in purpose thereunto." Regardless of efforts to detain them, they sent Theophilus Eaton with a party to Connecticut. Eaton, by the "Providence of God," was "guided" to the Quinnipiac river, abounding in "rich and goodly meadows." Some of the explorers remained on the chosen site all winter, and were joined in the spring by the remainder of the emigrants, with accessions from the Bay. Covenanting to be bound by Scriptural rules, they laid out their new settlement. Squatters, with no title to the lands they settled upon, in the fall of 1638, they bought two tracts of land from the Indians, including the site of the present New Haven.

On June 4th 1639, the "Free Planters," met in the barn of one Newman, "to consult about settling civil government according to God." The meeting, swayed by Davenport, determined that "Church members only shall be free burgesses and that they only shall choose magistrates and officers among themselves," resolving that "the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties." Twelve men were

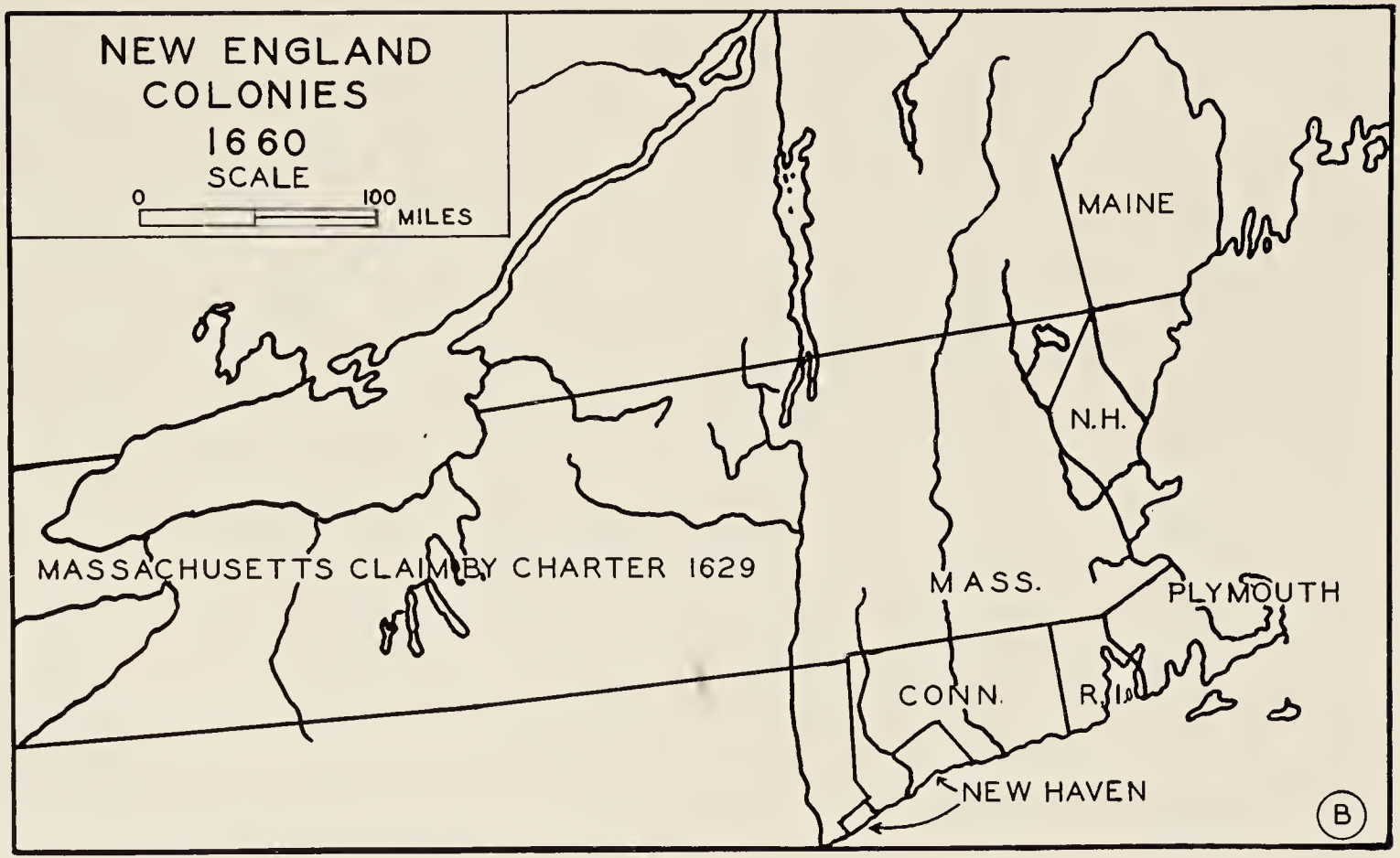
selected who in turn selected seven out of their own number "to begin the church." The seven formed a church August 22nd, 1639, and, October 25th, 1639, organized the government, "the word of God" to be "the only rule in ordering the affairs of government."

This Bible-Commonwealth endured until in 1662 the royal charter of Connecticut embraced New Haven. December 13th, 1664, New Haven Colony resolved that "We shall submit, as from a necessity brought upon us by their means of Connecticut aforesaid." Mr. Davenport, "Christ's interest in New Haven . . . miserably lost," removed to Boston in 1668. . .

From the Connecticut and New Haven settlements and from separate enterprises, other settlements were formed, which came under the jurisdiction of either Connecticut or New Haven. Thus Guilford, Milford, Stamford, Branford, Greenwich, and Southold on Long Island, were governmental parts of New Haven; while Fairfield, Stratford, Farmington, Easthampton, and Southampton on Long Island, together with Middletown and New London, were under the Connecticut jurisdiction. The union of Connecticut and New Haven was inevitable. Theocratic government must yield at last to popular government. Hooker's ideal conquered.

Colonial Boundaries in 1660

The boundaries of the colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Haven, and Connecticut in 1660 are shown on the map annexed to this chapter. Massachusetts by her annexation of the Maine and New Hampshire towns, had stretched her territory along the coastal fringe practically to the Kennebec river. Inland, the founding of Hadley and Westfield was a precursor of the settlement of the Connecticut valley. Plymouth had a dozen towns within her area. Rhode Island occupied the island once Acquidneck and part of the mainland within the present State. The Connecticut and New Haven Colonies included towns on Long Island. The actual limit of settlement was the territory assigned to each town, and the vague claims of the patentees of the lands of each colony cannot be taken as defining their limits.



Adapted from A. B. Hart

Extent of Colonial Claims in 1660

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies following Chapters v (Charter and Bay Colony); vii (Winthrop); ix (Confederation); xiv (Religion); xviii (External Relations); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

By Abner L. Braley

ADAMS, Brooks.—*The Emancipation of Massachusetts* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1887).—Contains very valuable discussions of the religious differences in Massachusetts prior to 1660.

ADAMS, James Truslow.—*The Founding of New England* (Boston, The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921).—A thoughtful account of the founding of the New England Colonies.

ARNOLD, Samuel Greene.—*History of the State of Rhode Island* (2 vols., New York, Appleton & Co., 1839–1860–1878).—An excellent history covering the early period of Rhode Island.

ATWATER, Edward E.—*History of the Colony of New Haven* (New Haven, printed for the author, 1881).—An excellent local history containing an account of the founding of the colony.

BARRY, John Stetson.—*The History of Massachusetts* (Boston, Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1855).—Thorough historical account in the old-fashioned style of the founding of Massachusetts, including relations with the other colonies.

BATCHELLOR, Albert Stillman.—*The Government and Laws of New Hampshire Before the Establishment of the Province* (Manchester, J. B. Clarke Co., 1905).—This is an introduction to the first volume of the Province Laws of New Hampshire, and contains an excellent summary of the early patents and settlements of New Hampshire.

BAXTER, J. P.—*Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine* (3 vols., Boston, Prince Society Publications, 1890).—A full account of the life of Sir Ferdinando de Gorges together with letters and publications. It also includes the patents issued to Gorges and others.

BRADFORD, William.—*History of Plimouth Plantation* (Boston, Wright & Potter, 1898).—As authoritative as the similar work of Governor Winthrop, and valuable for the contemporary viewpoint.

BRYANT, William Cullen and GAY, Sydney Howard.—*Popular History of the United States* (5 vols., N. Y., Scribners, 1876–1898).—Volumes I and II contain good accounts of the first settlements and of the beginning of New England Colonies, especially valuable on Roger Williams and settlement of Rhode Island.

BURRAGE, HENRY S.—*The Beginnings of Colonial Maine* (Portland, Printed for the state, 1914).—An authoritative account of the founding of Maine.

CAULKINS, Frances M.—*History of New London, Connecticut* (New London, Published by the Author, 1852).—An excellent local history.

CHANNING, Edward.—*History of the United States* (6 vols., N. Y., Macmillans, 1912).—Vol. I, Chapters on the New England colonies, a bibliography and a map.

EDWARDS, Stephen O.—"The Supreme Court of Rhode Island" (*"Green Bag"*, II, 525.—By an eminent lawyer of Providence; account of the first code of laws and the first assembly.

EGLESTON, Thomas.—*The Story of the Pequot War* (N. Y., Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, N. Y. Society, 1905).—Excellent posthumous monograph.

ELTON, Romeo.—*Roger Williams* (London, A. Cockshaw, 1853).—Account of the life of Roger Williams.

FISKE, John.—*The Beginnings of New England* (Boston, 1902).—Excellent account of the founding of the New England colonies.

GOOCH, G. P.—*History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge [Eng.] University Press, 1898).

HOMANS, J. E., editor.—*Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York Press Association, Compilers, 1918).—Brief accounts of Gorges, Mason, etc.

HOSMER, James Kendall.—*Young Sir Henry Vane* (Boston, 1888).—Valuable for relations between Roger Williams and Vane.

HOWARD, R. H., and CROCKER, Henry E., editors.—*A History of New England* (2 vols., Boston, Crocker & Co., 1881).—Excellent pictures of various cities, towns and historical sites of New England; articles of varying value on the early history of neighboring colonies.

JENNESS, John S.—*Notes on the first planting of New Hampshire and on the Piscatqua Patents* (Portsmouth, privately printed, 1878).—Best account of the first settlements in New Hampshire and the New Hampshire patents.

JENNEY, Charles Francis.—*The Fortunate Island of Monhegan* (Worcester, Davis Press, 1922).—A scholarly account of the settlement of Monhegan, together with some account of early explorations of Maine.

JOHNSON, Amandus.—*The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware* (Phila. University of Pennsylvania, 1911).—Scholarly presentation of the Swedish attempts to found a colony on the Delaware and the relations of that colony with its neighbors including New England.

LOSSING, Benjamin J., editor.—*Harpers' Popular Cyclopedia of United States History* (N. Y., Harper & Bros., 1881).—Contains valuable data concerning the early settlements of New England colonies.

MAINE STATE BAR ASSOCIATION, Vol. XXII (Augusta, 1921).—Contains address of Chief Justice Cornish on "A Century of the Supreme Judicial Court of Maine," including the Gorges settlement.

OLD SOUTH LEAFLET NO. 34.—This number contains several of the letters of Roger Williams to Governor Winthrop.

OSBORN, Morris Galpin, editor.—*History of Connecticut* (5 vols., N. Y., States History Co., 1925).—Vol. I., *The Colonial Period,* by Judge Simeon E. Baldwin.

PEW, William A.—*The Merchant Adventures of New England* (Salem, Privately printed, 1926).—Excellent statement on the early New England patents and the status of officials sent over here to exercise powers of government.

RICHMAN, Irving Berdine.—*Rhode Island . . . A Study in Separatism,* (Boston & New York, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1905).—Excellent book on the early history of Rhode Island.

RICHMAN, Irving Berdine.—*Rhode Island, Its Making and Its Meaning* (N. Y., & London, Putnam, 1902).

SHURTLEFF, Nathaniel S., editor.—*Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay* (5 vols., Boston, 1853–1854).—Reprint of original records of the preceedings in the General Court.

SNOW, Leslie P.—*Historical Address* (Portsmouth, W. B. Ranney Co., 1923).—Account of the early settlement of New Hampshire, by an eminent jurist.

STACKPOLE, Everett S.—*History of New Hampshire* (N. Y., American Historical Society, 1916).—Contains a brief account of the early settlement of New Hampshire.

STATE STREET TRUST CO.—*Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland and Scotland* (Boston, State Street Trust Co., 1920).—See article on Portsmouth and Rye, New Hampshire.

SYLVESTER, Herbert Milton.—*Indian Wars of New New England* (Boston, W. B. Clarke Co., 1910).—Good story of the Pequot War though somewhat biased against the English.

TRUMBULL, Benjamin.—*A Complete History of Connecticut . . . 1630–1764* (New London, H. D. Utley, 1898).—Thorough search of authorities. Perhaps next in importance to Baldwin's account.

TUTTLE, Charles Wesley.—*Captain John Mason* (Boston, The Prince Society, 1887).—Excellent account of Mason, together with his letters, charters and memoranda.

TYLER, Lyon Gardiner.—*England and America* (*American Nation,* New York, Harpers, 1904—1918, IV).—A summarized account of the beginnings of New England colonies, with excellent bibliography and map.

VARNEY, George J.—"The Conquest of Maine" (*Green Bag,* VIII, 1896).—A brief account of the Massachusetts usurpation in Maine.

WASHBURN, Emory.— *Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts* (Boston, Little & Brown, 1840).—Vigorous criticism by an emient jurist of the Massachusetts usurpation.

WINSOR, Justin.—*The Memorial History of Boston, 1630–1680* (4 vols., Boston, Osgood, 1880–1881).—See pp. 275–302, by Charles C. Smith.

WINSOR, Justin, Editor.—*Narrative and Critical History of America* 4 vols., Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1884–1889).—In Vols. III, IV excellent accounts of the Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island settlements, and New Haven attempts to settle on the Delaware. Exhaustive bibliographies.

WINTHROP, John.—*History of New England from 1630– to 1649* (first edition, Hartford, 1790).—First hand account of the relations of the Massachusetts statesman with the leaders of the other colonies.

WOOD, William.—*New Englands Prospect* (London, 1634. Reprint, Prince Society, Boston, 1865).—Contains an account of the country in 1630 to 1634 as it appeared to a visitor and also an excellent map considered from the historical basis only.

CHAPTER IX

NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION

By Constance McLaughlin Green

Preliminaries (1637–1642)

The growth and distribution of the New England colonies was very different from that of the Southern group, all of which were founded on charters, with tolerably clear boundaries. The New Englanders based their claims on grants of various kinds, but Plymouth, the Rhode Island settlements, New Haven, Connecticut and several of the northern colonies were occupied before recognition by the English government. Nevertheless, they were all of the same stock, religion, forms of worship, church system, legal system, and basis of popular government. Hence, it was not difficult in 1643 to bring four of them into a common understanding, expressed in a written constitution, and effective for over thirty years.

As early as 1637 the Puritan leaders of New England were considering the wisdom of union. The Pequod War had revealed the weakness of the scattered colonial settlements; and Massachusetts and Connecticut saw the need of providing against the repetition of such disaster. Moreover, in the face of the aggressive Anglicanism of King Charles and Archbishop Laud, the Puritan plantations in America were at this time still fearful for their religion. It seemed only sensible to unite and walk peaceably together.

Hence in 1638 definite plans of confederation were drawn up by Massachusetts, and submitted to Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven; but these proposals were rejected by the lesser colonies as giving too much power to federal officials. Despite this failure, a year later Connecticut reopened the question of a colonial confederation, and Haynes and Hooker, the two most influential men of the colony, spent a month in

the Bay trying to consummate union. Yet eager though they were, through fear of hostilities from the Dutch of New Netherland, their efforts came to nothing for some three years. Again in 1640 Connecticut, New Haven and the magistrates of Aquidnet (Rhode Island) sent a joint letter to Massachusetts urging a league for defense, but while Massachusetts accepted the suggestion, she rudely refused to have anything to do with Rhode Island.

Probably concord sufficient to admit of union would never have been reached, had not serious Indian uprisings threatened. During the summer of 1642 alarms of attack came with increasing frequency and from more reliable sources. Sober men in all parts of New England became convinced of the reality of a general conspiracy among the Indians "to cut the English off." New propositions of union from Connecticut were therefore carefully considered in Massachusetts and arrangements suggested for including in the scheme Plymouth and Sir Ferdinando Gorges's province (part of the present state of Maine.)

Not until the next spring, however, did Commissioners meet to draw up articles of confederation. Then only the four Puritan colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, were represented. Rhode Island, "that cage of unclean birds," because of her religious views, was no more acceptable to Massachusetts as an associate in 1643 than in 1640. To the religious intolerance which debarred Rhode Island was added in the case of Gorges's province a not uncharacteristic snobbishness. "They ran a different course from us," says John Winthrop, "both in their ministry and civil administration; for they had lately made Acomenticus (a poor village) a corporation, and had made a taylor their mayor, and had entertained one Hvll, an excommunicated person and very contentious, for their minister." So two groups of English settlers were left to face alone the dangers of the frontier, rather than have the Puritan colonies—to put the most generous interpretation on their action,—run the risk of the contamination of association with neighboring colonies of their own nation and religious faith.

For this was to be a Puritan League and its Puritan character is important. Its formation follows close upon the out-

break of civil war in England. For the Puritan colonies the struggle of Parliament with Charles had a twofold result: it left them without the potential aid of the manpower or money of their friends in England; but it also rendered them free from interference to work out their own destinies. It was at once a responsibility and a rare opportunity. While it is doubtful whether Massachusetts leaders in 1643 dared hope for the creation in New England of an independent Puritan state, federated or otherwise, clearly the cause of Congregationalism in the new world could be best promoted by consolidating its strength. Thus also the conversion of the Indians could be most easily forwarded. In addition, though not stressed, in confederation lay the strongest chance of the colonies' mere survival.

The delegates who met in Boston in May, 1643 were eminent men in the colonies: from Massachusetts Governor Winthrop, Dudley and Bradstreet of the magistrates, Gibbons, Tyng and Hathorne of the deputies; from Plymouth, Winslow and Collier; from New Haven, Eaton and Grigson; and from Connecticut, Haynes and Hopkins, together with Fenwick of Saybrook. It is noteworthy that these men were treated as ambassadors of independent states.

Articles of Confederation (1643)

The articles of confederation they drew up created "a firme and perpetuall league of ffrendship and amytie for offence and defence, mutuall advice and succour upon all just occations both for preserueing and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospell and for their owne mutuall safety and wellfare."

The name chosen was the United Colonies of New England. Administration of matters of common concern to the confederates was vested in eight Commissioners, two elected yearly from each colony. These Commissioners were to be members of the established Congregational church. They were to meet annually in September. Their powers extended to the management of war and peace and to all other negotiations with foreigners or Indians. They were to assign the quotas of men and money for any expedition undertaken by the confederates, the rate being according to poll of all men

between the ages of sixteen and sixty in each colony. In the emergency of hostile invasion of any jurisdiction, three magistrates of that colony might call for immediate aid, whereupon Massachusetts should send one hundred men, armed and provisioned for service, the other three colonies forty-five men each. Yet even in such case at least six of the eight Commissioners must vote the justice of this defensive war before the cost might be levied upon the confederates. The internal assessment and collection of any levy was left to the individual colonies.

General problems of a civil nature were also to be considered by the Commissioners, but the territorial and governmental integrity of each colony within its own bounds was carefully guaranteed. Furthermore, to insure sufficient check upon the Commissioners, when fewer than six of the eight were in agreement, any project under discussion had to be accepted by unanimous vote of the four General Courts. Procedure to make easy the return of fugitives from justice and of servants who had fled from one jurisdiction into another was also specified, and it is interesting to observe how closely the Fugitive Slave Clause of the United States Constitution of 1789 parallels this early predecessor. The only arrangement made for the enforcement of federal acts consisted in giving the Commissioners right to take action against any colony that failed to live up to the terms of the compact. The admission of new members to the confederation, the combining of two into one jurisdiction and the addition of existing plantations to any of the colonies must be sanctioned by the Commissioners. This provision, possibly aimed at Massachusetts, would prevent the disproportionate growth in power of any one of the colonies.

The lesser colonies had from the beginning been jealous of Massachusetts and apprehensive of her domineering attitude. Yet why had Massachusetts submitted to a burden more than that of any of her confederates, with no more voice in decisions than they? Probably for three reasons. In the first place, her preëminence was recognized by holding the Commissioners' meeting twice as often in Boston as in any of the other three colonial capitals. Since no machinery was provided by the Articles of Confederation for executing

the Commissioners' acts, it fell to the General Courts to carry out federal orders, and primarily to the government of the colony where the meeting took place. In the second place, the Commissioners were likely to be influenced by the opinion of the magistrates in whose midst they sat. Hence Massachusetts did win a substantial power in the Confederation. On the other hand, she must have felt it unwise to hold out for additional votes. Danger of Indian attack was only less grave for her than for her weaker neighbors. Religion and security alike called for union.

A careful comparison of this document with the Dutch Union of Utrecht of 1579 makes it certain that that document was well known to the draftsmen of the first federal constitution in the history of America. The title of "United Provinces" reappeared in "United Colonies." Some of the details are manifestly based on the Dutch prototype, though the New Englanders avoided the provision for unanimous consent of all the members for important decisions. The relation of this part of the New England Confederation to the later constitution of the United States will be treated in later chapters of this work.

Machinery of the Confederation

The Articles made no attempt to lay down any definite form of procedure for the federal officers. Indeed even the method of their selection by the four colonies was not specified. In Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven they were generally elected by the freemen of the colonies. In Massachusetts, according to Winthrop, "The magistrates and deputies had formerly chosen the commissioners, but the freemen, looking at them as general officers, would now (1646) choose them themselves, and the rather because some of the deputies had formerly been chosen to that office which gave offence to our confederates, and to many among ourselves, for it being an affair of so great moment, the most able gentlemen in the whole country were the fittest for it."

The delegates to the first meeting in September 1643 had all been members of the committee to draft the terms of union, and this circumstance doubtless facilitated their evolving a

satisfactory system of conducting business. And the advantages of experienced representatives was so obvious that each colony was at pains to choose every year at least one Commissioner who had served in that capacity before. Thus a certain continuity of policy and procedure was attained.

The Articles called for a president, elected at each session by the Commissioners from among themselves, to act merely as a presiding officer, with no power of veto or right to check the presentation or progress of business. This honor rotated regularly, since it became customary to elect one of the Commissioners of the jurisdiction where the meeting was taking place. These sessions were more often held in Boston than in any other one place, not only because the Articles stipulated two meetings there to every one in Plymouth, Hartford, or New Haven, but because practically all the emergency sessions were called by Massachusetts.

Just how discussion was carried on at these meetings is impossible to say. Despite the fact that full minutes were kept, in order that each colony might have a copy of all proceedings, as provided by the Articles, there is no indication as to who kept these minutes or who took charge of letters and other official papers. Certainly no definite, permanent arrangement for a secretariat was made. This casualness is in fact typical of the freedom from red tape which characterized the Commissioners' work throughout. Discussion was apparently always free and for the most part singularly equable. When any of the Commissioners dissented from the course voted by the majority, care was taken to make note of this contrary vote, with a brief statement of the reason, much as is done in decisions of the United States Supreme Court today. So successful were the Commissioners in reaching agreement that such dissent was rare; and it was never necessary to refer any subject to the General Courts for final settlement. In general, the Confederation was directed by judicious, intelligent men acting as the delegates of their respective colonies.

Relations with the Indians (1643–1653)

The first problem to confront the newly founded Confederation was the settlement of a quarrel between the great Narragansett tribe and the Mohegans. A recent treaty be-

tween the two peoples bound them to refer any difference to the English before resorting to war. With true Indian disregard of treaties, not long after in the course of a dispute, Miantonomo, the powerful young Narragansett chief, with a thousand braves, treacherously fell upon Uncas, the Mohegan. Miantonomo, nevertheless, was defeated and captured; and Uncas, unwilling to incur both the displeasure of the white men and the vengeance of the Narragansetts, applied to the English for advice about what to do with his royal captive. While he sought out the Commissioners, met in Boston for their first session, he entrusted his prisoner to the magistrates at Hartford. Thus the United Colonies were directly involved.

Although the Commissioners and some of the Massachusetts elders with whom they consulted professed to judge the case solely as it concerned Uncas, obviously considerations of expediency for the United Colonies determined their decision. Here was a dangerous savage in their grasp. Miantonomo at liberty held the lives and property of hundreds of New England colonists in the hollow of his hand, and there was some reason to believe he was conspiring to use his power against them. With Miantonomo dead, the Narragansetts and their confederates, the Nyanticks, would be crippled. The Commissioners felt that it was no time for clemency: Uncas was instructed to put Miantonomo to death. At a distance of three centuries, this sentence seems harsh, for the evidence of Miantonomo's plots against the English is meagre, and the troubles were accented by his death.

For the Narragansetts never forgave the United Colonies. The history of the Commissioners' dealings with them for the next seven years, possibly for the next thirty, is the story of their rage and desire for vengeance, of their fear and distrust of the United Colonies. First they attempted to revenge themselves upon Uncas, but since he was protected by the English, in 1645 they planned a surprise attack upon the white men. Timely warning from Roger Williams, however, and the prompt vigorous action of the Commissioners averted war. The determination of the small force dispatched to the Narragansetts to treat and the extent of the military preparations throughout the colonies convinced the Indians that they might

better bide their time. So they signed a treaty binding themselves to keep peace with the United Colonies.

The following five years proved the futility of trying to restrain savages by a "scrap of paper." Every term of the covenant was repeatedly broken and only a series of lucky accidents, coupled with skillful diplomacy on the part of the Commissioners, prevented the Narragansetts effecting a general Indian uprising of proportions to have utterly wiped out the English settlements. The Commissioners discovered that the wampum, which, according to treaty should have been paid over to the English, had been sent by the Narragansetts to the Mohawks to induce them to take the warpath against the United Colonies. The Pocumtucks around Deerfield also were to have joined in hostilities. The latter were already at the place of rendezvous awaiting the Mohawks when the agents of the Commissioners sought them out.

No wonder the Puritans thought Jehovah had them under His special protection. The Mohawks failed to appear. A few days before, the murder of two of their braves by French traders had resulted in turning their tomahawks against New France instead of New England. Discouraged by the withdrawal of their allies, the Pocumtucks were dissuaded from war by the tact and eloquence of the Commissioners' men. Then the Narragansetts abandoned the attack too. With the frustration of this conspiracy its fomenters became for a time more tractable, and comparative quiet prevailed until 1653.

External Relations

Meanwhile other difficulties required a share of the Commissioners' attention. At their first meeting New Haven petitioned for support against the Swedes and Dutch on Delaware Bay where New Haven merchants had been trying to establish a trading post. The Commissioners undertook to send a protest to the Governor of the Swedish settlement and a demand for satisfaction for damage done New Haven. To the Dutch governor a similar letter was dispatched with, to be sure, the addition of a list of wrongs done within New England to Connecticut as well as to New Haven. Negotiations with the Swedes never went beyond a sparse exchange

of letters. New Haven, unable to recover her losses on the Delaware from either Swedes or Dutch, was eventually forced to abandon the whole enterprise.

With the Dutch, on the other hand, the United Colonies treated for years. The confederating of the powerful Bay Colony with Connecticut and New Haven was a blow to New Netherland, for the Dutch West India Company now could not hope so to man its colony as to compete on equal terms with the New Englanders. The Dutch had been established on the Connecticut River, at the present site of Hartford, since 1633; and it was therefore with justifiable wrath that they saw English settlers planting under the very walls of their fort and cutting in upon their trade with the Indians in various places west of the river. New Netherland claimed all the territory between the Delaware and Connecticut Rivers, but in face of Connecticut's and New Haven's policy of peaceful penetration, crowding ever westward and pushing the Dutch further and further out of New England, she could do little but protest.

Angry correspondence with the Dutch Governor over the offenses and retaliations arising from such a situation was conducted from 1643 on by the federal Commissioners, and constituted business as important as any with which they had to deal. Grievances on either side multiplied with each year, varying in seriousness from the harboring of fugitive servants and the sale of firearms to the Indians, to the seizure by the Dutch colony government of a Dutch trader's vessel within New Haven harbor. Matters were at length composed enough to make possible a treaty in 1650. It was a triumph for the English. New Netherland was forced to accept as her eastern boundary a line drawn on Long Island south from Oyster Bay; and on the mainland due north from the west side of Greenwich Bay.

Foreign relations could not, however, be confined to the Swedes and Dutch. In 1644 while the exchange of letters with those neighbors to the south and west was continuing and while the Indians threatened, an unpleasant affair with the French to the north and east obtruded itself upon the Commissioners' notice. The trouble began a year earlier when Massachusetts unwisely gave some support, unofficial

From an engraving in the Boston Athenaeum

GOVERNOR PETER STUYVESANT OF NEW NETHERLAND

but still substantial, to M. de la Tour of St. Johns, who professed to be the royal Governor of the French province of Acadia. Too late Massachusetts discovered that his rival, D'Aulnay of Penobscot, was the Governor recognized by the crown of France. Massachusetts volunteers had already done D'Aulnay much damage, and he had replied by issuing commissions for seizing Massachusetts ships. Alarmed at the prospect of the destruction of her shipping and yet eager to maintain the highly lucrative fur trade with La Tour, the Massachusetts magistrates were in a quandary. They made conciliatory overtures to D'Aulnay and then hastened to turn the matter over to the federal Commissioners.

It was no easy situation. In 1644 the success of Charles I was still possible, and the Puritan colonies, as Parliamentary sympathizers, had no desire to incur the further displeasure of the King by an injudicious affront to France, his friend. The Commissioners therefore immediately approved Massachusetts's offer to D'Aulnay of reparation, although they recommended the issue of counter commissions against his shipping, if he persisted in hostility. Massachusetts did manage to negotiate with D'Aulnay a provisional treaty, pending the Commissioners' ratification; but hardly had it been completed before Massachusetts merchants broke it, so D'Aulnay averred, by carrying provisions to his enemy La Tour.

Since the treaty had expressly sanctioned Massachusetts trade with any person "either French or other wheresoever they dwell," D'Aulnay was at length mollified and persuaded to ratify the treaty as the Commissioners had already done. A gift which the Frenchmen agreed to accept in lien of £8000 damages was sent in the shape of a sedan chair, booty from a Spanish prize captured in the West Indies and "worth" says Winthrop, "forty or fifty pounds where it was made but of no comfortable use to us."

Thereafter relations between the United Colonies and the French were more easy. Indeed all was so peaceable that in 1647 there came from Canada a proposal for free trade between New England and New France; and three years later a further request for coöperation in making war upon the French enemy, the Iroquois. But the Commissioners had seen

enough of intermeddling with their neighbors' troubles and no further dealings between the French and the United Colonies ever took place.

Social and Religious Betterment

Though questions of Indian and foreign policy constantly engaged the Commissioners during the early years of the union—and were most vital to the safety of the United Colonies—the federal officials still found time to pass upon various matters calculated to promote the general welfare of the Confederates and to facilitate smooth relations between themselves. Thus they recommended to the General Courts measures to expedite justice, probating of wills, and settlement of intestacy cases in all the colonies. They provided for better communication by arranging for the building of a road from Massachusetts to Connecticut.

They also secured financial aid for poor scholars at Harvard College by dint of urging upon the various Colonial governments the piety of helping them. Although, as was pointed out to the Commissioners, God had hitherto carried on the work of this School of the Prophet by a special hand, and that not without some evident fruit and success, God's hand had been cramped and the colonies must lend assistance. The forwarding of such a project was wholly befitting a confederation whose purpose was in part the maintenance of the Gospel. Consequently the Commissioners recommended an annual contribution of a fourth of a bushel of corn from every family in the United Colonies able and willing to give to the college. In response to this appeal Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven appointed in every plantation collectors of the "college corn."

President Dunster in fact found the Commissioners' assistance so efficient in procuring funds that he wrote to consult about other college business: on how to roof the buildings, how to obtain books for the library, and, most poignant of all, how to secure the President's salary. On these subjects the Commissioners vouchsafed no advice.

Few events in New England history indicate more clearly the extent to which the interests and hopes of the Puritan

leaders centered on religion than the activities of the confederate Commissioners in serving as guardians of the faith. They early considered ways of stopping the spreading course of religious error, and they succeeded in launching discussion which ended in a church synod in 1646. They sent warning to the colony governments to keep due watch "at the doores of God's house, that none be admitted as members of the body of Christ but such as hold foorth effectuall calling." They even went so far as to recommend orders "against excess and disorder in apparrell drincke and all other loose and sinfull miscarriages . . . their fruites . . . beinge nothinge better then the wild vines or brambles in the wildernes."

Economic Affairs

Of more material usefulness were the endeavors of the central administration in economic matters. By the 1640's commerce in the United Colonies had attained sizeable proportions and there was real justification for some federal regulation of inter-colonial trade. The Commissioners, who as a board were always eager to extend the power of the federal government, in the early years made the most of the opportunity thus offered them. In the first place, they proclaimed a uniform measure of eight gallons for all the confederates. Later they advised the prohibition of mackerel fishing before the fish had spawned, since mackerel was "the most staple comoditie in this Countrey and might bee much more benificiall then yett it hath bine if wisly managed." In 1644 they put a stop to the flooding of colonial markets with Connecticut grain by prevailing upon that General Court to forbid the sale of grain, meal or flour outside the colony except overseas. In an effort to stabilize currency, they labored to secure a standardized quality of peage; and three of the four colony Courts acted upon their suggestions.

Their most ambitious scheme, however, the organization of a United Colonies joint stock company for trade with the Indians was never carried out. They proposed to raise £10,000 as capital which factors appointed by the Commissioners should employ in pursuing the fur trade. There is no reason to suppose that such an enterprise might not have been both

practicable and profitable. Although Massachusetts hailed the idea with enthusiasm, Plymouth's unconditional refusal to participate put an end to it.

Over one phase of Indian trade, the sale of firearms and ammunition to the natives, the Commissioners kept always a watchful eye. This dangerous traffic they studied to destroy.

Nor were these services all. During the first decade of the confederation, the federal delegates of two of the colonies several times acted as arbitrators of quarrels between the other two. By this system of adjudication Woronoak (Westfield, Massachusetts) was decreed part of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts instead of Connecticut. A far more difficult question of jurisdiction, submitted to the Connecticut and New Haven Commissioners to decide between the claims of Massachusetts and Plymouth to Warwick (Rhode Island)—a case infinitely complicated by the stormy relations between the settlers there, Samuel Gorton's company, and Massachusetts —proved after two years discussion to have been debated in vain, since the English Parliament ordained that Warwick should pertain to Rhode Island.

Impost Controversy (1646–1650)

Such disputes were trivial compared to the conflict which raged over Springfield and the Connecticut River imposts. In 1646 William Pynchon, head of the trading post at Springfield, in obedience to an order from the Massachusetts General Court, refused to pay to Connecticut the duties laid on goods passing by the river's mouth to the sea. The question was of more importance then than it might now appear, because the river was the great outlet for all the back country and was particularly useful in getting that most valuable commodity, beaver, to points of shipment to Europe. The impost was demanded of all the river settlements to aid in the purchase of and to maintain Saybrook fort at the river's mouth, their guarantee of safety from naval attack, a security of which Springfield partook. The Connecticut Commissioners promptly lodged complaint at the September session with their confederates. But discussion was delayed until the next meeting and meanwhile the fort burned.

Massachusetts then presented a long list of extravagantly far-fetched reasons why Springfield should not pay the impost; the most logical of these was that Connecticut had no right to force inhabitants of another jurisdiction to purchase without their consent fort or lands in a colony other than their own. Connecticut made a rather neat rebuttal and insisted that in any parallel case Connecticut would readily submit to Massachusetts duties. The Plymouth and New Haven Commissioners sided with Connecticut, and ruled that Springfield should pay. The rate of two pence per bushel of corn and twenty shillings per hogshead of beaver could not be ruinous, and the rate was not to be raised until the cause and need for it had been acknowledged by the other colonies.

Disgruntled, Massachusetts appealed for a rehearing in 1648. The General Court sent in dreary acres of argument, and demanded a view of the Connecticut patent that thus Massachusetts rights might be ascertained. The Connecticut Commissioners produced a copy of the Saybrook patent, their nearest approach to a Connecticut patent, and succeeded in answering their opponents well enough to win a confirmation of the verdict in Connecticut's favor.

Again a year later the question was reopened. This time the crux of the conflict was whether the Massachusetts line had ever been legitimately run so as to include Springfield. Debate was becoming highly acrimonious when the Massachusetts General Court thought fit to exert pressure to have the ruling against Springfield revoked. It imposed a retaliatory custom on all goods of Plymouth, New Haven, or Connecticut inhabitants which should be imported into or exported from Massachusetts Bay, namely, two pence a skin on beaver, packed in hogsheads and like containers, two pence a bushel on corn and meal, and six shillings a hundred on "bisket."

These were severe measures. Massachusetts doubtless had much right on her side of the impost question, but Connecticut had been acting in accordance with the accepted international usage of that day. The Commissioners of the three smaller colonies at once remonstrated. They attested their efforts to handle the matter with equity and pointed out that Massachusetts was taking toll of New Haven and Plymouth whose Commissioners at Massachusetts's own request had tried to

settle the differences, an impost obviously revengeful considering that it was required of neither other Englishmen nor foreigners. They requested the Massachusetts deputies to think on these things with bearing on the law of love, and they begged to be spared all further agitations about Springfield. Mediation had proved too costly both for New Haven and Plymouth.

Connecticut was obliged to let Springfield cargoes pass free of charge, despite the Commissioners' decisions, and Massachusetts then rescinded her customs. The boundary line question was renewed once later, but on Massachusetts's unaltered insistence that no line could be run until Connecticut produced her original patent or a copy under seal or sufficiently witnessed, the dispute was dropped.

Interpretation of the Articles (1645–1658)

Conflict between Massachusetts and the other three colonies was in the very nature of the confederation quite inevitable. Massachusetts with three-fifths of the total population of the United Colonies and bearing three times as great a burden in its support as any of her associates had still only an equal vote in deciding its policies. Attempts to curtail the power of the federal Commissioners began as early as 1645 when the Massachusetts deputies endeavored to deny the Commissioners' right to impress men for immediate service without a commission from the General Courts.

On this occasion the magistrates upheld the board of Commissioners by declaring the main ends of the union defeated if it were refused authority to make effective its decisions in emergency. Some months later a committee of the General Court scrutinized the Articles of Confederation and the acts of the Commissioners to detect any which might prove prejudicial to the home governments. Already Massachusetts was feeling uneasy over her compact. Magistrates and deputies alike showed themselves anxious to win for her a preponderance proportionate to her greater size and wealth.

To begin, her Commissioners demanded the right to have first place in subscribing the acts of the Commissioners. Here their claim was accorded by their fellows, not as a right but

as a privilege. Next they requested to have the delegates at all meetings seated in the order in which the colonies signed the Articles. This would have put the Massachusetts men at the head, and John Brown of Plymouth refused to agree to the arrangement as being contrary to Scripture. At the same time the General Court of the Bay proposed a revision of the Articles whereby she was to have a third Commissioner, as might any other of the confederates who would bear an equal share of the charges. It was rejected.

After the failure of these proposals, which were intended to increase her importance, Massachusetts began to give less meticulous regard to the Confederation. The Commissioners' decision notwithstanding, Springfield goods went down the Connecticut river free. What was worse, in 1651 she began quietly to extend her authority further and further into the provinces of Maine and New Hampshire; until by 1658 the process was complete. Her confederates, through their Commissioners, it is true, had earlier given a limited sanction to her jurisdiction over two settlements on the Piscataqua river, but that could hardly have been considered as giving her permission to annex the whole region as a province. And the Articles of Confederation had expressly stipulated that such permission should be secured before addition to any of the colonies was made.

Nullification Controversy (1653–1654)

Not until 1653, however, did another serious controversy break out between Massachusetts and her weaker allies. The occasion then was dramatic. In that year had come persistent rumors of an Indian conspiracy against the New Englanders, instigated and fostered by the Dutch. Such tales were nothing new, but so likely did these stories sound that the Massachusetts Council called an extraordinary session of the Commissioners at Boston in April. For weeks evidence was examined and the question of what to do was debated. Messengers sent to the Narragansett and Nyantick sachems and to the Dutch Governor, Stuyvesant, brought back full denials of the truth of the charges but also brought a mass of ill-assorted testimony and rumor to the contrary.

The case against Ninigret, the Nyantick, looks fairly strong. And it is known that the directors of the Dutch West India Company in Holland some time before had instructed Stuyvesant to employ Indians if the English should begin hostilities against New Netherland. Still it seems improbable that he could have gone further than to try to obey this order by securing the alliance of the natives in event of future conflict between New Netherland and New England, a clash which seemed eventually unavoidable.

England and the United Provinces were now at war in Europe, and Connecticut and particularly New Haven, who had suffered at the hands of the Dutch in America, were not loath to avail themselves of this opportunity to push matters to a conclusion, regardless of the truth of the accusations made against Stuyvesant. Massachusetts, on the other hand, had nothing to gain from such war. At the critical moment, therefore, the Massachusetts General Court elected to interfere in the Commissioners' deliberations: they appointed a committee to join with the Commissioners in drawing up a statement of all pertinent facts; they had the statement examined by the elders, and then upon the advice of the latter they took it upon themselves to vote against war.

They defended their unwarrantable procedure by contending that the Articles did not empower the Commissioners to declare offensive or vindictive war and that consequently it was the General Court's duty to make the decision in this case. To delegate such supreme authority to six Commissioners, all of whom might be of other jurisdictions, would be bondage, she maintained, a "Scandall in Religion that a generall court of Christians should be oblidged to acte and engage vpon the faith of six Delligates against their Conscience." With this blast ringing in its ears, the meeting of the Commissioners dissolved, for as long as Massachusetts blocked action, there was nothing further to be done without consultation of the other colonial governments.

During the summer Connecticut and New Haven, as the colonies directly affected, wrote to the Bay in remonstrance, and then rather lamely asked for permission to gather up volunteers against the Dutch, if Massachusetts continued to impede joint war by denying the Commissioners' right to declare

it. The answers of Massachusetts, while disavowing any intention of disrupting the Confederation, gave no hope of concession on the main issue. By way of reply New Haven voted not to send Commissioners to the September meeting, unless Massachusetts revoked her interpretation of the Articles.

All three of the lesser colonies, nevertheless, did swallow their chagrin enough to send their delegates to Boston that fall to carry on the argument. Massachusetts at first presented an interpretive emendation of the Articles, taking from the Commissioners and vesting in the General Courts the right to declare offensive war. This the Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth Commissioners declared was to rewrite the covenant. The controversy dragged on until suddenly the Massachusetts magistrates gave in. They sent word: "wee Judge and graunt that by the Articles of Confeoderation soe farr as the Determinations of the Commissioners are Just and according to God the seuerall Collonies are bound before God and men to Acte accordingly and that they sin and breake Couenant if they doe not but otherwise wee Judge wee are not bound neither before God nor men;". Indeed that they were ready to go the full length of retraction is shown by a draft of the letter wherein they admitted the binding character of the Commissioners' decisions even without the saving clause about justice. An inconvenient, a disastrous, war had been averted and the General Court could afford to yield on the technicalities of interpretation.

Up to this point, be it noted, while Massachusetts had aired her views she had not countered any definite act of the Commissioners. But almost the first move they made after this caused a split. There had been much evidence of the Nyantick Ninigret's conspiring against the English in the spring, and now he was further demonstrating his treacherous nature by attacking the Long Island Indians, allies of the English. To allow him to continue his course with impunity, six of the Commissioners felt, was to court disaster. They voted to raise an army of two hundred and fifty men to march against him. Only Simon Bradstreet of Massachusetts dissented on the grounds that the Long Island Indians were not really allies of the United Colonies, and that this quarrel was entirely

a native affair. Of all this he wrote to the Massachusetts Council and that body immediately decided war unnecessary and refused to raise the Massachusetts quota.

This was outright breach of the Articles of Confederation. However sensible Bradstreet's arguments may have been, he was outvoted. Massachusetts commands a certain amount of sympathy for resolutely maintaining peace both with the Dutch and with the Indians at a time when a colonial war must have been disastrous. None the less she was now deliberately nullifying an act of the Confederation. Here was the fruit of the jealous individualism which had prevented earlier federation of the colonies and of which Franklin was to complain a century later.

The attempts to justify Massachusetts on the grounds of conscience sound to modern ears unctuous and hypocritical. Bradstreet defended his government, protesting its deed no breach of faith since the Commissioners' acts opposed the will of God. But the Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven Commissioners were not so minded. They declared Massachusetts a covenant breaker and departed homeward to lay the case before their General Courts. An ensuing exchange of letters between the four governments netted Massachusetts only indignant repudiations of her explanations. Plymouth and New Haven asserted that all the General Courts were subject to the Commissioners in matters properly within the sphere of the federal administration, although the latter were responsible to the General Courts for a true rendering of their trust. New Haven reminded the trouble-maker that five years before she herself had expressly labelled refusal to accept the Commissioners' determinations breach of compact.

It was with reluctance that New Haven elected Commissioners the next year and she sent them with instructions that if Massachusetts persevered they were to consider only securing reparation from the covenant-breaker, as a section of the Articles provided. Massachusetts was to be called to account. But at the meeting in 1654 all was concord. The two Massachusetts representatives declared that in their judgment the General Court recalled their earlier interpretation of the Articles and acknowledged themselves bound to execute the decisions of the Commissioners "according to the literall

sence" of the Articles. This statement was accepted by the other Commissioners and later confirmed by the Massachusetts government. So ended the greatest conflict of the Confederation.

The quarrel made some stir in England. Massachusetts deemed it wise to send explanatory letters to the Lord Protector and other influential persons in order to clear herself of charges of bad faith. In America, mindful of how nearly the union had been disrupted, the colonies thereafter were scrupulous in their adherence to the injunction of the Commissioners, though some soreness of feeling lingered on. Fortunately the Confederation was not again to be faced with problems so difficult as those of its first ten years, and later disputes were easier to avert or settle.

Conclusion of Dutch Affairs (1653–1664)

Relations with the Dutch became gradually more easy. After the Commissioners of the lesser colonies in vain registered a vote declaring the justice of war against New Netherland in 1653, New Haven petitioned Cromwell for ships, ammunition, and men to assist the colonies in attacking the Dutch. Although the Protector responded by sending over an armed force, the news of peace between England and the United Provinces arrived in time to prevent hostilities.

When bad feeling had somewhat subsided, Stuyvesant opened up correspondence with the United Colonies again over the treaty of 1650, now ratified by the States General in Holland. Parliament, on the other hand, had purposely disregarded the treaty, preferring to be free to claim the whole Atlantic seaboard from Newfoundland to Florida. So Stuyvesant's efforts profited him nothing. Yet through all these troubled years trade between "Monhatoes" and New England flourished. The chief commodities were beaver, moose skins, and provisions; and Stuyvesant and the Commissioners spent considerable time in trying to regulate this commerce. Soon after the Restoration rumor of an impending English conquest of New Netherland became so definite that Stuyvesant renewed his endeavors to get the

United Colonies to admit themselves bound by the 1650 agreement. But in 1664 the Duke of York's conquest ended the Dutch problem for the confederates. Dutch New Netherland became English New York.

Indian Wars (1654–1658)

The danger of Indian hostilities was not so easily remedied. The earlier inaction of the United Colonies against Ninigret apparently encouraged him to greater offenses. By 1654 his overbearing attitude convinced even Bradstreet that trouble was brewing. All eight Commissioners, accordingly, now voted to dispatch an expedition to obtain surety for his future peaceable bearing, and to take from him the Pequod Indians subject to him. Extensive preparations for war were made.

These notwithstanding, through the failure of the Massachusetts commander to press the issue, the United Colonies did not succeed this time in bringing the wily savage to terms. Other means were therefore resorted to with better results. All Ninigret's Indian enemies were given free rein to war against him; and English planters on Long Island who had been suffering from his depredations were instructed to join with his Indian foes if he came within six miles of the English towns. As a final precaution, an armed vessel was chartered to ply the Sound to watch and to check the Nyantick's hostile movements.

These precautions mark the last active measures taken against the Indians for nearly twenty years. Though the quarrels among the natives dragged on interminably, the United Colonies were less and less concerned in them, and while the Commissioners continued to mediate somewhat, they interfered only when Indian offenses directly touched the colonies.

Civilizing the Indians (1643–1664)

Meanwhile an Indian problem of a peaceable nature confronted the Commissioners. What was to be done with the tributary Pequods? At the close of the Pequod War in 1637, the English decided that the Pequods, who had nearly destroyed the English in New England, must never again be a

distinct people. Those who had not been deported to Bermuda or the West Indies had been scattered among other New England tribes, a few on Long Island, more under the Mohegans' rule and the rest under the Narragansetts and Nyanticks. Through their alien chiefs these subject Pequods were to pay a yearly tribute as indemnity to the English.

Such a system was inevitably a source of friction, and for years the Commissioners regularly received complaints of recalcitrancy or injustices from overlords or subjects. At length upon the earnest advice of John Winthrop the Younger, most of the Pequods subject to Uncas were allowed to form a separate settlement near Nameoke (New London) where they might live under the shadow of English justice.

By 1654 the Commissioners decided to extend the arrangement to include the Narragansetts' Pequods. After considerable difficulty with Ninigret, most of these tributaries were brought together in two settlements under direct English surveillance. The Commissioners evolved a workable system of governing them by appointing for each group a Pequod governor and deputy governor; and over these, English overseers. Peace and order were well kept thus, the tribute was paid annually, and the Commissioners successfully maintained this native protectorate until 1664. Then with the breakup of the original Confederation, Connecticut alone was able to take charge.

Missionary activities among the Indians were also under the Commissioners' supervision. In 1649 Parliament incorporated a society under the name of Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and in the first official English recognition of the colonial union, named the Commissioners of the Confederation agents for handling the funds in America. The trustees in England lost no time in opening with them a correspondence on Corporation business which was carried on as long as the Corporation endured. With the money raised in England, appointed buyers purchased a supply of English manufactures to be sold to the colonists or distributed to Indian converts. The proceeds of sales of these articles to the colonists were used to pay the salaries of missionary teachers among the natives. The Commissioners after consultation with the missionaries listed the kinds of goods

most needed in New England, textiles, "haberdashery especially thred", shoes, hinges, axes and other farm implements. Between meetings of the Commissioners a steward, living in Boston, took charge of the supplies under the constant supervision of the Massachusetts Commissioners.

Though a number of converts were gradually made, thanks to the devoted labors of John Eliot around Natick and of Thomas Mayhew on Martha's Vineyard, the United Colonies were criticized in England as not coöperating in the work. The Commissioners were practically accused of peculation, a charge not to be substantiated save for their authorizing the expenditure of Corporation monies for the erection of a building at Harvard College to house the Indian students. Most of the Indian boys under the tutelage of white teachers died before they were ready for college, so that five was the greatest number of native students ever to use the building at one time and only one graduated. It was therefore at least bad judgment for the Commissioners to have made such an investment. Nevertheless the work of conversion went on. Such a large share of the Commissioners' time was devoted to this missionary business in the years after the settlement of the troubles with the Dutch and with Ninigret, that Massachusetts proposed having part of the Commissioners' expenses met from Corporation funds. But this thrifty suggestion met with no response.

The Restoration brought little change to the organization and work of the Corporation. The Commissioners tendered King Charles a copy of Eliot's Indian translation of the New Testament with a discreetly worded dedication to the "Most Dread Sovereign," and Charles saw no cause to interfere with the evangelizing work. As the number of christianized Indians grew, the Commissioners made provisions to have them taught trades, perhaps the earliest attempt at vocational education in America. To Indians who should apprentice their children to any godly English craftsman in the United Colonies, one coat a year each was promised by way of encouragement, though, the Commissioners warned, watch must be kept for seekers after loaves. One Captain Gookin, sponsored by the Commissioners, undertook to introduce to the praying Indians of Natick and neighboring settlements some knowl-

242.

Tears of Repentance:

Or, A further
Narrative of the Progreſs of the *Goſpel*
Amongſt the

INDIANS
IN
NEW-ENGLAND:

Setting forth, not only their preſent ſtate and condition, but ſundry Confeſſions of ſin by diverſe of the ſaid *Indians*, wrought upon by the ſaving Power of the Goſpel; Together with the manifeſtation of their *Faith* and *Hope* in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the Work of Grace upon their Hearts.

Related by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Mayhew*, two Faithful Laborers in that Work of the Lord.

Publiſhed by the Corporation for propagating the Goſpel there, for the Satisfaction and Comfort of ſuch as wiſh well thereunto.

Iſay, 42. 3. *A bruiſed Reed ſhall he not break, and the ſmoaking Flax, ſhall be not quench.*

London: Printed by *Peter Cole* in *Leaden-Hall*, and are to Sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the Printing-Preſs in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1653.

From the Harvard University Library

edge of spinning and knitting cotton and wool, as well as carpentry and trades useful for the men. Agriculture was abetted and schools increased. Over all this varied work the Commissioners had supervision and discharged their duties with punctiliousness.

Quaker Controversy (1660–1667)

No less conscientious but far less humane was the Commissioners' treatment of the Quakers. Perhaps chiefly because this sect held it wrong to swear obedience to any earthly magistrate, they were looked upon as dangerous persons whose doctrines tended "to the very absolute cutting downe and overturninge relations and civill government among men, if generally received." They were the artificial Bolsheviks of the seventeenth century New England.

The Massachusetts magistrates first presented their case with a plea for joint action against these irreligious radicals. The Commissioners hereupon recommended laws forbidding the Quakers to come into the United Colonies, or if already there to remain, which laws the four General Courts passed. Two years later they advised a still harsher law in order to check the continued proselyting by the sect: anyone convicted as a Quaker who returned to the United Colonies was to be imprisoned and then banished under penalty of death in case of a second return. Only Massachusetts was so severe as to adopt these measures in all their rigor, and added to them penalties for any who defended the heretics.

In the interval between these pronouncements, the Commissioners, as guardians of the welfare of the Puritans in the new world, felt called upon to exhort Rhode Island to follow their example, lest by means of trading intercourse, infection spread from the Quakers in Rhode Island to her neighbors. The answers of Rhode Island are a triumph for toleration. As usual, the tone of the Commissioners when dealing with the liberal-minded little colony was stern, and that government read the letter as a veiled threat to coerce them by economic boycott. For Rhode Island this would have been ruinous.

Nevertheless she returned an outright refusal to punish any persons "for only declaring by words, etc., theire mindes and understandings concerning the things and ways of God". Moreover, these people who panted for martyrdom were already beginning to loathe Rhode Island where they encountered no opposition from the civil authority. Since freedom of conscience was one of the fundamentals of the colony charter, she could not require, she concluded, more of the Quakers than obedience to the laws of England.

The United Colonies took no reproach unto themselves for their bigotry. On the contrary, they thought: "Yf thus we be for God he will certainely be with vs, And though the God of the world (as he is stiled) be worshipped, and by vsurpation sett vpon his throane in thte maine and greatest part of America, yet this small parte and portion may be vindicated as by the right hand of Jehovah, and justly called Emmannuells land".

Boundary Questions (1657–1667)

Yet such piety did not prevent new quarrels from arising within the Confederation. Disputes developed in 1657 over title to the so-called Pequod country, lands between the Pawcatuck and Thames rivers, claimed by both Massachusetts and Connecticut by right of conquest in the Pequod war. Not long after, the adjudicating Commissioners set the Mystic river as the boundary between Connecticut's lands on the west and Massachusetts's on the east; Rhode Island also became involved in the squabble when planters from about Narragansett Bay began to push westward across the Pawcatuck river.

Acrimonious correspondence ensued between the Commissioners and the General Courts and actual deeds of violence within the contested districts occurred. But in 1663 Connecticut's newly won charter rights gave her an immeasurable accretion of strength and she succeeded gradually in forcing Massachusetts to withdraw altogether. The fight with Rhode Island, Connecticut then carried on for herself with the Commissioners' aid, until at length King Charles took the decision into his own hands.

By the royal charter granted to Connecticut New Haven colony was incorporated with Connecticut. It was a bitter blow to the little theocracy, and Massachusetts and Plymouth stood by her in protesting. To Massachusetts also the change could not have been agreeable, for now Connecticut would be strong enough to challenge her primacy. For two years New Haven struggled, only to yield to the inevitable in December, 1664. Not until three years later did Massachusetts and Plymouth acquiesce in the incorporation.

The Revised Constitution (1665–1672)

Several years elapsed after the Restoration of Charles II who apparently took notice of the colonial Confederation, without objecting to it. What then was the chagrin of the United Colonies to receive in 1665 intimations of royal displeasure with the combination. Royal Commissioners sent over the summer before to report upon conditions in the colonies took occasion to pronounce the union a usurpation of the King's prerogative. The King had been informed, so they announced, that "that that union was a war combination made by the four colonies when they had a design to throw off their dependence on England and for that purpose."

The royal agents endeavored to elict a statement from Plymouth that she would not consider herself bound by the terms of the Confederation to refuse His Majesty's authority even if her associates were to do so. Plymouth's reply was soothing, but Massachusetts took great umbrage at these implications and sent Charles a detailed account of the good work of the Confederation "which is the wall and bulworke, under God, against the heathen." His Majesty was evidently reassured and no further steps were taken against the union.

Still it appeared wise for the Confederation to make itself inconspicuous for a time. Furthermore, the incorporation of New Haven with Connecticut destroyed the applicability of the original Articles. Hence either a new covenant or a formal dissolution was needed. Plymouth voted for the latter, because, as she stated, it was too expensive to send Commissioners to make decisions which experience proved might be disregarded by any one confederate when they became inconvenient. Nevertheless she continued to elect Commissioners,

and 1667 found her consulting with Massachusetts and Connecticut over new Articles of Confederation. After all, the general feeling in Plymouth, as elsewhere, seemed to be that the association was valuable, particularly for coping with the Indians. By 1672 a newly constituted Confederation of three was in full working order.

The revised Articles settled forever the painful question of the Commissioners' powers in offensive war by vesting the right to declare such war in the General Courts. To the General Courts also was given all control in civil matters and the power to permit of the extension or combination of the colonies or Confederation. The vote of five of the six Commissioners was to carry any motion; but if five could not agree, the matter was to be referred to the General Courts. Triennial meetings were specified—two in Boston and two in Hartford to every one in Plymouth; and the quotas of men for aid in emergency were changed to thirty from Plymouth, sixty from Connecticut and one hundred from Massachusetts. Otherwise the Articles were practically as in the original agreement.

Two facts are noticeable about this new Confederation. First, care was taken to embody a statement in the Articles that the union was for the purposes of serving the King, so that any lingering sparks of royal wrath might be extinguished. Secondly, the Commissioners' authority was so reduced as to render them dependent upon the General Courts in the most important decisions and to transform them from a sort of federal congress with discretionary powers into an advisory body or a conclave of instructed ambassadors.

The need of a strong central administration was now less. The Dutch, since 1664 English subjects of the province of New York, were no longer to be feared. The long years of peace with the Indians had sufficed to win some of the savages to more civilized ways. And the increased size and power of the individual colonies made close union a less essential source of strength.

Revival of Activity (1673–1691)

As the authority of the Commissioners was restricted, the scope and value of their activities narrowed. Their manage-

ment of foreign relations hereafter was confined to a single episode in 1673 when a Dutch fleet captured and held New York for a few months. A pompous letter to the Dutch commander and some ineffective recommendations of preparedness to the General Courts were the whole extent of their achievement. A few attempts to settle inter-colonial disputes over land titles proved equally futile. In Indian concerns, on the other hand, the Commissioners continued to be useful agents of control. The missionary work among the natives was carried on capably under their guidance down to 1684, though there is evidence that they permitted a share of the funds of the Corporation to go to the support of Harvard College. How better could God be served? As regarded Indian hostilities, moreover, their work was still important. The unaltered need of colonial unity for defense was to be proved in King Philip's War.

Philip, sachem of the Mount Hope Indians, began his attacks against the English in June, 1675, but the confederates made no attempt at united counter action until September when the Commissioners held their regular meeting. By that time it was obvious that this was to be no sporadic outburst but a long, merciless war. So the Commissioners made large scale preparations by calling for one thousand men to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice—527 from Massachusetts, 315 from Connecticut, and 158 from Plymouth. But they formulated no plan of campaign and created no central command. Instead, the commander-in-chief was to be the chief military officer of the colony in which the fighting was taking place.

By November closer coöperation became manifestly necessary. The Narragansetts with whom Massachusetts and Connecticut had patched up a treaty in the summer were giving such indubitable proofs of treachery that the Commissioners declared war against them. To render effective the projected invasion of the Narragansett country, a second contingent of one thousand men was raised, and this time a single supreme commander, Josiah Winslow, was appointed. After the launching of this expedition the Commissioners acted for several months with some success as a central Council of War. They raised relieving contingents; they enlisted the Pequod and Mo-

hegan braves on the colonial side; they endeavored to establish a single commissary for the united army; and they were constantly ready with their advice to Winslow.

Unhappily the illness of General Winslow early in 1676 resulted in the reversion to a decentralized, haphazard scheme of defense. Individual colony troops conducted their own manoeuvres, and the federal Commissioners had no further responsibility during the war. Perhaps considering the ubiquity of the Indians' attacks in the ensuing months, separate action was as effective as joint. During the months of its management of the war, although the federal board had not always been able to secure compliance with its orders, and although efficiency in a modern sense had been wanting in its regime, nevertheless it made possible concerted measures at a time when they were highly useful, and where delay due to lack of machinery for coöperation might have been fatal.

Succeeding meetings of the Commissioners were largely concerned with the knotty problem of adjusting the war debts. In 1678 they also undertook correspondence with Governor Andros of New York over a raid of the Mohawks upon the praying Indians of Natick. Massachusetts alone finally settled matters with the guilty tribe, for, as she wrote their chief, "There are other Indians for you to fall vpon, whose pursuing and destroying wee shall take kindly from your hand." The Confederation was becoming increasingly insignificant. The Lords of Trade in England were already evolving a new scheme of colonial union, in which consideration of Puritanism was to play no part.

Some suspicion of a rebellious purpose in the existing combination seems to have persisted abroad, and Massachusetts's uncompromising attitude did nothing to allay such distrust. Fearful of the fate which was indeed to overtake them, the United Colonies, upon their Commissioners' recommendations, observed days of "solemn humiliation" to pray the Lord to confound their enemies. In vain. In 1686 the Dominion of New England was established which automatically wiped out the separate colonial governments and their league.

End of the Confederation

The Confederation was never formally dissolved. After the overthrow of the Dominion government in 1689, steps were taken to resurrect the union in order better to secure the colonies from the Indian attacks in Maine and from French and Indian hostilities on the northwest frontier. Plymouth was particularly eager for such reconstruction, doubtless because in the Confederation she hoped to find a safeguard against Massachusetts swallowing her up. But no definite renewal of the compact ensued; the revival was only nominal. Still it facilitated promptness of action and gave a valuable sense of cohesion. Thus the colonial expedition of 1690, against Quebec and Montreal, that extraordinary and ill-fated attempt of a few hundred men to capture an empire, may be called in some ways the work of the United Colonies. It formed a fitting climax to a long career. In 1691 Plymouth's incorporation with Massachusetts ended all possibility of perpetuation of the New England Confederation.

The Services of the Confederation (1643–1686)

In view of the inherent weaknesses of the union, it might seem extraordinary that it endured so long. Dissension was quite inevitable in any combination based on so unequal a compact. The conflict between Massachusetts and her lesser associates foreshadowed the struggle between the big states and the little in drawing up the Constitution in 1787. Furthermore, inability to execute its orders and, most fatal of all, lack of federal revenues, left the central government the toy of the General Courts.

The fact that the union functioned at all proves the need of it. It is customary to think of the Confederation as little more than an incident in colonial history, and its concerns as rather trivial. The reverse is true. A wise solution of the problems which confronted the United Colonies during the 1640's and '50's was essential to their safety and well-being. And even after the Restoration the union was useful.

It is, moreover, probable that this first colonial union was valuable as an example to the eighteenth century colonies.

Some arrangements established by the United Colonies apparently lived on in custom to be extended eventually to all the thirteen states by the Articles of Confederation of 1778, such as the provisions for recognizing the judicial decisions of the court of one colony in every other; for returning fugitive servants; and for employing one standardized measure in all the colonies.

Although the Articles and acts of the Commissioners were not printed at the time of the Revolution, memory of their forbears' achievement was the common heritage of a large part of New England. What had been done in 1643 could be done again. In fact, the similarity in the phrasing of parts of the 1643 compact and Franklin's plan of 1775 shows clearly that that great statesman was familiar with and influenced by the earlier document. The very existence of the seventeenth century union must have served as inspiration to the colonists of a later day.

Still the chief significance of the New England Confederation lies in its importance as a system of colonial defense. Contemporaries regarded it as a vital source of strength. The efforts of Rhode Island and the Maine settlements to gain admission to its shelter testifies to this. Within the fold, the most influential men of the colonies, frequently governors and deputy governors, served as Commissioners: John Winthrop the Elder, John Winthrop the Younger, William Bradford, John Endecott, Edward Hopkins, Theophilus Eaton, William Leete, Simon Bradstreet, Josiah Winslow, and a score of others only less eminent.

United, these earnest Puritans could face a hostile world with comparative confidence. The menace from the Dutch and French in the early years was unquestionably great. Little stood between the Dutch and the gradual acquisition of the whole Connecticut valley and lands west. Easily might the French have pushed their trading posts and authority ever further down the coast from Acadia. Had the New Englanders not presented a united front in opposition, united in fact as well as in sentiment, the loss or at best the pinching of the English colonies into a dwarfing, constricted area would, it seems, have been inevitable. Still more terribly real was the danger from the Indian, who watched with growing distrust

and anger the steady encroachment of the white men on his hunting grounds. The effects of King Philip's War were devastating; if the conflict had come thirty years earlier, as it nearly did, it is doubtful whether the colonies could have survived at all. It was the Confederation of the plantations that averted the war until their roots had struck deep enough to withstand the storm. To the Puritan union we probably owe the survival of "Emmanuells land."

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See bibliographies to chapters vi (Indians), viii (Sister Settlements), xv (Economic); xix (Expansion); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

Official records are available as follows:

"The acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England" in *Records of the Colonies of New Plymouth.* Vols. IX, X (Boston, State Printer, 1859).—Extracts from the Acts of the Commissioners are in *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* Vol. III, (Hartford State Printer, 1850–1890).—Full minutes of the meetings and the correspondence of the federal commissioners from 1643 to 1684, including the Articles of Confederation. The most important source of information about the Confederation.

ADAMS, James Truslow.—*The Founding of New England* (Boston, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921).—Chs. ix, xiii, xiv relate to inter colonial affairs, readable.

BANCROFT, George.—*History of the United States* (6 vols., Revised ed., Boston, Little Brown, 1879).—Vol., Chap. x—Diffuse but reliable.

BRADFORD, William.—*History of Plimoth Plantation.* (First print Boston, Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1898).—Especially pp. 496-526. Diary of the first Governor of Plymouth; causes for confederating; full text of the Articles of Confederation; relations with the Indians down to 1645.

BUFFINTON, Arthur Howard.—*New England and the Western Fur Trade* (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions Vol. XVIII, 160–192, Jan., 1916).—A scholarly study of the part the fur trade played in the problems of the Commissioners.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies.—Summaries of events in the United Colonies, particularly contests over land titles; documents reflecting official English attitude toward the confederation.

Documentary History of the State of New York, (4 vols., Albany, 1849).—Vol II Accounts of the joint enterprises of New England and New York 1689–1691.

Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York (15 vols., Albany, 1856-1861), Vols. I. II, III, IX, XII, XIII, XIV.—Full of valuable official correspondence and contemporary comments, on relations between the United Colonies and the Dutch.

DOYLE, J. A.—*English Colonies in America: The Puritan Colonies* (2 vols., New York, Holt, 1889).—Especially Vol. I, 220–319, Vol. II, 60–61, 102–105, 124, 155, 174.—A useful detailed account of the formation and chief work of the first seven years of the union.

FISKE, John.—*The Beginnings of New England* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1890). Chapter iv.—A presentation of the Confederation as the creation of theocratic colonies.

FROTHINGHAM, Richard.—*Rise of the Republic of the United States* (5th ed., Boston, Little Brown, 1890).—Chap. ii is an interpretation of the work of the Confederation and of its relations to England.

HART, Albert Bushnell and CHANNING, Edward.—*American History Leaflet,* no. 7 (N. Y. Lovell, 1793).—No. 7 is a reprint of the Articles of Confederation and brief selections from the Acts of the Commissioners.

HODGE, Helen Henry.—"Massachusetts and the New England Confederation" *South Atlantic Quarterly,* III, 273-284, 349-355; July, Oct. 1904).—Inaccurate in detail, yet a useful survey of the position of Massachusetts in the union.

HUBBARD, William.—*A General History of New England* (Massachusetts Historical Society, Cambridge, 1815).—Especially 465–520, 542–550, 571–575.—Written by a seventeenth century Massachusetts minister. Data on events down to 1649 culled from Winthrop; later material fragmentary.

HUTCHINSON, Thomas.—*The History of Massachusetts from 1628 until the year 1750* (2 vols., 3d ed., Boston, 1795).—Vol. I includes much interesting comment and useful information obtained direct from sources.

MACDONALD, William.—*Documentary Source Book of American History,* 1606–1675 (N. Y., Macmillan, 1916).—No. 12 is the text of the Articles of Confederation.

MATHEWS, Mrs. Lois K.—"Benjamin Franklin's Plans for a Colonial Union," 1750–1775 (*Am. Polit. Science Review,* VIII, 393–412, Aug. 1914).—An interesting analysis of the Articles of Confederation of 1643 on Franklin's draft of a federal Constitution in 1775.

OSGOOD, Herbert L.—*The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (3 vols., New York, Macmillan, 1904).—Vol. I, chap. x is the best condensed treatment of the Confederation.

PALFREY, John Gorham.—(5 vols. Boston, Little Brown, 1859).—Vols. I, III strictly chronological; accurate presentation of the acts of the Commissioners.

RECORDS OF MASSACHUSETTS.—(Boston, 1854), Vols. 1–5. *Records of the Colonies of New Plymouth,* (Boston, 1855) Vols. 2–6, 11, *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut,* (Hartford, 1850–1890), Vols. 1–4, *Records of New Haven Colony,* (Hartford, 1857–1858), 1638–1649, 1653–1665. Contains the responses of the General Courts to the recommendations of the Commissioners.

SALMON, Lucy M.—"The Union of Utrecht" (American Historical Association, *Report,* 1893, pp. 137-148).—A study of the probable source of the political ideas embodied in the New England Confederation.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL LIFE
(1630–1689)

By James Ford
Associate Professor of Social Ethics, Harvard University

Population

The colonists of Massachusetts Bay in the seventeenth century were not a uniform social group, though relatively homogeneous from the point of view of race, language and religion. The Pilgrims who first settled at Plymouth were English men and women of modest economic circumstances and, in the main, also of modest education, but of profound religious convictions for which they were ready at all times to sacrifice comfort and security. There is little evidence that their brief residence in Holland had given them a cosmopolitan point of view, for the institutions which they developed in America were essentially English. From the beginning, however, there were among them a few persons of considerable culture and training and the influence which they exercised is apparent throughout the Plymouth colony.

The Massachusetts Bay colony was from the outset somewhat different from that of Plymouth both in its social make-up and in its ideals. Among its founders were men actuated by love of adventure and by economic motives, and the influence of members of the English gentry, though in main practice subordinated to "theocratic domination," tended to more cosmopolitanism in social life than was displayed in the Plymouth colony. J. R. Green says of them that they were not "broken men, adventurers, bankrupts, criminals or simply poor men and artisans. They were, *in great part,* men of the professions and middle classes, some of them men of large landed estates; some zealous clergymen, some shrewd London lawyers, or young scholars from Oxford . . . driven from their fatherland not by earthly want or by greed

of gold or by lust of adventure, but by the fear of God and the zeal of godly worship." Thus are described the colonists of 1630. Their successors were less uniform in type and included during the following half century representatives of many of the social groups of the England of that period, dominated, however, by the original settlers and their descendants and particularly by the Puritan clergy.

Plymouth had been settled by a company of seventy-three males and twenty-nine females, a group nearly cut in half by the privations of the first winter. Thirty-five more settlers arrived in the following fall and were distributed among the original families. In May, 1622, sixty-seven other persons arrived with Thomas Weston and settled in what is now Weymouth. These were largely returned to England in the following year. Another group settled in Wessagusset the following year but also were largely scattered within twelve months. By 1628, in addition to the settlement at Plymouth, there were small groups of settlers at the following places: Piscataqua (Portsmouth), Nantasket (now Hull), Naumkeag (now Salem), Winnisimmet (now Chelsea), Cocheco (Thompson's Island), Shawmut (now Boston), Mishawum (now Charlestown), Noddle's Island (South Boston) and Wessagusset. In 1624 there were approximately one hundred and eighty settlers within the bounds of the present Massachusetts and by 1630 the number in the Plymouth Colony was around three hundred. Twelve years later it had increased to three thousand, and included many "unruly servants" and dissipated young men whose mode of living was different from that of the Pilgrims.

The Massachusetts Bay colony virtually began with the arrival of fifty or sixty persons with John Endecott in 1628. In 1629 five ships brought approximately four hundred settlers, most of whom were servants, and at the end of that year nearly one thousand persons prepared to leave England in seventeen ships, including among them many men of wealth. Privation and sickness caused more than one hundred persons to leave the colony during the coming year and more than two hundred died, yet, before the winter of 1630 there were at least eight settlements—Salem, Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, Watertown, Roxbury, Mystic and Lynn. The

vigorous enforcement by Archbishop Laud in 1633 of the laws against Non-Conformists led to increased emigration to New England and by 1634 the population was nearly four thousand. In 1643 it had increased to fifteen thousand and by 1652 Massachusetts was a colony of approximately fifty thousand souls.

Standards of Living

The outer fringe of pioneer settlements throughout the seventeenth century reproduced in many ways the hardships and primitive social life of the original Plymouth and Boston colonies. But in the latter half of the century the social life in Boston began to take on some of the aspects of court life in England, as exemplified in the social functions of the royal governors and in the stately homes erected by men of wealth and social standing. The Province House built in Boston in 1679 is a good example of this new tendency, which developed at an increasing rate throughout the coming century.

This striking development in standards of living is well exemplified by the changes throughout the century in the housing of colonists. Some of the original settlers were forced upon arrival to revert temporarily to dwelling in artificial dugouts for protection against the elements. Cornelius Van Tienhoven says that "the wealthy and principal men in New England lived in this fashion for two reasons: first, not to waste the building; second, not to discourage poorer laboring people". This is somewhat dubious evidence but Johnson in his *Wonder-working Providence,* written in 1645, mentions these "smoaky homes." Wherever used they were doubtless abandoned as soon as it was possible to replace them with log cabins. Alongside the log cabin soon appeared framed houses which had usually a single room on the ground floor with a large chimney at one end and a steep staircase or ladder to the sleeping loft above. Clapboards were used on the outside of this "Cape Cod cottage" and as the family income grew a new room was added on the other side of the chimney and still later an ell or lean-to at the side or the rear.

The roofs were often of thatch and the chimneys at first were of logs plastered on the inside with clay. Fires were a natural consequence and towns before the middle of the

century were compelled to pass laws prohibiting thatched roofs and wooden chimneys. Every housekeeper had his own fire ladder and fire buckets, and whenever a fire occurred the whole community would get out with its buckets and form double lanes of persons to pass the buckets from the well or river to the burning house. The first fire engine made in this country is said to be that of Boston which was made by Joseph Jencks of Lynn about 1650.

By 1670 the log houses in both colonies had been largely replaced by two-story frame houses, many of which allowed the second story to jut out a foot or two over the first, following the English custom of that period, and not intended as a vantage for shooting Indian marauders. The roofs were shingled and walls between the rooms were often of clay mixed with chopped straw. By 1676 Boston possessed many houses of brick exteriors, though wood predominated. Imported brick was used in some of the earlier houses but brick was not widely used until manufactured in Massachusetts. Gambrel roofs were sometimes built instead of the more characteristic gable roof. The windows of the first colonial houses were of oiled paper though glass began to take its place in a few of the colonial homes as early as 1629. The exteriors of the houses in the earlier days were not painted.

The kitchens were the centers of the home life of the early seventeenth century, and for the mass of the population throughout the century. In the kitchen was a wide fireplace with a huge backlog. The equipment included the crane, jack, spit and pothook. Built in on one side of the fireplace was a huge oven with a firebox beneath. The fireplaces were sometimes so large that the heavy backlogs had to be dragged into the house by a horse. Across the top of the room there were frequently poles on which were hung dried apples, peppers or rings of dried pumpkin. This single fireplace provided the only heat for the houses except in the homes of the more well-to-do where fireplaces were provided, later in the century, for each room.

The rooms were lighted either by means of knots of pitch pine, called "candle wood," or — especially in the later years — by means of home-made candles or whale oil lamps. As there were no matches, light had to be struck from flint and

steel — a laborious process. Generally "fire" was borrowed from a neighbor.

The serving of meals was relatively simple. Forks were not then in use until the latter portion of the century, so food was held where possible in the hands. Guests were seated "above the salt" at the end of the table where the host and hostess sat side by side. Children or persons of lower social standing were seated "below the salt." Spoons and knives were in use; but instead of plates, wooden trenchers, ten or twelve inches square and three or four inches deep, were used, each being shared by two persons. This custom was universal, being followed by the early governors as well as by the rest of the population. Spoons were made of wood or horn, though most families owned at least one spoon of silver, and more well-to-do families sometimes had several silver drinking cups or other silver pieces. The families and guests, however, did not use separate drinking cups, all drinking from the same cup or tankard or punchbowl. Children often were not allowed to eat at the main table but were required to stand at their meals and eat in complete silence. They were expected to leave the room as soon as they were "moderately satisfied."

Economic Basis of Social Life

To picture adequately the social life of the people it is necessary first to consider its economic basis. The original colonists and frontiersmen throughout the century made their living with great difficulty by farming, hunting, trapping and trading with the Indians. Great privations were suffered during the first two or three years of the Plymouth colony and ordinarily also in the first years of each of the new frontier groups as the population moved westward.

Exports, however, began relatively early and developed greatly throughout the century, thus making for prosperity. In September 1623 the *Anne,* a ship of one hundred forty tons, was loaded by the Plymouth colony with a cargo of clapboards and beaver skins and other furs. Three small ships were built in the Plymouth colony in 1624 and a pinnance at Sandwich in 1627 to be used for fishing. In 1641 a bark of fifty tons burden was built. The first vessel built at the Massachusetts colony was the *Blessing of the Bay* con-

Hartwell Farm, Lincoln, 1636

Courtesy of Marion Fitch and Jane Poor

Kitchen of the Hartwell House

structed at Mystic, now Medford, and launched on July 4, 1631. Governor Winthrop was the owner. The *Rebecca* (sixty tons) was built at Medford in 1633 and a ship of one hundred twenty tons at Marblehead in 1636. In 1642 five vessels were built at Boston, Plymouth, Dorchester and Salem. This development of a "merchant marine" made international trade possible. Fish, furs and wood products were the chief cargoes up to the middle of the century. By 1665 Massachusetts had about one hundred and thirty vessels, which number had expanded by 1676 to seven hundred and thirty.

Alongside the shipping industries of varied types grew up. The first brick kiln was established at Salem in 1629. Limestone, freestone and marble were found and used in the same year. The first glass works were at Salem about 1639. Though bog iron was found about 1645 it was probably not worked on a commercial basis until at Lynn in 1648. Saw mills in the meanwhile were developed in the original communities and in many of the outlying settlements.

The development of textiles was largely domestic in this century, yet a small woolen and fulling mill was established in Rowley by 1643. The first printing press was imported from England and set up in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1639 and its first production was in the form of a pamphlet entitled *The Free Man's Oath.* An almanac for the year 1639 was also printed and in 1640 was issued the first book, *The Bay Psalm Book.* A volume of poems by Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, wife of Simon Bradstreet, later governor of Massachusetts, was brought out in the same year. The second press was sent over in 1655 and the second printing establishment was in Boston in 1674. The first attempt at a newspaper was the Boston enterprise in 1690, entitled *Public Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestick;* it never went beyond the first number, as it was suppressed by the government. The first regular newspaper was *The Newsletter* published in Boston in 1704.

Fundamentally the colonists were farmers and for the majority of them other occupations were subsidiary. Every member of the family worked in the early days. Even Governor Winthrop, for example, when not occupied with his official duties worked, like the others, in any form of neces-

sary manual labor. The women of the household, when not engaged at housework, were occupied with spinning, carding, weaving, candle-making and a wide variety of other occupations. Children had practically no leisure and were expected to help either parent at work, usually of a confining and arduous nature, throughout the daylight hours.

Labor Problems

A large portion of the inhabitants of the early colonies were not free, but were "bound-out" for a period of years to meet the cost of their transportation from England to America. The term "servant" covered both farm and house workers and persons who were agents of English corporations. Passage money was often worked out by service in apprenticeship, a small wage being paid over a given number of years in addition to the cost of passage. When children were thus bound out it was often stipulated that their masters should teach them to read and write and figure in addition to the teaching of the trade. The contract might further stipulate a special gift to be made to the apprentice on attaining his majority. A "freedom suit" to minors was customarily given on reaching their majority and freedom. The requirements as to labor were strict, and punishments for idleness or bad behavior were frequently severe.

In general, the condition of apprentices was fairly satisfactory from a legal point of view, in spite of the harsh practices of the time with regard to punishments; for the demand for labor was large and the opportunities for economic and social welfare, once freedom was attained, were considerable. Apprentices were specially protected by a statute releasing them from obligations to absconding masters.

The servant problem is not peculiar to our generation, for Mary Dudley, writing to her mother, Mrs. Winthrop, in 1636 outlines her difficulties in the following graphic manner: "I thought it convenient to acquaint you and my father what a great affliction I haue met withal by my maide servant, and how I am like through God his mercie to be freed from it; at her first coming me she carried her selfe dutifully as became a servant; but since through mine and my husbands for-

bearance towards her for small faults, she hath got such a head and is growen soe insolent that her carriage towards vs, especially myselfe, is vnsufferable. If I bid her doe a thinge shee will bid me to doe it my selfe, and she says how shee can give content as wel as any servant but shee will not, and sayes if I loue not quietness I was never so fitted in my life, for shee would make me haue enough of it. If I should write to you of all the reviling speeches and filthie language shee hath vsed towards me I should but greiue you. My husband hath used all meanes to reforme her, reasons and perswasions, but she doth professe that her heart and her nature will not suffer her to confesse her faults."

In 1639 John Winter records an experience even more trying, in this graphic manner: "You write of some yll reports is given of my Wyfe for beatinge the maide; yf a faire waye will not doe ye, beatinge must sometimes vppon such Idlle girrel as she is. Yf you think yt fitte for my Wyfe to do all the work, and the maide sitt still, and she must forbear her hands to strike, then the work will ly vndonn. She hath bin now 2½ yeares in the house & I do not thinke she hath risen 20 tymes before my Wyfe hath bin vp to Call her, and many tymes light the fire before she comes out of her bed. . . . We can hardly keep her within doors after we are gonn to bed except we carry the kay of the door to bed with vs. She coulde never milke Cow nor Goate since she came hither. Our men do not desire to have her boyle the kittle for them she is so sluttish. She cannot be trusted to serve a few piggs but my Wyfe must commonly be with her.

"She hath written home I heare that she was fain to ly vppon goates skinns. She might take some goates skinns to ly in her bedd but given to her for her lodginge. For a yeare & quarter or more she lay with my daughter vppon a good feather bed; before my daughter being lacke 3 or 4 days to Sacco the maid goes into bed with her cloths & stockins & would not take the paines to pluck off her Cloths; her bed after was a doust bedd & shee had 2 Coverletts to ly on her, but Sheets she had none, after that type she was found to be so sluttish. Her beatinge that she hath had hath never hurt her body nor limes. She is so fat & soggy she can hardly do any worke. Yf this maide at her lazy tymes when she

hath bin found in her yll accyons do not deserve 2 or 3 blowes I pray you who hath the most reason to complain my Wyfe or maide. My Wyfe hath an Vnthankfull office. Yt doth not please me well, being she hath taken so much paines and care to order things as well as she could, and ryse in the morning rath & go to bed soe latte, and have hard speeches for yt."

The servants were not all of English blood for John Cotton writing in 1651 to Oliver Cromwell tells of terms made with servants from Scotland as follows:

"The Scots, whom God delivered into your hands at Dunbarre, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have been desirous (as we could) to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases have not wanted physick and chyrurgery. They have not been sold for slaves to perpetuall servitude, but for 6 or 7 or 8 yeáres, as we do our owne; and he that bought the most of them (I heare) buildeth houses for them, for every 4 an house, layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their owne, requiring 3 dayes in the weeke to worke for him (by turnes) and 4 dayes for themselves, and promiseth, as soone as they can repay him the money he layed out for them, he will set them at liberty. . . ."

Irish servants were also imported but the supply of English speaking servants was too small to meet the needs of the colonists, and Indian servants were therefore employed at wages and to some extent as slaves. Thus in 1637 Hugh Peter wrote to John Winthrop, Jr., that he had heard of a "dividend" of women and children from the Pequod captives and that he would like a share, "a young woman or girl and a boy if you think good."

Slavery

Negro slavery began in Massachusetts somewhat later, perhaps about 1650, although there was evidently some traffic in negroes before that time from the West Indies, where Indian women and children were on some occasions sold into slavery and cotton, tobacco and negroes brought on the return voyage. In the earlier days many of them were sold elsewhere by Massachusetts traders and some were employed in Massachusetts as servants on wages. Several mentions are made of negro

slavery in early documents quoted by George H. Moore in his *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts.* It even appears that at first the slave trade was an enterprise undertaken with the authority of the colony, for in March 1639 the General Court ruled that three pounds eight shillings should be paid Lt. Davenport "for the charge transported for the slaves, which, when they have earned it, he is to repay it back again"; and the marginal note states "Lieft. Davenport to keep ye slaues."

In the "Body of Liberties," the first code of laws of the colony, adopted in 1641, Article 91 reads "There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage or captivities amongst us unless it be lawfull captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be Judged thereto by Authoritie."

Moore interprets this law of 1641 in the following strong statement: "Thus stood the statute through the whole colonial period, and it was never expressly repealed. Based on the Mosaic code, it is an absolute recognition of slavery as a legitimate status, and of the right of one man to sell himself as well as that of another man to buy him. It sanctions the slave-trade, and the perpetual bondage of Indians and negroes, their children and their children's children, and entitles Massachusetts to precedence over any and all of the other colonies in similar legislation. It anticipates by many years anything of the sort to be found in the statutes of Virginia, Maryland, or South Carolina, and nothing like it is to be found in the contemporary codes of her sister colonies in New England."

The number of slaves in Massachusetts was small until toward the end of the seventeenth century. Edward Randolph in 1676 stated that there were "not above two hundred slaves in the colony and those were brought from Guinea and Madagascar." In May 1680 Governor Bradstreet wrote "There hath been no company of blacks or slaves brought into the country since the beginning of this plantation, for the space of fifty years, onely one small Vessel about two yeares since, after twenty months' voyage to Madagascar, brought hither

betwixt forty and fifty Negroes, most women and children, sold here for ten pounds, fifteen pounds and twenty pounds apiece, which stood the merchant, in near forty pounds apiece. Now and then, two or three Negroes are brought hither from Barbadoes and other of his Majestie's plantations, and sold here for twenty pounds a piece. So that there may be within our Government about one hundred or one hundred and twenty. . . . There are very few blacks borne here, I think not above five or six at the most in a year, none baptized that I ever heard of . . ." Nevertheless a few negroes were received into full church membership.

Many persons protested the unkind treatment of slaves if not the institution itself. Judge Sewall expresses the point of view effectively in a letter to Justice Davenport in 1719. "The poorest Boys and Girls within this Province, such as are of the lowest condition; whether they be English or Indians or Ethiopians. They have the same Right to Religion and Life, that the Richest Heirs have. And they who go about to deprive them of this Right, they attempt the bombarding of Heaven; and the Shells they will fall down upon their own heads."

Wages

Free labor was hard worked and poorly paid, but in these particulars colonial conditions did not differ materially from those of England in the same period. Two shillings per day was considered a fair wage for mechanical labor in the earlier years of the colony, and in 1672 common white laborers were still being paid at this rate and Indians only eighteen pence per day. Women were paid at the rate of from four to five pounds per year.

Following the British example of the pre-Elizabethan period the General Court of Massachusetts Bay attempted to fix wages by statute in the early thirties, fixing the wages of masons, carpenters and wood workers at two shillings per day, the best labor at eighteen pence, tailors at twelve pence and inferior tailors at eight pence "with dyett." Penalties were prescribed for a person who either gave or received extra wages; but in 1634 the General Court repealed the fine for those who paid wages above the court rates. In 1635, how-

ever, several men were fined for taking two shillings six pence per day. The law was ineffective and was repealed in September 1635. In 1636 towns were given the liberty to fix wages within their own borders and Plymouth fined laborers for taking excess wages as late as 1639. Attempts were also made in 1634 to limit profits.

Though money wages were small, living costs were relatively low. A home could be built for twenty pounds or less. In 1640 a cow cost five pounds and a sheep ten shillings. Even lower prices were sometimes recorded, for in 1638, Thomas Nelson of Boston bought a house and lot in Cambridge with six acres of arable land and five acres of meadow, for only ten pounds. At this same period, 1640, three suits of clothing are quoted as selling for two pounds, three coats for three pounds ten shillings, a hat and doublet at three pounds, one coat at one pound. Three feather beds and two bolsters are listed at seven pounds and one of each at two pounds. In general it may be said that the living conditions of the artisans, though meager, were not necessarily inadequate for the maintenance of health and relative happiness. Freemen had dwellings of their own, a varied diet, few wants and little education, but had the great satisfaction which comes from hard productive work, victory over Nature and increasing opportunities for themselves and their children.

Luxury and Fashion

At the other end of the social scale we find increasing cosmopolitanism and worldliness. As the colony grew richer, a more luxurious mode of living developed. Persons of relative wealth and culture imported articles of furniture and adornment for their homes and also for their own persons. As early as 1634 the Massachusetts General Court had found it "necessary" to pass sumptuary laws forbidding the purchase of woollen, silk or linen garments with silver, gold, silk or thread lace on them. Two years later, presumably in response to social pressure or changing view points, a narrow binding of lace was permitted on linen garments. Colonists were, however, ordered not to make or buy "slashed" garments except those with one slash in each sleeve and another slash

in the back. Gold and silver girdles, hat bands, ruffs and beaver hats were also forbidden. In 1639 men were forbidden to wear "immoderate great breeches," also double ruffs and capes, broad shoulder bands and silk roses on their shoes. In 1652 a man was presented in Salem for "excess in bootes, ribonds, gould and silver lace." In Newbury in 1653 two women who had been brought up for wearing silk hoods and scarfs were discharged on proof that their husbands were worth two hundred pounds. By 1682 these attempts to control luxury in dress were practically abandoned.

The General Court similarly attempted in 1634 to control fashions in hair-dressing and "longe haire" on men was denounced. But the fashion apparently developed and in 1672 the General Court received a petition remonstrating against the example set by students at Harvard college particularly mentioning their long hair. A contemporary diatribe on women's fashions issued by Nathaniel Ward in 1645 expresses the extreme of disapproval in the following vigorous and unusual way: "But when I hear a nugiperous Gentledame inquire what dress the Queen is in this week: what the nudiustertian fashion of the Court; with egge to be in it in all haste, what ever it be; I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of Nothing, fitter to be kick'd, if she were of a kickable substance, than either honour'd or humour'd.

"To speak moderately, I truly confess it is beyond the ken of my understanding to conceive, how those Women should have any true Grace, or valuable vertue, that have so little wit, as to disfigure themselves with such exotick garbes, as not only dismantles their native lovely lustre, but transclouts them into gantbar-geese, ill-shapen-shotten shellfish, Egyption Hyeroglyphicks, or at the best into French flurts of the pastery, which a proper English Woman should scorne with her heels: it is no marvel they were drailes on the hinder part of their heads, having nothing it seems in the fore-part, but a few Squirrills brains to help them frisk from one ill-favour'd fashion to another. . . ."

It is apparent, however, that in spite of all attempts at control by law or ridicule, the fashions of the British court and gentry continued to exert an increasing influence on the modes

of dress of the Massachusetts colonists, so that by the latter portion of the century persons who were relatively well-to-do followed in their dress the fashions of the corresponding group of British society.

Religion and Culture

The social life of the early colonists was largely dominated by economic and religious motives. The hard struggle of the early settlers to make a living was superseded by a struggle equally hard to make a good living and — in relatively few cases — a fortune. The larger fortunes were doubtless made at first in shipping and trade and subsequently in land and manufactures; seldom in agriculture.

The mass of the colonists were farmers engaging in trade or in small scale industry in the winter months and in such odd bits of time as they could take from their contest with Nature. Their mental and emotional life outside of the economic field was largely preoccupied by their rugged religion. The Sabbath Day, which began at six p.m. on Saturday, was consecrated to religious devotion and the whole family, including servants and apprentices, was involved. Sunday was spent at the meeting-house where, with surprising concentration, they listened to sermons perhaps four hours in length, to prayers which lasted for an hour or even two, varied only by occasional singing of psalms without instrumental music. No heat was provided in the church which, in New England weather, must have been painfully and even dangerously cold; and the children like the adults had to sit through it all in utter silence.

The sermons in the large towns and, to a large extent, even in the pioneer settlements were preached by men who had had a University training—often the most cultured men of their community — but the gospel as preached by them was stern and the sermons were of an intensity that was almost cruel. The torments of hell from which few might escape were graphically portrayed. It was the stern, vengeful Jehovah of the ancient Hebrews, and not the compassionate and gentle Christ of the New Testament, who dominated their theology. The severity of the early social legislation was doubtless a necessary outcome of such a prevailing viewpoint but the limi-

tation put upon the use of leisure time had consequences of considerable import.

In contemporary life we assume that there are many advantages to be secured through contacts with the fine arts and through relatively unrestrained social intercourse; but to the Puritan dancing and instrumental music were as unholy as gambling and other contemporary misdemeanors. The pursuit of beauty outside of the practical arts, was the work of the devil and quite universally prohibited. Thus, before 1630 John Endecott and Myles Standish with indignation, both righteous and vigorous, cut down the Maypole at Merry Mount (Mt. Wollaston near Quincy) and dispersed the merry-makers of Thomas Morton's settlement. The same harshness was displayed toward many recreations of a most innocent sort for several decades to follow.

The cramping of innocent pleasures probably led to compensations of a much more dubious character on the part of citizens, even those openly dominated by religious principle. The history of early Massachusetts, though it shows pretty effective restriction of dancing, drama and music, gives abundant evidence of excessive drinking and of much physical cruelty towards children, Indians and law-breakers. It may be unfair to criticize these traits from the point of view of the twentieth century, especially in view of the fact that drunkenness and cruelty were equally common in England at that time. Nevertheless, excesses in these two latter directions must have some basis in the suppression of the legitimate impulses and emotions of the Puritan colonists. The religious leaders of gentler spirit and broader vision, like Eliot or Williams, protested such excesses and found many hearers.

Strong Drink

The inns or taverns were the places of resort for the more convivial population. The innkeepers were required to procure licenses and prices were set by the General Court. The law stipulated that they should be "always provided of strong wholesome beer of four bushels of mault (at the least) to a hogshead which he shall not sell at above two pence the ale quart" but they were forbidden to sell "strong water" or to

permit any person to drink excessively above a half pint of wine per person at a time or to continue tippling above the space of half an hour or at unseasonable times or after nine of the clock at night. Smoking was permitted only in a private room. In 1664 it was further stipulated, "This Court being sensible of the great encrease of Prophaness amongst us, especially in the younger sort, taking their opportunity by meeting together in places of publick entertainment, to corrupt one another by their uncivil and wanton carriages, rudely singing and making a noise," all such "Prophaness" was made a finable offense, and if the innkeeper did not prosecute the revellers, his license was to be forfeited.

That these laws were not well enforced is clear from the following quotation from Joseph Noyes of Sudbury dated February 29, 1692: "It is in the minds of most of us that there should be none to retale drink amongst us, by reason of the growing of the sin of drunkenness amongst us. Oure fathers came into this wilderness to enjoy the Gospel and his ordinances in its purity and the convertion of the heathen, but instead of converting them, amongst other sins, we have taught them to be drunckerds"; and he says further that in his opinion inns should be for the entertainment of travelers "and not Town drunckerds."

Strong liquors were made in many homes and rum was manufactured in quantity in the latter portion of the century. At funerals, for example, supplies of alcoholic beverages were a regular feature. Thus in 1677–78 the funeral charges of Mrs. Mary Norton, widow of the Reverend George Norton, included an expenditure of £10 13/100 for 51½ gallons of best Malaga; and at the funeral of Reverend John Cobbs, at Ipswich in 1685, there was expended for a barrel of wine £6 8/100 and for two barrels of cider 11 shillings. At the raising of a church the workers would be paid with huge quantities of New England rum, and other corresponding enterprises of neighbors were similarly enlivened.

Crime and Punishment

The law-makers of early Massachusetts were as a rule men without training in the law. The government of early Massachusetts was virtually theocratic. The ministers being as a

rule the persons of the most education were allowed to keep firm control over legislation throughout the century; and the judgments or penalties which they framed, though influenced by English common law and practice, were in cases of doubt based upon the ministers' interpretation of divine will as revealed in the Old Testament. Ten crimes were visited by capital punishment — murder, whether or not premeditated, stealing, perjury, treason, bestiality, sodomy, idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy and adultery. Subsequently, arson, burglary (third offense), cursing or smiting a parent, denial of the word of God (second offense), highway robbery (third offense), return of Jesuits or Quakers after banishment, manstealing, rape of a maid or single woman, rebellion and rebellious resistance of a son were added to the list of capital crimes.

The extreme penalty of death was not as frequently exacted as in certain prior periods of English history. Nevertheless, the persecution of Quakers led to capital punishment and the extreme hysteria which developed around the witchcraft trials of Salem, led to an orgy of bloodshed which it is very difficult to explain away in any fashion favorable to the Puritans and Massachusetts in this generation. Witchcraft trials were, however, not peculiar to Massachusetts. There was an execution for witchcraft in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1648 and nine others took place in Boston and Connecticut before the outbreak at Salem. Cases occurred also in New York and Maryland. English influence may also have been felt, for an account of trials of witches in Suffolk, England, was published in 1684 and read in New England. There are close parallels between the behaviour of Goodwin's children in Salem and of those in England. It seems probable that imitation of English experience, conscious or unconscious, took place. The great witchcraft delusion of 1692 is treated later in this work.

For minor misdemeanors, some of which were slight, cruel penalties were exacted. Cutting off the ears was the penalty for burglary and several other offenses. Whipping and putting in the stocks ("bilboes") were common punishments, and the latter was inflicted upon women as well as men with surprising frequency. Drunkenness and cursing as well as in-

fractions of laws governing Sabbath Day observance and other misdemeanors were punished by putting the lawbreakers in the stocks. Whipping was a customary penalty for drunkenness, disobedience and certain forms of theft, for lying and arson, as well as for profanation of the Lord's Day. It was the penalty for the first offense in the case of a number of other crimes. Banishment was the penalty for continued heresy and for resistance of authority. Branding was the penalty for robbery and burglary and for vagabond Quakers and rogues. Disfranchisement was the punishment for failure to attend public worship as well as for sexual offence and defamation of magistrates. Fines were the commonest penalties and were ordered for a large number of misdemeanors.

In general, little if any partiality was shown in imposing penalties. Public officers and prominent citizens often suffered the full penalty of the law. Thus, Sir Richard Saltonstall was fined five pounds for whipping two persons when no other assistants were present; and several times Governor Endecott was fined forty shillings for assault and battery. In 1643 Roger Scott was sentenced to be severely whipped for going to sleep at meeting.

The major difference between the Massachusetts and English laws of the period lay in the more continuous attempt of the colonists to reform the manners of the people by drastic punishments, such as whipping for drunkenness. For cursing and swearing, it is said by John Dunton in 1686, they might bore the tongue through with a hot iron. "For kissing a woman on the street, though by way of civil salute, whipping or a fine. Scolds they gag, and set them at their own Doors, for certain hours together, for all comers and goers to gaze at. Stealing is punished by Restoring fourfold, if able; if not, they are sold for some years, and so are poor Debtors."

A striking instance of an excessive penalty for blasphemy, administered to a college student, is given by Samuel Sewall under the date of June 15, 1674 as follows: "That being convicted of speaking blasphemous words concerning the H[oly] G[host] he should be therefore publickly whipped before all the Scholars. 2. That he should be suspended as to taking his degree of Bachelour. . . . 3. Sit alone by himself in

the Hall uncovered at meals, during the pleasure of the President and Fellows, and be in all things obedient, doing what exercise was appointed him by the President, or else be finally expelled the Colledge. The first was presently put in execution in the Library (Mr. Danforth, Jr. being present) before the Scholars. He kneeled down and the instrument Goodman Hely attended the President's word as to the performance of his part in the work. Prayer was had before and after by the President."

Marriage

The unit of social life in Massachusetts was the family. Marriage was an economic necessity for the farmer of the period. Yet marriages largely grew out of genuine affection rather than economic interest. Parents frequently attempted to choose husbands for their daughters, but there are abundant examples of lack of success on their part and of continued defiance of the parental choice. Thus, Betty Sewall, contrary to her father's wishes, refused several suitors. In such cases, however, it was possible for parents to appeal to the courts to force the conformity of the children to parental wishes.

Many colonial parents were successful in arranging marriages for their children. Thus, Emmanuel Downing, an able Puritan, writes in 1640 that he has secured a "varie goode match" for his niece — a member of the church with an estate of four or five hundred pounds. But to protect girls from premature mating of a mercenary character the Massachusetts law in 1646 required that no female orphan during her minority should be given in marriage except with the approval of the majority of the selectmen of her town.

Marriage Laws

Marriage intentions were required to be published three times before the ceremony, and failure to do so courted trouble for the participants. These banns were taken very seriously, and were not to be trifled with, as a young farmer found when, in 1663, he was ordered to stand an hour at the court door with a paper in his hat upon which was written in capital letters, "For setting up a faulse purpose of marriage att

Topsfeild," a liberty he had taken without the knowledge of the parties in the case.

By a remarkable exception among the Quakers the bride and groom took each other in the presence of the meeting and their marriage certificate was signed by those present. Early in the century such marriages were illegal in Massachusetts but a decision was rendered in their favor in 1661. The Puritan law required parental consent, publication of the intention of marriage and registration. The banns were published three times before the marriage could take place. Thus, marriage was made a civil contract and not a sacrament.

In 1685 a Huguenot clergyman was brought before the court for solemnizing marriages in Boston. He agreed to stop this practice but failure to keep his promise was followed by a speedy departure to New York. In 1686, however, the solemnization of marriages by clergymen was permitted by law and this practice was confirmed in 1692. Marriages sometimes took place between white settlers and Indian women but marriage with negroes was forbidden by statute in 1705, and with Indians as well in 1787. Child marriages were not infrequent, the bride sometimes being in her early teens and the groom under twenty. Unmarried women were rare in early colonial days and widows were picked up as prizes by bachelors and widowers.

Magistrates at this time were the only persons who could legally perform the marriage ceremony, and it was not until the very end of the century that ministers were accorded that privilege. Governor Bellingham, who suddenly took a fancy to and married a pretty young damsel, at the time engaged to a man of her own age, became seriously involved with the authorities for performing the marriage ceremony himself. On account of this unique act, he was reduced in official position and severely reprimanded. A Rowley clerk of the writs, also, had his license revoked for too hastily marrying the son of a wealthy family to a maiden not of his social standing without the consent of the groom's parents, although it was clearly shown that he had been imposed upon.

Protection of Women

The mass of the families in colonial days were of the patriarchal type and in many cases the male of the house was virtually a despot. Women upon marriage usually retired from amusement and became staid, settled and, from the modern point of view, "old" even though in their early twenties. Frequent child-bearing meant early death for many women; and that for the household, meant the arrival of a step-mother a few weeks, or at the most, a few months later. A Puritan husband was not permitted to be demonstrative in public and Captain Kemble of Boston was forced to sit for two hours in the public stocks for his "lewd and unseemly behaviour" in kissing his wife "publicquely" on the Sabbath Day on his own front doorstep, upon his return from a voyage three years in length.

Women were however protected by law from physical cruelty. In the Body of Liberties (1641) it was stated that "everie marryed woeman shall be free from bodily correction or stripes by her husband, unless it be in his own defense upon her assault. If there be any just cause of correction complaint shall be made to authoritie assembled in some court, from which only she shall receive it." The property interests of women were likewise protected. Plymouth enacted, in 1636, that when lands were seized to satisfy creditors of a deceased man the part reserved for the support of wife and children could not be touched. In 1664 the consent of the wife was made necessary in case of sale of houses or lands. Massachusetts, in 1647, allowed one third of the husband's estate to the widow for a dowry. In general the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies were virtually pioneers in recognizing the rights of women.

When fathers-in-law were slow in providing the bridal portion they were sometimes sued. Thus, Edward Palmer bothered the Winthrops about their sister's dowry long after he had taken a second wife; and Judge Sewell after the death of his daughter continued to higgle with her father-in-law over the dowry.

Morals

Many writers suppose that there was a good deal of immorality among the early colonists. Much has been made of relatively few instances of illegitimacy and an unfavorable interpretation has been put upon the early practice of "bundling" which, as a general practice, in the seventeenth century was presumably innocent. In the following century "bundling" may have served more commonly as an excuse for immorality. Pre-contract or informal betrothal also sometimes led to marital intimacies before the civil contract of marriage had taken place. Church records of Massachusetts towns give a number of instances in such cases of confession and censure before church meetings. Governor Bradford in 1642 complains of "not only incontinence between persons unmarried, for which both men and women have been punished sharply enough but some married persons also"; and the synod at Boston in 1679 similarly complains of "hainous breeches of the seventh commandment." It should be noted that such infractions of the moral code were relatively infrequent as compared with modern conditions and that prostitution scarcely existed in early Massachusetts. The morals of the early Pilgrims and Puritans may be said to compare favorably with those of any other people at that time in history or, in fact, at any subsequent period.

The practices in Massachusetts with reference to divorce were more liberal than those of England for in addition to adultery and desertion, the only causes of divorce in their native country, they added cruelty and breach of vow.

Child Life

The life of colonial children must have been very hard as compared with modern conditions. Families were so large as to make it difficult for each child to have the attention that it might normally crave. Idleness was a sin and all children were forced to work for long hours. Nevertheless the association with parents, older brothers and sisters at the constructive activities of the household and farm must have been interesting, and undoubtedly had great value as a means to

practical education and training in character. A vote of the Boston town meeting attempted to regulate foot ball in the streets. There was really little time for play. Still many forms of recreation which would now be deemed legitimate were forbidden on Scriptural grounds.

The mortality of children was very high due doubtless to the exposure to the rigors of climate, the opportunity for contagion in the crowded homes and meeting houses and the absurd forms of medication of the period. The infant was taken to the fireless church for baptism on the very first Sabbath following its birth even though ice had to be broken in the font.

The ministers preached concerning the depravity of child nature, and the terror of hell pursued the sensitive child throughout the years which should have been devoted to sound physical and mental growth. Betty Sewall's distress is thus recorded by her father, Judge Sewall: "She was first wounded by my reading a sermon of Mr. Norton's; text 'Ye shall seek me and shall not find me.' And those words in the sermon 'Ye shall seek me and die in your sins' ran in her mind and terrified her greatly. And staying at home she read out of Mr. Cotton Mather, 'Why had Satan filled thy heart,' which increased her fear. Her mother asked her whether she prayed. She answered 'yes' but feared her prayers were not heard because her sins were not pardoned. . . ." Two weeks later he writes: "Betty comes in as soon as I was up and tells me the disquiet she had when wak'd. Told me she was afraid she would go to hell; was like Spira not elected. Asked her what I should pray for, she said that God would pardon her sin and give her a new heart. I answered her fears as well as I could, and prayed with many fears on either. Hope God heard us." Ann Dudley, at the age of six or seven, records her grief at her "neglect of Private Duteys" and at sixteen finding herself "carnall and sitting loose from God" accepts smallpox as a "proper rebuke to her pride and vanity."

In the main children were repressed, were forced to eat their meals in silence and to address their parents as "Honored Sir" or "Esteemed Parent." At the numerous social occasions which all persons attended,—whether funerals or Sunday meeting,—the children were expected to conduct themselves

with the stern solemnity which characterized their parents. The only literature accessible to them was of a forbidding religious nature. Discipline in the home was severe and submission was exacted. The Pilgrim minister, John Robinson, had said: "Surely there is in all children (tho not alike) a stubernes and stoutnes of minde arising from naturall pride which must in the first place be broken and beaten down that so the foundation of their education being layd in humiliation and tractableness other virtues may in their time be built thereon. It is commendable in a horse that he be stout and stomackfull being never left to his own government, but always to have his rider on his back and his bit in his mouth, but who would have his child like his horse in his brutishness?"

A book of etiquette for children contain the following injunctions: "Never sit down at the table till asked, and after the blessing. Ask for nothing; tarry till it be offered thee. Speak not. Bite not thy bread but break it. Take salt only with a clean knife. Dip not the meat in the same. Hold not thy knife upright but sloping, and lay it down at right hand of the plate with blade on plate. Look not earnestly at any other that is eating. When moderately satisfied leave the table. Sing not, hum not, wriggle not. Spit nowhere in the room but in the corner. . . . When any speak to thee, stand up. Say not I have heard it before. Never endeavor to help him out if he tell it not right. Snigger not; never question the truth of it."

Before the law the children stood equal, except for the eldest, who, in accord with the prevailing English custom, was entitled to a double portion of the estate. Thus, the Massachusetts law of 1641 states that "When parents die intestate, the elder sonn shall have a double portion of his whole estate reall and personall, unless the general court upon just cause alleged shall judge otherwise. When parents die intestate having noe heirs male of their bodies their daughters shall inherit as copartners, unless the general court upon just cause shall judge otherwise." Among the descendants of the old English aristocracy in America the law of primogeniture prevailed. Thus, Sir William Pepperell, after leaving five hundred pounds each

to his daughters, bequeathed the whole of the remaining estate to the future baronet.

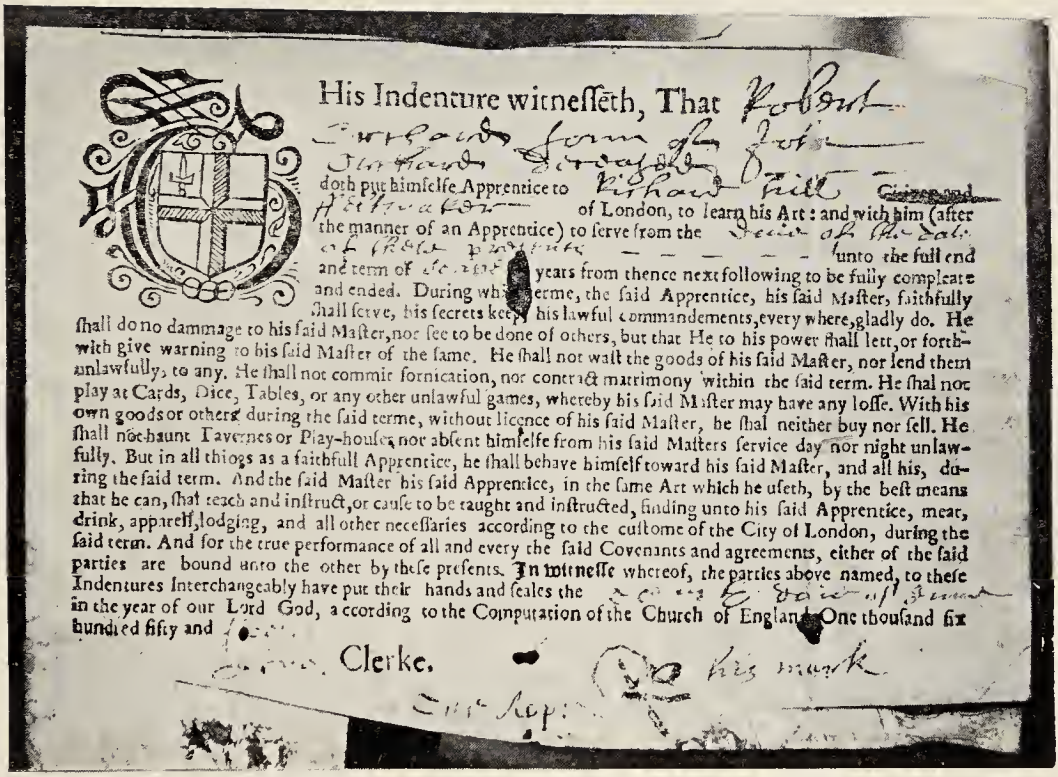
Some children of the poor were bound out to work and in Boston in 1682 a work-house was ordered built for the employment of children "who shamefully spend their time on the street." At the tender age of six girls might be set to spinning flax, and throughout early childhood the combing of wool and weaving were their duties when not needed on the farm or in the kitchen. Boys did heavy work on the farm and woodlot, or assisted with the making of shoes or brooms or other articles manufactured in the home.

Education

Education, however, was not neglected and in 1647 a general educational law required each town having fifty households or more to appoint someone to teach children how to read and write. Every town having a hundred households or more was to establish a grammar (Latin) school to instruct youth so that they might be fitted for the University. Even before this early legislation selectmen had been enjoined to see that families should teach their children and apprentices to read and write and to impart to them a knowledge of the laws.

The establishment of Harvard College by act of the General Court in 1636 made possible advanced training and the percentage of highly trained men and women in Massachusetts from that time on has been high as compared with other colonies or governments.

Many persons of broad culture came to New England from the outset. The personal library of John Winthrop contained two hundred sixty-nine titles including a few Latin classics and several works on philosophy and medicine, as well as on religion and law. The library of Elder Brewster contained four hundred volumes of which sixty-two were in Latin. Aside from religious books there were many in the field of history, education, poetry and philosophy. The printing presses of Cambridge and Boston produced three hundred separate publications in the first fifty years. Of these approximately two-thirds were religious in character. The rest con-



His Indenture witneſſeth, That Robert [illegible] doth put himſelfe Apprentice to Richard Fitt Citizen and [illegible] of London, to learn his Art: and with him (after the manner of an Apprentice) to ſerve from the [illegible] unto the full end and term of [illegible] years from thence next following to be fully compleate and ended. During which terme, the ſaid Apprentice, his ſaid Maſter, faithfully ſhall ſerve, his ſecrets keep, his lawful commandements, every where, gladly do. He ſhall do no dammage to his ſaid Maſter, nor ſee to be done of others, but that He to his power ſhall lett, or forthwith give warning to his ſaid Maſter of the ſame. He ſhall not waſt the goods of his ſaid Maſter, nor lend them unlawfully, to any. He ſhall not commit fornication, nor contract matrimony within the ſaid term. He ſhal not play at Cards, Dice, Tables, or any other unlawful games, whereby his ſaid Maſter may have any loſſe. With his own goods or others during the ſaid terme, without licence of his ſaid Maſter, he ſhal neither buy nor ſell. He ſhall not haunt Taverns or Play-houſes, nor abſent himſelfe from his ſaid Maſters ſervice day nor night unlawfully. But in all things as a faithfull Apprentice, he ſhall behave himſelf toward his ſaid Maſter, and all his, during the ſaid term. And the ſaid Maſter his ſaid Apprentice, in the ſame Art which he uſeth, by the beſt means that he can, ſhal teach and inſtruct, or cauſe to be taught and inſtructed, finding unto his ſaid Apprentice, meat, drink, apparell, lodging, and all other neceſſaries according to the cuſtome of the City of London, during the ſaid term. And for the true performance of all and every the ſaid Covenants and agreements, either of the ſaid parties are bound unto the other by theſe preſents. In witneſſe whereof, the parties above named, to theſe Indentures Interchangeably have put their hands and ſeales the [illegible] in the year of our Lord God, according to the Computation of the Church of England, One thouſand ſix hundred fifty and [illegible].

[illegible] Clerke. his mark

From the original in the Bostonian Society

BOND OF A LONDON APPRENTICE WHO SERVED OUT HIS TIME IN BOSTON

sisted of laws, official publications, educational books and almanacs, and included some reprints of standard books such as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. A bookstore existed in Boston as early as 1652, and there were eight such stores in 1686 so there must have been a fair demand for reading matter, especially among the ministers who were the best customers.

The Poor

The Massachusetts inheritance of English tradition is particularly well exemplified in the arrangements which were made for the care of the poor. The Plymouth colony had been established only a generation after the famous Poor Law of Elizabeth, the principles of which dominated Colonial policy. The number of chronic poor was relatively small in Massachusetts in the seventeenth century because the opportunities to acquire land and to sell one's personal services were practically universal. After they had been bound out for a few years in Massachusetts the least competent colonists were usually able to acquire an adequate plot of land and enough capital to care for it and make a modest living.

Some ne'er-do-wells however from the outset were a community burden. Other individuals who grew old and who lacked relatives to look after them became dependent upon public support. Widowhood and sometimes desertion threw still others upon public aid.

To meet these difficulties special measures were devised. Thus, no single person could remain by himself unless a free man. There must be a sponsor for each child and masters were required to support their servants. In the Massachusetts Bay settlement, under the act of 1636, no servant could be set free before the end of his term, thus throwing the responsibility of support on the master; and all towns were required by law to "dispose of all single persons and inmates within their town to service or otherwise." If the head of a family did not support his dependents he and his children might be put out to service. By this means the volume of poor relief was kept relatively small.

Settlement Rights

To protect the community against future dependency a rigid control was exercised over "settlement"—the right of support if in want by a particular town; and many a would-be colonist was refused admittance to Massachusetts towns in the early seventeenth century. Thus, for example, in 1636 Plymouth Colony enacted "that no p'son coming from other p'tes bee alowed an inhabitant of this jurisdiction but by the approbacon of the gour and two of the magistrates att least." In the same year the Bay Colony enacted a similar rule, as follows: "Ordered that no townsmen shall entertaine any strangers into their houses for above 14 dayes without leave from those that are appointed to order the townes businesses." It was thus rather difficult and sometimes impossible for the ne'er-do-wells who were periodically smuggled in from England to get established in Massachusetts towns. Yet, throughout the century undesirable persons continued to be sent by the English poor law officials to the American colonies, and even convicts were similarly exported. They found lodging less frequently in New England than in the colonies farther South.

On the other hand when a person was admitted as an inhabitant he might be given, by vote of local town meeting, a piece of land for his dwelling. Thus, in Cambridge, in 1688, "It was alsoe then votted on the affirmative that the inhabitants would give to Thomas Stacy of this town Smith a piece of ground behind his shop of twenty-six ffoott long, and nineteen foott broad, to sett a house upon, to continue a settled inhabitant amongst us."

The Massachusetts law of settlement virtually began in 1639 with an order from the General Court "that any shire court, or any two magistrates out of court shall have power, to determine all differences about the lawful settling and providing for, poor persons; and to dispose of all unsettled persons in such towns as they shall judge to be most fit for the maintenance and employment of such persons and families, for the ease of the country."

It should thus be observed that Massachusetts from the beginning fixed the responsibility for poor relief upon the local unit of government, the town, a feature of Massachusetts law

which has continued from that day to this. The officers of administration at the outset were the selectmen. It was not until 1691 that the first Board of Overseers for the poor was established, Boston being the first city to have such a board. Care for the dependent poor in almshouses was not common in the seventeenth century though Bostotn had an almshouse as early as 1660.

Each case of poverty was discussed publicly in great detail in local town meetings and the feelings of the dependent poor were apparently not spared in the discussion. The major emphasis was put upon the best means of getting rid of the dependent individual or family rather than upon their welfare. On some occasions it was voted that certain public officials should administer the property of the dependent person or take custody of them.

In the last twenty years of the century there were many court cases to determine which of two communities was liable for the support of a given dependent person. Not infrequently towns had to "pass on" a pauper to some other community in which he had previously had residence. In other cases the individual might be rotated through the community from house to house.

Families on the verge of dependency had many privileges, such as the right to cut wood in certain sections of the town, the right to an allotment of planting ground and the use of the public common. In Boston in 1635 it was granted "that the poorer sort of the Inhabitants, such as are members or are likely so to be, and have noe Cattell, shall have their proportion of allotments for planting ground, and other assigned unto them by the Allotters and layd out at Muddy River." The town sometimes provided money for housebuilding, taking over the mortgage of the house as public property. Apparently also money was sometimes so voted where no mortgage was taken. In general however money relief was very rare though relief in kind from public sources is frequently noted. Many towns owned cows which might be assigned to poor families, such cows in some and perhaps in all cases were gifts to the community to be used for the benefit of the local poor. Cases of the sort are quoted, for example, in Yarmouth and Concord. Less considerate was the policy of auc-

tioning off the poor in the village tavern following the town meeting. This was a practice, however, which was more characteristic of the following century.

State aid of the poor began in 1675 when a special act provided relief from the Province treasury for persons "forced from their habitation by the present calamity of the war" (King Philip's war). Although this relief was intended to be temporary it established a precedent which has not since been outgrown.

In the first recorded case of a "stubborn child" (at Barnstable in 1660) the court provided that the boy should be placed out with some "honest godly family" with his father's consent. In non-support cases also children were not infrequently placed out. Thus the principles were established that children without homes, or with improper homes, were entitled to public oversight and that they should be cared for not in an institution but in carefully selected family homes — a principle for which Massachusetts is still distinguished among the American states.

Outstanding Values

In reviewing the social life of Massachusetts in the seventeenth century certain conditions and values stand out forcibly. Modes of living were unquestionably primitive. The amenities of life especially in the pioneering settlements were meager. Work was hard and continuous, privations frequent and leisure rare. Yet, the conquest over difficult physical and economic conditions was continuous and increasingly successful and there was tremendous zest in the struggle and satisfaction in achievement.

Community life from the first was relatively well developed. Though carried too far in the early communism of the Plymouth colony, it continued on a more practical basis in the characteristic cooperative neighborhood enterprises of the Colonial period, such as the husking of corn, the clearing of land, the raising of buildings, the harvesting of crops. Responsibility for the welfare of one's neighbors was generously recognized thus, both in the mutuality of the corn-husking and in the assumption of public responsibility for the town's poor.

Generous neighborliness and stern discipline for the insubordinate ran continuously parallel throughout the century. Each exemplifies the love of liberty and of justice and above all the will to live righteously. It was not a period of soft virtues but one which has set a stamp upon American life for its insistence upon the virile standards of right, of justice and of honor,— standards which were subsequently incorporated in our most characteristic national institutions.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[For additional references see the bibliographies of Chapters iii (Origins); vii (Winthrop); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

ABBOTT, Edith.—*A Study of the Early History of Child Labor in America* (*Amer. Journal of Sociology,* July 1908).—Almost the only research on this subject.

ANDREWS, Charles M.—*Colonial Folk Ways* [*Chronicles of America* IX].—Good book, beautifully illustrated.

ANDREWS, Charles M.—*Fathers of New England* [*Chronicles of America,* VI].—See Chaps., v, vii.

BLISS, William Root.—*Side Glimpses from the Colonial Meeting House.*—(Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1894).

BRADFORD, William.—*History of Plimouth Plantation* (Boston Commonwealth, 1898; also [edited by Charles Deane] in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections,* 4th Series, Vol. III, 1856).—Like Winthrop's *Journal* abounds in details of social life.

CALHOUN, Arthur W.—*Social History of the American Family* (Cleveland, Clark, 1917).—Vol. I, Chaps. iii–vii.

CHANNING, Edward, HART, Albert Bushnell, TURNER, F., Jr.—*Guide to the Study of American History* (Rev. and augmented ed., Boston, Ginn, 1912).—See §§ 161, 165.

COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.—*Publications* (Boston 1905–1927).—See vols. ii, vii, xi.

COWLEY, C.—*Our Divorce Courts, their Origin and History* (Lowell, 1879).

DRAKE, S. G.—*Annals of Witchcraft* (Boston, 1869).

DRAKE, S. G.—*Witchcraft Delusions in New England* (3 Vols. Roxbury, 1866).—See references to witchcraft literature in Commonwealth History, II.

EARLE, Alice Morse.—*Colonial Dames and Good Wives* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1895).—All Mrs. Earl's volumes are vivid and suggestive, and based on research, although she appends no references.

EARLE, Alice Morse.—*Curious Punishments of Bygone Days* (Chicago, Stone, 1896).

EARLE, Alice Morse.—*Customs and Fashions in Old New England.*

EARLE, Alice Morse.—*Home Life in Colonial Days* (New York, Macmillan, 1898)

ELLIS, George Elliott.—*Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1888, 3d ed., 1891).

FISKE, John.—*Beginnings of New England* (1898).—Includes a little social history, though in the main political and ecclesiastical.

GOODSELL, Willystine.—*History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution* (N. Y., Macmillan, 1915).—Especially Chap. x.

HALL, G. Stanley and SMITH, Theodore L.—"Mariage and Fecundity of Colonial Men and Women." *Pedagogical Seminary*, X, 275-314.

HALLOWELL, R. P.—*Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1883, rev. ed., 1887).—See references to Chap. xiv, this volume.

HANSCOM, Elizabeth Deering, editor.—*Heart of the Puritan* (N. Y., Macmillan, 1917).

HART, Albert Bushnell, editor.—*American History Told by Contemporaries* (4 Vols., N. Y., Macmillan, 1898–1902).—Reprints and extracts especially I, §§ 137-149.

HOWARD, George Elliott.—*History of Matrimonial Institutions* (Univ. of Chicago, 1904).—See Vol. II, Chaps. xii–xv.

HOWE, Daniel Wait.—*Puritan Republic* (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1899).

KELSO, Robert W.—*History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1620–1920* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1922).

LARNED, J. N.—*Literature of American History, a Bibliographical Guide* (1902) and reorganized ed.

LECHFORD, Thomas.—*Note-book,* American Antiquarian Society, *Transactions,* VII (Cambridge, Wilson, 1885).

MASSACHUSETTS [Commonwealth] COLONIAL LAWS, (Boston, 1889).

MASSACHUSETTS Bay [Colony].—*Acts and Resolves of the Province* (Boston, 1869).—See Vol. I.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Collections* (Boston 1792—1925).—Many contributions on social history.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—*Proceedings* (Boston, to 1927).—Many papers on social history.

MOORE, George H.—*Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* (N. Y., Appleton, 1866).

MORONG, T.—*Puritan Life and Manners* (Boston, 1871).

PLYMOUTH COLONY.—*Laws* (Boston, 1836).

PLYMOUTH COLONY.—*Records* (8 vols., Boston, 1855).—See Vol. III.

POOLE, W. F.—"Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft" *North Am. Review* 1869.

SEWALL, S. E.—*Diary* [1674-1729], (3 vols. Boston.)

STILES, Henry Reed.—*Bundling* (Albany, Munsell, 1869).

TRAILL, H. D. & MANN, J. S., editors.—*Social England* (N. Y. 1902–03), Vols. III, IV on court law at about the time of Elizabeth.

TYLER, Lyon Gardiner.—*England in America* (New York, Harpers, 1904).—See Chaps. ix-xiii, xvii-xx.

TYLER, Moses Coit.—*History of American Literature during Colonial Time, 1607–76.*—See Vol. I, 1629.

UPHAM, C. W.—*Witchcraft in Salem* (2 vols. Boston, 1867.—Standard on the subject.

WARREN, Charles.—*History of the American Bar.*

WEEDEN, William Babcock.—*Economic and Social History of New England* (2 vols. Boston,1890).—The only general work of its type on New England.

WINTHROP, John.—*History of New England 1639–49* [Edited by Savage, J., (2 vols., 1825-26; New ed. 1853); another ed. edited by Hosmer, J. K.].

WINTHROP, Robert C.—*Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (2 vols. Boston, Little Brown, 1869).

YOUNG, A.—*Chronicles of the First Planters of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1846).

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN OF MASSACHUSETTS (1620–1689)

By Harriet Silvester Tapley

Editor Historical Publications, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

The story of the life of the women who ventured into the wilderness of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies in the early seventeenth century is a tale of bravery and courage born of religious fervor and of a faith which passeth understanding. Huddled together in the small vessels which brought them to the new land, domestic animals their close companions on the stormy and pirate-infested sea, packed in with household utensils as well as tools and other articles necessary to a pioneer settlement, they endured conditions, even before they reached these shores, which were well-nigh intolerable. Once established, those intrepid souls, the Pilgrim wives and daughters, defied the perils of the unbroken forests and the vast open spaces through which the white man had never before roamed. They possessed something more than a spirit of adventure; they were real crusaders, willing to endure whatever destiny held out to them, and glad to have reached the haven where all their brightest hopes lay.

It was not a temporary abiding place. The Pilgrim women came to stay. Their attitude was never more fully exemplified than when the captain of the *Mayflower,* about to return to England, offered free passage to any woman who would cook for and nurse those of the crew who were ill. Although the strength of all had been sapped that first winter, not a woman accepted the proposal, but all remained true and faithful to the cause which they had espoused.

Housing

One of the distinguishing features of the Massachusetts settlers was that, unlike the Jamestown and other immigrants, they came in family groups. Within their homes, for the most

part very plain and simple, the women bore their full share of labor and responsibility; if we could turn back the wheels of time we should doubtless find that their houses were made not only habitable but comfortable, and the furnishings much beyond our anticipation. Here and there the magistrate, the minister or the wealthy merchant may have owned a dwelling a little more ostentatious than the average; but such extravagance was not encouraged. When Governor Dudley built a house at Cambridge which was reputed to be over-elegant, he was criticised by Governor Winthrop for adorning his house with wainscotting in the beginning of a plantation, not only on account of the expense, but because of the example to others. Dudley's quite excusable defence was that it was for the warmth that it gave them and "the charge was but little, being but clapboards nailed to the wall in the form of a wainscoting." New England winters tested most severely the endurance of men and women born and bred among the hedges and gardens of Old England.

The fireplace in the great room was the centre of the family group and the furnishings of this room were similar to what they had been accustomed to in England, many of the utensils having been brought with them or sent over on vessels which were constantly plying back and forth. Some would have us believe that the daily diet that the women provided was most frugal, "pea and bean porridge or broth made of the liquor of boiled salt meat and pork mixed with meal, and sometimes a hasty pudding and milk," but surely those great spits, brass baking pans and dripping pans, kettles and pots, gridirons, frying pans and skillets with which seventeenth century inventories teem, suggest more appetizing fare which the sea and the fertile fields must have yielded to all who were willing to look for it. The cattle in the barns and the abundance of game in the forest furnished material for substantial and generous living for the great majority.

Dress

It was not a drab and demure simplicity that characterized the dress of our forbears. The Pilgrim women wore typical garments of that period for women in England, and they were

so proud of their English birth that they refused to adopt the Dutch apparel for themselves or children. The "sad-colored" gowns so often interpreted as the colorless garb of Massachusetts women were not by any means sombre, but included, in 1638, such shades as russet, purple, green, tawny deer color, orange color and buffs, while scarlet and other brilliant colors were not unusual. The elegance and costliness of both male and female attire in England just previous to the migration had been so marked that not a little of that splendor was reflected in the lives of the early settlers. Such families as the Dudleys, Bradstreets, Saltonstalls, Winthrops, Whittinghams and others had come from homes of luxury in England.

It is easy to visualize the meeting houses on Sunday, when everybody was dressed in his very best, embellished, radiant with colors and fine fabrics. Men's clothing was showy in make and color and there is much evidence to indicate that at least the more prosperous among the women sent frequently to the home land for articles of wearing apparel, for it was their desire to be dressed strictly in accord with English fashions. There is every reason to believe that all women in varying degrees eagerly adopted the prevailing fashions of those most prominent in the new colony, as had been their custom in England.

So much extravagance in dress was manifested during the earliest years that the church and the magistrates began to be troubled lest the world, the flesh and the devil should beguile the women to the undoing of the settlement. Within six years after John Endecott landed in Salem, the General Court felt obliged to interfere with personal liberty in the matter of dress, and in 1634 it was voted that the "newe and imodest fashions, be forbidden," which consisted of the wearing of silver, gold and silk lace, girdle hat bands, embroidered or needlework caps, bands and rayles, ruffs and beaver hats. They were also prohibited from having more than one slash cut in each sleeve and one in the back. The slash-work was a long, narrow opening made to show the bright colored inside garment for either man or woman. This order most considerately gave them "liberty to wear out what they had on hand." There was also a ban on short sleeves, "whereby the

nakedness of the arme may be discovered in the wearing thereof," and there was a fine awaiting any person who should make a garment for a woman or "any of their sex" with sleeves more than "halfe an elle wide in the widest place."

It was the opinion of some that the church should be the first to deal with transgressors before they were presented at the quarterly courts, and in 1639 an order to that effect was passed. One of the anomalies of history is that the most religious of all people, the rigid Puritans, should have been so much in thralldom to the things of the earth as to be guilty of frivolous excess in dress. Neither the ban of the church nor the order of the magistrates could quench the indomitable spirit of colonial women in the exercise of their personal rights concerning their frills and furbelows.

Another decade passed, and the General Court still complained that "intolerable excess and bravery hath crept in upon us," and although they recognized the difficulty of setting down exact rules to govern all conditions, nevertheless they considered it their bounden duty to urge the moderate use of "those blessings which, beyond our expectations, the Lord hath been pleased to afford us in this wilderness."

In those days of class distinction, it was utterly beyond the pale that women of mean condition, in education or social standing should "take the garb beyond their station." Consequently, the wearing of silk or tiffany hoods or scarves was prohibited, except to those wives or daughters who could prove their family estates worth at least £200, or to those who had been brought up above the ordinary degree, even "though now decayed."

Family Life

During the first fifty years of the settlement, family life was rigorously safe-guarded by authority. Men who had left their wives in England or were otherwise living apart from their families were summarily called to account. The court records of Massachusetts, which have fortunately been preserved for our enlightenment, have lifted the roofs, as it were, from multitudes of seventeenth century houses and shown us fully what was going on inside. Human nature being ever the same, crimes and misdemeanors were to be expected, and they were

not confined to the male portion of the population. There are many instances of marital infelicity. One man, in 1642, for not living with his wife was acquitted when he made known to the court that "his mother was not willing to Lett his wife come." A husband and wife were condemned to the stocks for not living peaceably together, she being rebuked for "gadding abroad" too much. A husband presented, in 1664, complained that "a woman ought to be a meet help for a man," and if his wife would "stay at home, dress his victuals, wash his clothes and do by him as by a husband, he would allow her to see her friends as much as she desired." Men were ordered to send for their wives as soon as they could save enough to pay for their passage. On the other hand there were those who had importuned their wives many months to come, but without avail. Governor Winthrop had no patience with a woman who would allow the sea to separate her from the man of her choice. He wrote of one, in 1632, "I marvayle at her womans weaknesse, that she will live miserably with her children there when she might live comfortably with her husband here." One of the clergy helplessly acknowledged that he had fasted and prayed for his wife to change her mind, which led Margaret Winthrop to remark, "I marvel what matter she is made of."

A contemporary account exists of the infinite care and attention some men exerted in transporting their families across the ocean. In a letter of instructions written by Osman Dutch of Gloucester to his wife, he gave in detail minutest directions as to her disposal of his estate in England and what she would require for the passage over. "Seing it hath pleased God to bless me here in this land since I came last, I thanke God, I have cleared 40 l. and shall be able to make good provision for to intertaine you my children, as I hope in the Lord. Therefore I desire you would by all meanes come over to me with the children by the fall or as soone as you can the next spring: To that end and purpose I have hereinclosed sent you an Assignement of the house and therein a deed of gift also of the goods, sealed before our honoured Governor wherewithall I have intrusted yor kinsman Mr. Thomas Bishop, the haberdasher, whome I Doe intreate to sell the house at as good advantage as he can and such of the goods as are not fitt for

transportation, and with the money to make provision for yor coming, for clothes for yourself the children & for some refreshments by the way, and for your passage: Of the goods that you have there with you sell not any brasse, pewter, bedding nor linnen: but furnish yor selfe with these as well as you can."

After telling her how she may get more money if necessary through his agents in London, he continues: "You must take care that by the way you may have some refreshments besides the ships provision for yorselfe and my children: that is some suger and fine ruske or bisket, and a little barrell of ale to make warme meate, and oatmeale & currants & a little spice, and some fine flower & eggs & a few chickens with a henne or two and a little butter & honey."

Family Troubles

Domestic disturbances were frequently brought before the courts of the colonies. One goodwife, for cursing and reviling her son-in-law, was equally guilty with another who laid hands on her husband "to the damage of his life," and was ordered chained to a post and allowed only "to come to the place of Gods worship," until her repentance. One Ipswich wife received no doubt a just punishment for breaking her husband's head and threatening to kill him, "so that he is ever weary of his life." So, too, Bridget Oliver, (who fifteen years later as Bridget Bishop was to pay the extreme penalty for witchcraft) for calling her husband "old rogue and old devil" on Lord's days was ordered to stand with her spouse, back to back, on a lecture day in the market place, both gagged for about an hour with a paper fastened to each of their foreheads, upon which their offence should be fairly written. A Taunton dame, in 1654, was presented for reviling her husband, "egging her children to help her, bidding them knock him in the head and wishing his victuals might choake him."

Divorces occurred, but they were not numerous. Especially along the seacoast, the perils of the deep made many widows; when husbands did not return after several years, they were given up as dead, and the widows allowed to marry again. The courts were careful not to grant this permission without

a thorough investigation. A deserted wife, whose husband had been gone three years, was refused a license by the Plymouth court, and in 1674, the same court could see no reason for granting a divorce to another whose husband had not appeared for seven years, although in the latter case she was to consider herself no longer bound, but free to marry again if she pleased.

Fire was one of the most dreaded calamities of the seventeenth century, and stringent laws were passed to protect the settlements, the gallows being the fate of an incendiary, man or woman. Carelessness, also, in this regard was punished to the fullest extent. In 1668, an Ipswich maid was fined the enormous sum of forty pounds, added to a severe whipping, for burning her master's house, although it was not done intentionally. She told her own story to the court. She had "put her tobacco pipe into the fire and dipped up a coal in it to light it"; then she went outside and climbed up on the oven to "see if there were any hogs in the corn." She "layd her right hand on the thatch roof to stay herself and with her left hand knocked out her pipe over her right arme upon the thatch on the eaves of the house." After that she went complacently away to the fields, and presently the house was blazing and consumed.

Women of the early years had much need of courage. They lived in constant fear of an Indian attack — for the red men were always lurking around the outskirts, being especially troublesome after they had been introduced to the strongwater of the settlers. They knew the danger from the wild animals of the nearby forest. Women and children were daily subjected to apprehensions sufficiently alarming to tax the strength of the stoutest heart. Left alone in their houses, which were sometimes a mile apart, while the men folk of the families were at some distance in the fields, the timid ones often suffered acutely.

In 1667, the wives of the Salem farmers for these reasons rebelled against their husbands' obligatory watching in the town, which resulted in a petition being sent to the General Court to be relieved from this service. Some were obliged to go eleven miles, all within the territory of Salem, with arms and ammunition, which they declared was "more than a soldiers

march that is under pay." Sometimes nearly every man in that section of the town was on the watch, which depleted the whole neighborhood of men. "Newes that we are to watch," they complained, "strikes like darts to ye Hearts of some of our Wiues that are weake," as they recalled what the Indians had done to some of their friends.

Family Affection

Notwithstanding the numerous marital grievances that the old records reveal, we must still believe that normal family life, happy, congenial and of good report, was rather the rule than the exception. Perhaps no better example of what constituted the true home-life of the seventeenth century, with its intensely religious atmosphere, can be given than in quoting from a letter written in 1681, by a wife and mother, who, having a premonition of death, left these loving instructions to her family:

"Be sure to carry well to your father, obey him, love him, follow his instructions and example, be ruled by him, take his advise and have a care of grieving him. . . Your father hath been loving, kind, tender-hearted toward you all; and laborious for you all, both for your temporal and spiritual good: You that are grown up, cannot but see how careful your father is when he cometh home from his work, to take the young ones up into his wearied arms, by his loving carriage and care toward those, you may behold as in a glass, his tender care and love to you every one as you grow up: I can safely say that his love was so to you all that I cannot say which is the child that he doth love best . . . he hath reproved you often for your evils, laying before you the ill event that would happen to you, if you did not walk in God's ways. . . . And if it please the Lord that you live to match yourselves, and to make your choice: be sure you chuse such as first do seek the kingdom of Heaven. . . . A tender-hearted, affectionate and entire loving husband thou hast been to me several ways. . . . In all my burthens thou hast willingly with me sympathized, and cheerfully thou hast helped me bear them. . . . This twenty years experience of thy love to me in this kind, hath so stamped it upon my mind, that

I do not think that there never was man more truly kind to a woman."

Courtship and Wedded Life

Marriages in the new world were early and frequent. As soon as girls reached a marriageable age, they were sought by farmers' and artisans' sons, who were often given a portion of the paternal estate upon which to build a house. Intermarriages among families of clergymen and other professions, as well as among artisans, was a feature of this century. Single women or spinsters were not numerous, because if by chance a girl had passed her twenties without opportunity of marriage, she was quite likely to be appropriated sooner or later by some stricken husband, who, bereft of wife, was fortunate to get her to care for his motherless children. Spinsters were at first granted lots of land; but fearing that it would be a bad precedent to allow unmarried women to keep house alone, Governor Endecott put an end to this practice, by declaring that "granting lotts unto single maidens not disposed of in marriage" was a great evil. One woman in Salem thus refused, "being a maid," was consoled by a gift of four bushels of corn from the chief men of the town. On the other hand, bachelors were allowed home lots as an encouragement for marriage.

Families were large, life was hard and many mothers succumbed before their children were grown. Second marriages were speedy, especially in the case of women, who, left with young children and little means, were forced to marry again as soon as possible. There are many cases of a woman's second marriage before sufficient time had elapsed to administer upon her deceased husband's estate. There is a tradition that a son of the Rev. Stephen Bachiler of Lynn and Hampton, left a widower with nine children, and with no especial predilection as to where to turn for a mother to his large flock, resolved to be governed in his choice by the direction in which his staff, held perpendicularly over the floor, should fall when dropped from his hand. It fell pointing toward the southwest and in that direction he bent his steps straight forty miles or more to the widow Mary Wyman of Woburn, a cousin of his wife. She discouraged his hopes on account of his large

family, and he made answer that it was the first time he had ever known of a woman to object to a proposal of this sort because of the children; that he was going to Boston and would call for a definite answer upon his return. The widow's fears were overcome, and she became his wife.

In a will of 1642, a Rowley man very generously bequeathed to his then wife "one of my former wives gownes and two of the best petticotes," which gives an illuminating conception of the property rights of women of the seventeenth century. Wives were on the whole wonderfully well protected otherwise by the early laws, as the records of punishment for varied and flagrant abuse of women are shown repeatedly in the court papers. No man could ill-treat his wife with impunity; neither was a petulant wife suffered long to "revile her husband."

Marriage contracts were often required when either person concerned was possessed of property, and in the ordinary family parents were eager to make suitable selections for their children. Nor was this mercenary bargaining in matrimonial ventures confined to the upright and pious Puritan magistrate and merchant of Salem and Boston. A spirit of calculation pervaded fashionable courtship, which did not disdain discussing openly the bride's portion and deciding upon the marriage settlement. A case in Salem, in 1672, well illustrates the method of procedure as recorded in that court. Philip Cromwell informed Madam Corwin, wife of the leading merchant, that he wished his son John to marry Hannah, the daughter of Jacob Barney. Upon Barney being told of this affair, he went to the father of the young man, who invited him into the house and they then and there declared their willingness that the marriage should be consummated. When they began to discuss their "comfortable living," Mr. Cromwell, "having a cold in the head" could not hear what was said, so Mrs. Cromwell conducted the conversation, "and they all agreed very lovingly," she suggesting "if they did marry, they should liue with them, if they would and take their diett with them. If they did not like to liue with ym they should liue in one end of their house and ymselues at the other end of it, yf they did not like to liue soe, they should goe into the other house . . . and there I will furnish them two

rooms, withall necessaries; as for theire ordinarye occasions they shall not need to borrow anything."

Marriage

Wedding ceremonies among the wealthy usually included a psalm before and a prayer following, with perhaps a sermon preached by the minister of the church which they attended, after which sackposset or some other drink was freely dispensed, while bride's cake and bride's gloves were later sent as gifts to the friends of the two families.

Governor Winthrop tells of a "great marriage" that was solemnized at Boston in 1647, which caused quite a stir in the colony. The bridegroom, who was of Hingham, had invited his pastor there to go to Boston and officiate at the wedding; but the Massachusetts magistrates, hearing of the plan, had no intention of allowing the Plymouth colony minister to attend for that purpose and ordered him "to forbear." Winthrop says there was a cogent reason, that he was a man opposed to "our ecclesiastic and civil government, a bold man who would speak his mind, and we were not willing to bring in the English custom of ministers performing the solemnity of marriage." It is a question whether the objection was directed more to the man or the custom.

Sometimes a little persuasion was necessary to bring the suitor to the point of marriage, and one father frankly told his prospective son-in-law that if the latter had more love for his own estate than for the girl, he should not enter their house again. In two days they were married. The law as applied to servants and apprentices was very strict, and no one in these positions could contract a marriage without the consent of his master or mistress.

However much there may have been of matrimonial unhappiness, we like to think that for the most part peace and concord reigned in the majority of seventeenth century homes, and that there were many women in the new land who could echo the words of Anne Bradstreet, when she wrote:

If ever two were one, then surely we;
If ever man were loved by wife, then thee;

If ever wife was happy in a man,
Compare with me, ye women, if you can.
I prize thy love more than whole mines of gold,
Or all the riches that the East doth hold.
My love is such that rivers cannot quench,
Nor ought but love from thee give recompense.
Thy love is such I can no way repay,
The heavens reward thee manifold, I pray.

Children and Child Life

The dreariness of the early period, so depressing to the parents, must have been reflected in the lives of young children. Those of the Plymouth immigration we know had a bitter struggle for existence. During the first winter, when the dead lay in nearly every habitation, we may well imagine scenes that made the stoutest hearts quail, as the cold took its toll, with a fearful mortality even among the strongest. However, we can well believe also that, possessed of happy and joyous natures with which children have been endowed since the world began, they were able to throw off some of the surrounding gloom, and in their play forget the troubles of the grown-ups.

Childhood, even in desolate Massachusetts of this period, is inconceivable as separated from play, toys and games. Inventories of the early settlers, to which we are so much indebted for first-hand knowledge of their life in its many phases, leave us ignorant of any sort of toys. We know that the Pilgrim and Puritan children were rocked in wicker and wooden cradles and we cannot believe that they did not have rattles and infant toys, perhaps homemade, perhaps brought from England.

The cost of toys in England was enormous, for luxury was affecting all articles of domestic use. Silver toys among the wealthy were the fashion, but it is doubtful if many found their way to the little boys and girls of Plymouth, Boston or Salem. There were dolls, no doubt, for the maternal instinct in girls throughout the ages has been perpetuated in playing with dolls, just as the boys naturally turned to horses, whips and guns. It was not until the very end of the century that

a suggestion of the importation of toys has been found, Mr. Higginson writing to his brother in England that he thought toys would sell in the colonies if sent over in small quantities.

Whatever playthings colonial children possessed were of home manufacture in which the pocket knife played an important part. No doubt all children had fewer toys and played more games, for games have survived by word of mouth through generations. Sling shots, whistles, balls, boats, games of soldiers, articles contrived from birch bark, gave employment to the boys; while making cat's cradles, dolls, the fun to be derived from the wild flowers of the fields, such as splitting dandelion stems, making daisy chains, weaving garlands of oak leaves, whistling through blades of grass, and many another trick with the leaves and flowers, gave ample opportunity for play among the girls.

A sixteenth century engraving gives us a colorful and accurate picture of English child life with which the earliest settlers must have been familiar. It shows an elaborate war game going on, with both boys and girls as contestants; the game of blindman's buff; girls playing with household toys, such as pokers, tongs, spoons, covers, pails and mugs, and of course dolls. Boys were flying kites, playing hoop, walking on stilts, blowing bladders, jumping rope, playing leap-frog and the game of cup and ball.

Allotments of land were often made according to the number in the family, and so in large families every child was an extra producer and an asset to be counted. In dress, children were diminutive counterparts of their parents, homespun being worn by those in ordinary circumstances, and more elegant fabrics among the wealthy.

Schools

One of the first considerations was for the education of children, and all towns early established schools. As soon as they knew their letters, boys and girls were sent to a dame or a master, where they at least learned to read and write; by the middle of the century Latin schools had been established in all the largest towns where the study of Latin and Greek, for boys only, served as a preparation for college. So im-

portant was learning considered that, in 1673, those who were neglecting their duty in this regard, not bringing up their children to "som honest Caling and taught to Read as the Law directs," were to have their children taken away and given into the charge of those who would comply with the law. To this end, committees were appointed to go through the various towns and check up all the children, who were set to con more diligently their hornbooks and primers.

A sidelight showing how children of the average family received their training is to be found in an account of William Cogswell of Ipswich, who had charge of the education of the orphan children of his brother in 1676. He wrote: "We kept a schoole dame in my fathers house: to teach my brother Cogswells children and some other children we kept here at our own cost: and . . . we indeverd to teach there children in reading and instructing of them in the fear of god and in september 1659 my mother came and lived in howse with me in my family and made it her imployment to teach the children . . . in nouember my father and the rest of his family came and liued in the house with me and the rest of thayre imployment was to teach the children. . . . John could read a chapter in the Bible very well and also in 1663 I had a man liued with me which I gave 12 li a yeare unto; that he could wright and reade very well and I aded to his wages 8 or 10s . . . to perphect my cousen John in his writing and spelling and of sarving his stops in reading."

There were defective children in 1682, for another father testified to the hopelessness of teaching his son, who was "put to the great scooldame, Goodwife Collens," accounted preeminent in that "facaltie for Teaching Children" having been a teacher for thirty years, but he could not learn his letters after four years of exertion; then he was given into the hands of Mr. Andrews, who they thought "would learne him if he were capable to Learne of any bodie," but after four more years he had not learned "any sense though to know some of his letters which soon after he forgott," after all of which the honest teacher said he was ashamed to accept any remuneration for his trouble.

Child Religion

Though Puritanism in its narrowness denied freedom to childhood and by its teachings incited fear in the mind of youth, the devotion that parents exercised in the training of their families along religious lines gave strength to the colonies from the beginning. Anne Bradstreet gave us a glimpse of a truly Puritan household when she wrote that at the age of six or seven she began to "make conscience of my wayes" and what she knew was sinful, such as lying and disobedience to parents, she avoided, but if she were "overtaken" with these evils she "could not be at rest 'till by prayer I had confest it unto God." The moral and spiritual welfare of the children of these households were punctiliously guarded both by the church and court. The progress of their children in the growth of grace lay close to the heart of the Pilgrim also, as the constant query, "Do your children and family grow more godly?" was put to them by those in authority.

Children were brought to baptism when but a few hours old, sponsored by a parent who was a church member or frequently by a grandparent, when neither parent had owned the covenant. Fear and dread of the life beyond for those who transgressed the law were instilled into the minds of children by the ministers from the beginning. There was nothing cheerful for them to contemplate in the ecclesiastical temper of the times. Prodigies there were in those days, for we learn of children of four years of age becoming converted, some able to read Bible stories before the age of two years, while others before the age of four could say the greater part of the Assembly Catechism, many of the Psalms, read distinctly and discuss what they read intelligently.

Child Offences

The court threw its protecting arm about child life continually. For neglect of children, such as leaving them alone in a house far from neighbors, the offender was subject to a substantial fine. Boy and girl apprentices were not allowed to be abused or imposed upon. Children were "bound out," in many instances very young; we find a record of a Marblehead

widow's son three months of age being apprenticed to a tailor until he should reach the age of twenty-one. Presentments for slander, scandal-mongering and other misdemeanors so common among the adult population, could not have failed to bring to the attention of the children who witnessed these events or heard them discussed, a true sense of the enormity of the crimes and a wholesome regard for the proprieties of life.

The laws of courtesy to parents and others which were encouraged had much influence upon the development of the character of the colonial child, and the civil laws passed gave powerful evidence that everything in the community was made to conform to the relations of civility. In 1646, it was ordered that if any child of sixteen years or more, who was possessed of sufficient intelligence, should curse or smite his father or mother, he should suffer death in conformity with the old Mosaic code, and this was in effect as late as 1672. There is much evidence that children were, as a rule, respectful to their parents, and there is no record that it was ever necessary to enforce this law.

Children would not seem quite natural if we found no disturbances caused by the youth of colonial times. Peter Bulkley was so concerned at the actions of some disobedient children and servants who went "abroad in the nights" and became implicated in such sinful miscarriages as he thought should "not be suffered under a Christian Government," that he appealed to the General Court. His opinion that "It is time to begin with more severity than hath been, unless we will see a confusion and ruin coming upon all," was confirmed by the court, whereby the older offenders were fined and the younger, whipped.

Child marriages were not countenanced in this country as they were among the nobility in England, although, not infrequently, there were attempts made when a particularly advantageous commercial connection could be attained. An incident which reveals the supreme good sense of Governor Endecott appears in the case of one of his wards, an orphan girl. Emmanuel Downing wrote to Governor Winthrop asking if he could not intercede for him to get the child for his son, as she was considered "a verie good match," and "an

inheritance much to be desired." Madam Downing also wrote: "The disposition of the mayde and her education with Mrs. Endecott are hopefull, her person tollerable, the estate very convenient, and that is the state of the business." Such "business," however, did not find favor with Endecott, whose objections stand out in the light of a conscientious guardian, not only of the civil, but the moral law. He replied: "First: The girle desires not to mary as yet. 2ndlee: She confesseth (which is the truth) hereselfe to be altogether yett unfitt for such a condition, shee beinge a verie girl and but 15 yeares of age. 3rdlie: Where the man was moved to her shee said she could not like him. 4thlie: You know it would be of ill reporte that a girl because shee hath some estate should bee disposed of soe young, especialie not having any parents to choose for her. ffiithlie: I have some good hopes of the child coming on to the best thinges. If this is not satisfactory, let the court take her from me."

Status of Women in the Church

The status of women in the church could not be set forth more clearly than in that brusque reply of the ministers of the Bay Colony, in 1639, to a questionnaire on religious practices received from their brethern in England: "Women do not vote in our church concerns!" Seventeenth century women had not the incentive of their husbands in becoming members of the church — that of the franchise which only church members were privileged to enjoy—, yet women quite generally owned to the covenant.

There were many women, however, who were not satisfied to accept the prevailing dogma as laid down by the clergy, but in those days independent thought was not to be tolerated and all murmurings of discontent were promptly silenced. Yet schism became so flagrant among the women during this formative period of the Puritan church that the religious peace of the Bay Colony became seriously threatened.

When Roger Williams preached in Salem he had taught that it was the duty of women, contrary to the English custom, to veil themselves when they went abroad, especially in public assemblies. Such an unusual practice had attracted much at-

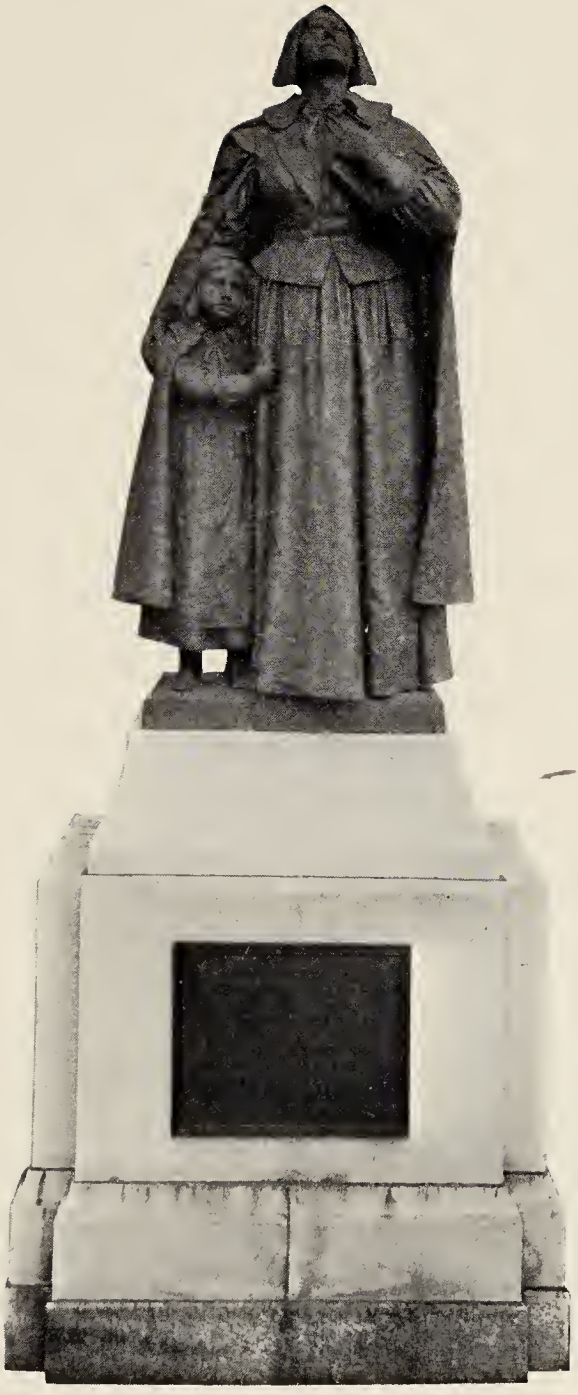
tention. How long this was adhered to is not known, but in 1633 the Rev. John Cotton told his congregation at Boston that where veils by the custom of the place were "not a sign of the womens subjection, they were not commanded by the Apostles." After some debate on the question, the Governor "perceiving it to grow to some earnestness, interposed, and so broke it off." Meanwhile Mr. Cotton did not allow the discussion to cool, and not long after, preaching at Salem, he expressed the same opinion before that congregation, which so enlightened the women there, Winthrop says, that they appeared in the afternoon without their veils.

Anne Hutchinson

It so happened that Mr. Cotton had among his followers in Boston, Anne Hutchinson, the daughter of an English preacher and the wife of a man of good standing in the Bay Colony. She was also a sister of the Rev. John Wheelright, the leader of the Antinomian movement, which during the first decade of the settlement was one of the disturbances that threatened to disrupt the church.

Endowed with a fine intellect and a pleasing personality, she soon gathered about her a little circle of open-minded women who listened to her too-liberal doctrines, which although frowned upon by members of the church in regular standing were eagerly absorbed when given in her persuasive manner. She had at her first coming made herself beloved in the comunity by officiating as a midwife and physician. By degrees, her following increased, and as she repeated Mr. Cotton's sermons and expounded them, the number of women soon grew to sixty.

In her zeal, however, she began to comment upon other ministers' sermons and to introduce many of her own deductions, until this unusual procedure reached the ears of the magistrates. She was quickly reproved for her doctrine of the reassertion of the power of the life of the spirit over outward regulations and formalities. Finally, the deflection from the regular course of religious services so troubled the authorities that the synod passed a resolve intended to subdue this bold woman who had the effrontery to set up a religion



Courtesy of Cyrus H. Dallin, the sculptor

MEMORIAL TO ANNE HUTCHINSON AT THE STATE HOUSE, BOSTON

of her own. They declared that "though a few women might meet together for prayer and religious conversation, yet large companies of them, as sixty or more, who convened weekly in Boston taught by a particular one of their number, in doctrine and exposition of the Scriptures, were disorders."

Mrs. Hutchinson was brought to trial for heresy in 1637, and when Governor Winthrop put the question, "Why do you keep such a meeting at your house every week on a set day?" she answered, "It is lawful for me to do so as it is for all your practices; and can you find a warrant for yourself and condemn me for the same thing." Her answers which were full of wit and wisdom failed to move authority and she was sentenced to be banished. Rhode Island offered her a temporary abiding place, but she finally settled in Long Island, where she met a horrible death at the hands of the Indians.

Although Josselyn referred to this eloquent and intellectual woman as "the American Jezabel," Johnson acknowledged that she was the "masterpiece of woman's wit," and even Governor Winthrop characterized her as "a woman of ready wit and bold spirit." She had followers throughout the colony among the male population, many of whom after her banishment were disfranchised or disarmed by the General Court.

Deborah Moody

Lady Deborah Moody of Lynn, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, was another woman of independent thought who was described by Governor Winthrop as "a wise and anciently religious woman;" but when she dared to proclaim adherence to the Anabaptists, in denying baptism to infants, she was dealt with by the elders and soundly admonished. Persisting in her belief, but wishing to avoid further trouble, she removed to the Dutch settlement at Long Island. She was afterward excommunicated from the church, and when a few years later she sought permission to return to the Bay Colony, John Endecott voiced the attitude of the church toward her when he wrote to Governor Winthrop that "she may not have advice to return to this Jurisdiction, unless she will acknowledge her evill in opposing the Churches, and leave her opinions behinde her, for she is a dangerous woman." His antipathy

was further strengthened from the fact that she had questioned her own baptism, and he thought it very doubtful if she could be "reclaymed," she was so far "ingaged."

That she was a woman of great strength of character, of high spirits, and a leader in the settlement in which the remainder of her life was passed has come down to us from that far distant day. During Indian attacks at Gravesend, her house became the garrison, and her courage inspired the company to rout the savage enemy. She became the advisor of governors and magistrates, and in her home, which was furnished with comparative elegance and good taste, was to be found a large number of books, for she was said to have brought with her to this country the largest collection of books that had ever come into the colony.

Punishment of Independent Women

Such upheavals in the religious thought of the times could not fail to leave an aftermath of ill-feeling against those in authority, and it is not surprising to find constant references in the records of the courts to women brought before the magistrates for speaking against the ministry. Among others whom Winthrop says became infected with Mrs. Hutchinson's error, was Mary Dyer, a woman very censorious and troublesome to the ministers, "of a proud spirit, and much addicted to revelations." A more tolerant ecclesiastic called her "a comely grave woman, of good personage and of good report,' but her early independent activities were no doubt contributory to the fate which befell her later when she was hanged. Ann Hibbens, wife of one of Boston's honored citizens, was executed for witchcraft in 1656 apparently, as Rev. John Norton said "only for having more wit than her neighbours."

One Salem dame, in 1644, was ordered to pay a round sum for saying that "there was no love in the church and that they were biters and devourers, and that she did question the government ever since she came." One of the witnesses against her, curiously enough, was no other than Cassandra Southwick, who, in turn, was to suffer later in the Quaker persecutions. Another, the wife of a church member, for saying that "all ministers in the country were blood thirsty men," was

condemned for her blasphemy to be tied to the whipping post with a slit stick on her tongue. Two women, in 1681, for a serious criminal offence in Ipswich were ordered "to stand or sit upon a high stool the whole time of the exercise in the open middle alley of the meeting house" with a paper on their heads on which was printed in capital letters the name of the crime committed.

Women in Church

The only office in the church which women were allowed to fill was that of deaconess, and although they were not chosen in the earlier years, they were in due course selected as an important adjunct to the pastoral work both in Plymouth and Salem. They were by preference widows well advanced in years, usually close to the three score limit. They had no prescribed duties, but were appointed to carry on a general ministry of visiting and comforting the sick, the poor and distressed.

An innovation at the middle of the century introduced into the churches what was known as the "seating of the meeting house." The male and female members of the congregation continued segregated, but disputes arising as to where certain persons should sit, a law was passed giving to the selectmen of the towns the responsibility of assigning such seats, which was done according to wealth and social position. By this arrangement the wives of the clergy and magistrates occupied seats in front near the pulpit on one side; behind whom were the other women members according to their relative importance. If there were any who found fault with their seats, attempting to preempt others' locations, they were promptly fined for not "sitting where placed."

Quaker Women

During the Quaker persecutions women suffered as much as men and were fully as outspoken in their disagreement with the established form of religion. The wildest fanaticism on the part of the Quakers was met by a frenzied bigotry on the part of the members of the church, the clergy, and the magistrates. Quaker meetings were held in defiance of authority

and the records of this period are filled with presentments for absence from the services of the church and attendance at these "quaking meetings."

Such inroads were being made by this sect of English importation, that as in the days of the Anabaptists and Antinomians, authority determined to rid the colony of this heresy. When the storm broke the most blameless met with the same fate as the most turbulent and aggressive, and women especially were subjected to indignities horrible in the extreme. There is no doubt that women became wrought up to a point of frenzy, as in Salem, where one half-crazed follower appeared upon the streets unclothed, quoting Biblical interpretation as an argument for her strange performance. The court, however, saw fit to put a different construction upon the scriptural command and "for her barbarous and unhuman goeing naked through the Towne," sentenced her "to be tied at a Carts tayle with her body naked downwards to her wast, & whipped from Mr. Gedneys Gate till she come to her owne house, not exceeding 30 stripes, & her mother Buffum & her sister Smith, that were abetted to her &c. to be tyed on either side of her, at the carts taile naked to their shifts to ye wast, & accompany her."

The record of women who were thus severely dealt with, and who were whipped, pilloried, set in the stocks, imprisoned, branded and maimed presents an ugly picture of the stern and pious Puritan in his most intolerant mood. The General Court's decree of 1657, that for the second offense a Quaker woman should be whipped, but for the third, she should have her tongue bored through with a hot iron and be branded with the letter R, gives some idea of the enormity of the crime in the eyes of the leading men of the colony.

Seventeenth century men and women were not squeamish, for since the beginning of the settlement they had been witnesses of many cruel punishments, and lopping off ears, slitting nostrils or branding a bare back were scenes not too repulsive to prevent a general gathering around the whipping post, the stocks or the gallows to behold the expiation of their neighbors' crimes. Such exhibitions were intended as a warning to the whole community that the way of the transgressor is hard, and as an effective impetus to the growth of godly grace.

The Scarlet Letter

Women because of their sex were never spared public chastisement, either by the church or the government. There were many Hester Prynnes in both colonies. In Plymouth colony a law was passed in 1671 by means of which one who disregarded the seventh commandment could not escape punishment. Such offenders were sentenced "to wear two Capitall Letters A D cut in cloth and sewed on the uppermost garment on the Arm and Back," and if found without them they were to be publicly whipped.

A Taunton goodwife for blasphemous words was likewise labelled with a Roman B of red cloth on her arm. In 1667, amid the far wilderness of Maine, for committing a most grievous misdemeanor, a York woman was "ordered to stand 3 Sabbath dayes in a white sheet in the meeting house," and another was to spend a third day before the General Court. Such public abasement, however effective it may have been in example, did not always succeed in making the guilty ones penitent. The law passed in 1672 for the institution of that most ignoble implement, the ducking-stool, for women, or for men either, for that matter, who were guilty of "exorbitancy of the Tongue in Railing and Scolding," never claimed a victim in Massachusetts or Maine.

Bradford, in attempting to explain the reason for so much wickedness in this new land, suggested that perhaps it was because the devil had a greater spite against the church here because its members endeavored to walk discreetly, which, he acknowledged, he would rather believe than "that Satan hath more power in these heathen lands than in more Christian nations." Notwithstanding his adherence to the prevailing belief in a personal devil, he gives us a more enlightened view in what directly follows: "As with water when the streams are dammed up, and they get passage they flow with more violence so wickedness being here stopped by strict laws . . . at last breaks out where it can get vent; errors are here more discovered and seen, for the Church look narrowly to the members and ye magistrates over all more strictly than in other places."

Educated Women

Educated women, in the sense in which the term is used today, were unknown in this country in the seventeenth century. The study of the higher branches of learning was confined entirely to the men of that early period. There had been a time previous to the first settlement when English girls had been proficient in Latin and Greek and had prided themselves upon such masculine accomplishments, but fashion had changed, and by the time of the Massachusetts colonization, Englishmen looked with much disfavor upon educated women.

Many wives and daughters of those high in office in the Bay Colony showed unmistakable signs of natural intellectual attainments, excelling in letter-writing and orthography, even if their spelling was not always what it might have been. They no doubt had access in England to the literature of that most important epoch, and we may easily imagine that they imbibed from reading what answered for a liberal education. Many of them had come from homes of culture and refinement; but of course the greater part of the emigration was from the English middle class, whose life at home had been dreary and monotonous.

Of the second generation of women in the new colonies there were few who had anything but a very rudimentary knowledge of reading or writing. It is true that schools had been established, "that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers." It was not necessary that girls should know how to read and write, but it was of vital importance that they should take on the multitudinous household cares incident to a pioneer settlement. It is interesting to note that of the women who left wills in Essex County during the period which we are considering, less than one-third affixed their signatures, and they were for the most part of the older generation of immigrants.

For all the restrictions in education for the women of the seventeenth century, there were many women of affairs who figured conspicuously in the up-building of the colonies, possessing minds of superior strength and a grasp of business and political situations worthy of note. Mary Coffin Starbuck of Nantucket, called "the great woman," was consulted by the

people of that island on public questions, both civil and ecclesiastical; and there were also Elizabeth Poole, the chief promoter of the settlement at Taunton, (referred to as "an ancient maid," in 1639), through whose energy and activity the town proposed, and Lady Deborah Moody, already mentioned as the adviser of men of state. Margaret Winthrop, wife of the Governor, and Ann, wife of Emmanuel Downing, were women of especial intelligence, as were many of the wives of other magistrates, and although having "little Latin and less Greek" passed as cultured women.

Women Workers

It is difficult to give an adequate conception of the variety of work in which women were engaged during this period. There were, of course, no gainful occupations save domestic service for some time after the early settlement, and it is certain that the rugged life of a pioneer country bore heavily upon womankind. There is no doubt that they were often called upon to perform duties with which they had been unacquainted in old England. In 1623, Bradford wrote that women went willingly into the field, taking their little ones with them to set the corn, "which before would alledg weaknes and inabilitie; whom to have compelled would have been thought great tiranie and oppression." As time went on much of the cultivation was done by women.

The daughters of the first settlers were not employed in domestic service to any extent; each family needed its own workers. Shiploads of women, however, arrived in Boston from across the water, who were eagerly sought for servants; and there were sometimes friendly Indians available, but their services were of little use in an English household. Rev. Hugh Peter, writing to a Boston friend, gives us an insight into the domestic problems of that day: "We have heard of a dividence of women & children in the baye & would bee glad of a share viz: a young woman or girle & a boye if you think good," and two years later, before his return to England, informed his friend again that "we are now so destitute (hauing now but an Indian) that we know not what to do." Wages were infinitesimal. One Mary West of Salem, in 1643, whose "character" was given by a former mistress as "a very dili-

gent woman" demanded twenty shillings per year. Servants were well protected by the courts, there being many presentments for hard usage and extreme correction of maid servants. On the other hand, servants were frequently whipped for running away, for insolence to their mistresses and other misdemeanors. One Beverly maid in 1674 scandalized the community by "riding about the field astride upon her masters mare," and another, upon being reprimanded for beating her master's daughter would "mock him to his face."

The women's industry in the colonies was, of course, spinning and weaving linen and woolen cloth. The most extraordinary assumption of authority over the private affairs of families was made by the General Court in 1641. Scarcity of materials obliged the government to take up the matter of production and a law was finally passed that the heads of families employ their children and servants in manufacturing wild hemp into coarse linen cloth. Children were at once put to work sowing seeds and weeding flax fields, all work on flax after breaking being done by women and girls.

Three years later towns were ordered to increase the number of sheep to relieve the scarcity of woolen cloth. Rowley, in the Bay Colony, soon exceeded all others in the woolen industry, a fulling mill having been set up there very early. The carding, spinning, weaving, bleaching and dyeing of cloth was done by the women folk, and little girls could spin on the great wheel when they were so small that they had to stand on a footstool to reach. Later it was deemed necessary to dictate the number of weeks that the women should devote to this occupation based upon the number in the family. Women were subsequently relieved of the weaving by journeymen, who went from house to house, plying their trade,— for every susbtantial family owned its own loom.

Women were constantly called upon, in the absence of physicians, to officiate as midwives, and each town had at least one who acted in a professional capacity, receiving fees for this necessary work, and being under the guidance of the General Court. The selling of bread, cakes and gingerbread at home was one means of ekeing out a livelihood. Women, especially widows, were early appointed to keep ordinaries and sell liquor, it being considered an honorable calling and one

well regulated by law. Selling strongwater to Indians was especially prohibited, and one goodwife who expressed the opinion that she had as good right to let them have drinks as others found that the court thought otherwise, and was ordered to pay a fine. Lace-making was another industry dating from earliest years, and the working of samplers, which had been much in vogue in England, continued to be taught in school and family.

Literary Women

Literary women were not to be expected in a country where individuality was so obviously repressed. Anne Bradstreet, wife of Governor Simon Bradstreet and daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, was, however, an outstanding figure of the seventeenth century,—the *Tenth Muse Lately Sprung up in America.* She was not only the first woman poet in the colonies, but the first poet to have her work published. Born in England in 1612, of a non-conformist family of influence, she early imbibed a spirit of piety from the religious atmosphere of her home at Northampton, where her father was in the service of the Earl of Lincoln. Her childhood in old England was passed during a period noted for its production of literary works, whose brilliancy the years have not dimmed. Spencer, Sir Philip Sydney, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Ben Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Bacon and Montaigne,— a wealth of the world's best literature was at hand, to be revelled in by the youthful Anne Dudley as she found occasion to visit the castle. It is quite inconceivable that, Puritan as she was, she did not find an opportunity to read these great authors, however disapprovingly some of them were regarded by Puritan families.

Married at the age of sixteen, she was only twenty when she embarked for the new settlement with her husband and father, and she shared with them the hardships of those years. She early showed a genius for poetry; and in 1647, her manuscript poems, all of which had been written before her thirtieth year, were taken to England by her brother-in-law, the Rev. John Woodbridge, who had them published without her knowledge. The Bradstreets were then living at Andover, and the verses were said to have been written for the edification of

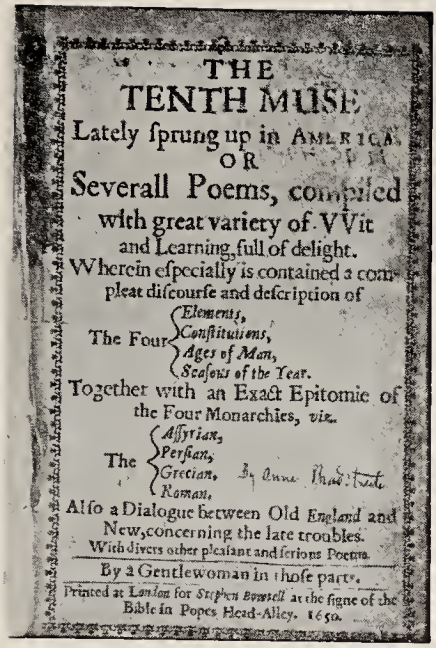
her friends and neighbors. The devoted mother of eight children, and the wife of a magistrate intensely interested in and proud of her accomplishments, she found time amid her household duties to chronicle in verse the varying incidents of her life.

Condemnation of women authors was to be expected, and to forestall criticism, the preface explained that the poems were "the fruits but of some few hours, curtailed from her sleep and other refreshments." Her brother-in-law and others of the clergy gave her encouragement in her work and high praise for her literary ability. The former characterized it as "the work of a woman, honored and esteemed where she lives for her gracious demeanor, her eminent parts, her pious conversations, her exact diligence in her place, and discreet managing of her family occasions."

In the Prologue, Mrs. Bradstreet reflects the antagonism of the times to women writers:

> I am obnoxious to each carping tongue
> Who says my hand a needle better fits,
> A poets pen all scorn I should thus wrong,
> For such despite they cast on Female wits:
> If what I do prove well, it wont advance,
> They'l say it's stolen, or else it was by chance.
> Let Greeks be Greeks, and women what they are
> Men have precedency and still excell,
> It is but vain unjustly to wage warre;
> Men can do best, and women know it well
> Preheminence in all and each is yours;
> Yet grant some small acknowledgment of ours. . . .
> If 'ere you daigne these lowly lines your eyes
> Give Thyme or Parsley wreath, I ask no bayes.

Of her poetry it may be said that if it did not show great genius, it is remarkable considering the conditions under which it was written. Her poems are quaint and curious and contain many beautiful and original ideas not badly expressed; and they constitute a singular and valuable relic of the earliest literature of the country. No congenial minds were near and no circle of wits to sharpen her faculties, but in her youth she



THE
TENTH MUSE
Lately ſprung up in AMERICA.
OR
Severall Poems, compiled
with great variety of VVit
and Learning, full of delight.
Wherein eſpecially is contained a com-
pleat diſcourſe and deſcription of
The Four { *Elements,* *Conſtitutions,* *Ages of Man,* *Seaſons of the Year.*
Together with an Exact Epitomie of
the Four Monarchies, *viz.*
The { *Aſſyrian,* *Perſian,* *Grecian,* *Roman,* By Anne Bradstreet
Alſo a Dialogue between Old *England* and
New, concerning the late troubles.
With divers other pleaſant and ſerious Poems.
By a Gentlewoman in thoſe parts.
Printed at *London* for *Stephen Bowtell* at the ſigne of the
Bible in Popes Head-Alley. 1650.

From the original in the Boston Public Library

ANNE BRADSTREET'S POEMS

From frontispiece to *The Works of Anne Bradstreet,* edited by John Harvard Ellis

ANNE BRADSTREET'S HOME

had stored up much knowledge which found expression amid all the hardships of a pioneer life,— perhaps because of it.

The *Divine Weekes* of the French poet Du Bartas, as translated by Joshua Sylvester, which at that time was exceedingly popular, was her favorite work. It was to this same author that Milton was said to have been to some extent indebted. Many of Mrs. Bradstreet's poems show that she also was influenced in style and context to a considerable degree by Du Bartas. Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, author of *The Simple Cobbler of Agawam,* her former pastor, referred to this in the following lines:

> Mercury shew'd Apollo, Bartas Book,
> Minerva this, and wisht him well to look. . . .
> They both 'gan laugh, and said it was no mar'l
> The Auth'ress was a right Du Bartas Girle.
> Good sooth quoth the old Don, tell ye me so,
> I muse whither at length these Girls will go;
> It half revives my chil frost-bitten blood,
> To see a Woman once, do ought that's good;
> And chose by Chaucers Boots, and Homers Furrs,
> Let Men look to't, least Women wear the Spurrs.

In "Meditations," which are considered by some the best example of her ability, she showed thoughtfulness and a wide cultivation of mind. We have her own word that they were original, although she confesses "There is no new thing under ye sun, there is nothing that can be sayd or done, but either that or something like it hath been done and sayd before." Among her seventy-seven "Apothegms" there is one in which she sounds a prophetic note, "God hath by his prouidence so ordered that no one Country hath all Commoditys within itself, but what it wants, another shall supply, that so there may be a mutual Commerce through the world."

"Contemplation", in the second edition, which has been designated as one of her best poems, was written in connection with her walks through the woods which skirted the mighty Merrimac and from which she received much inspiration.

Anne Bradstreet lived to her sixtieth year, and lies buried in an unknown grave. No stone marks her last resting place, but the wisest men and women among her contemporaries felt that her fame was secure. We have this thought expressed by Cotton Mather, when, upon her death, he wrote: "America justly admires the Learned Woman of the other Hemisphere . . . But she now prays . . . that there may be a room given unto Madam Ann Bradstreet, . . . whose Poems, divers times Printed, have afforded a grateful Entertainment unto the Ingenious, and a Monument for her Memory beyond the Statliest Marbles."

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies following Chapters vii (Winthrop); x (Social Life); xiii (Literature); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

BRADFORD, William.—*History of Plymouth Plantation* (2 Vols., Boston, Wright & Potter 1898).—Massachusetts Historical Society, 1912. See Vol. II, 308–310, for his explanation of wickedness in the colony.

BRADSTREET, Anne.—*The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America* (1650).

BRADSTREET, Anne.—*Several Poems* (1678).

EARLE, Alice Morse.—*Child-Life in Colonial Days* (New York, Macmillan, 1899).—The fruit of personal and original investigation into colonial social conditions.

EARLE, Alice Morse.—*Customs and Fashions in Old New England* (New York, Scribner, 1894).

EARLE, Alice Morse.—*Home Life in Colonial Days* (New York, Macmillan, 1898).—A careful study of domestic life in the earliest days.

EARLE, Alice Morse.—*Two Centuries of Costume in America* (New York, Macmillan, 1903).—A book of old-time fashions written in a delightful manner.

ELLIS, John Harvard.—*Works of Anne Bradstreet* (Charlestown, A. E. Cutter, 1867).—A study of the first American poet, with a reproduction of the first edition of her poems.

FELT, Joseph B.—*Ecclesiastical History of New England* (Boston, Library Association).—The authoritative account of early church proceedings by a diligent eighteenth century historian prepossessed in favor of extreme Puritanism.

GOODHUE, Sarah.—*Valedictory and Monitory Writings of Sarah Goodhue of Ipswich 1681* (Salem, 1770).

HAIGHT, Theron W.—*Sylvester's DuBartas* (Waukesha, Wis., H. M. Youmans, 1908).—A reprint of *The Divine Weeks,* with annotations.

HUBBARD, William.—*A General History of New England from the Discovery to MDCLXXX* (Cambridge, Little, Brown, 1848).—A contemporary account by one of the early ministers.

HUTCHINSON, Thomas.—*History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay from 1628 until 1750* (3 vols., Boston, Fleet (1767) Salem, 1795).—By the learned judge and governor of the eighteenth century.

JACKSON, F. Nevill.—*Toys of Other Days* (New York, Scribner, 1908).—A charming story of the playthings of many centuries told in an entertaining manner.

LECHFORD, Thomas.—"Note Book," [*1638-1641*] (*American Antiquarian Society Proceedings,* Vol. 7, pp. 73, 74).—An early account written by a careful observer, very hostile to Massachusetts.

MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES.—*Petitions,* Vol. 112, p. 175.

MATHER, Cotton.—*Magnalia Christi Americana* [*1620-1698*] (2 Vols., Hartford, Andrus, 1820).—A learned and pedantic work including much authentic history and valuable accounts of colonial worthies.

PALFREY, John Gorham.—*History of New England* (5 vols., Boston, Shepard (1872) Little Brown, 1858-1890).—Painstaking; little social history.

RECORDS AND FILES OF THE QUARTERLY COURTS OF ESSEX COUNTY (8 vols., Salem, Essex Institute, 1911–1921).—Unique abstracts of the earliest complete court records extant.

RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF NEW PLYMOUTH IN NEW ENGLAND, 1633-1689 (Boston, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1855–1861).—Ed. Shurtleff & Pulsifer.

SALEM TOWN RECORDS, 1634–1659 (Salem, Essex Institute, 1868).—Communicated by W. P. Upham.

ROWLANDSON, Mary.—*Narrative of Captivity among the Indians* (1652).

RECORDS OF THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSTTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND, 1628–1686 (Boston, 1850, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1853-1854).—Ed. by Pulsifer & Felt.

WATERS, Thomas Franklin.—*Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (2 vols., Ipswich Historical Society, 1905).—An exhaustive history of an important early colonial county seat.

WEEDEN, William B.—*Economic and Social History of New England,* 1620–1789 (2 vols., Houghton Mifflin, 1890).—A comprehensive study of two centuries of industry, presented in a readable form.

WINTHROP, John.—*History of New England,* 1630–1649 (2 vols., edited by Savage, Boston, 1825, later ed. edited by Hasmer).—A contemporary account by the first colonial governor.

CHAPTER XII

HARVARD COLLEGE
(1636–1660)

By Arthur O. Norton

Professor of the History and Principles of Education
Wellesley College

Lecturer in the Harvard Graduate School of Education

English Origins of New England Schools

The Puritan founders of New England were "well informed men who understood and felt the value of education." Their views on this subject were shaped not only by their religious convictions, but also by their experience in the schools and universities of the England of their times. The best approach to the beginnings of education in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and to the early history of Harvard College in particular, is through a study of education in England in the 16th and 17th centuries. There were three main types of schools,—the Dame School, for little "A B C-Darians"; the "English" School, for reading, writing and arithmetic; and the Grammar School, devoted chiefly to the study of Latin and Greek. The Grammar School was preparatory to the universities. The two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, offered four-year courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Three years' additional study led to the degree of Master of Arts; two years more prepared the candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. Similar lengthy terms of study led also to degrees in Law and Medicine.

Free, public, tax-supported schools, of the type now universal, did not then exist; but there were hundreds of en-

dowed schools which gave free instruction to all, or to a fixed number of "pore schollers". Schools which were maintained by tuition fees were still more numerous. In the English counties from which the New England colonists came,—Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Surrey and others—girls, as well as boys, of middle-class families were commonly taught to read the catechism and the Bible, to write a more or less legible hand, and to do simple problems in addition and subtraction. The education of the great majority ended at this point.

Boys who showed a talent for learning (and some who did not) were often sent to study Latin, Greek, and perhaps Hebrew in one of the Grammar Schools which were then to be found in every small town of the kingdom. The Grammar School offered a course of six or seven years in length. Latin was studied during this entire period, and Greek during the last three or four years. The larger schools aspired also to a little study of Hebrew. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were sometimes called "the holy languages" because they were essential to the understanding of the Bible in its original tongues.

Then as now parents of all classes were ambitious for the advancement of their sons; then as now education furnished the common highway to careers for talented youth. The Grammar School registers of the early 1600's show the presence not only of the sons of the landed gentry, the clergy and other professional men, but also of the sons of merchants, yeoman farmers, tanners, grocers, tailors, linen and woolen drapers, ironmongers, goldsmiths, dyers, weavers, druggists and butchers.

A case or two will illustrate this point. Stratford-on-Avon, in the late 1500's, was a town of about 2,000 inhabitants. It possessed a grammar school of the usual type. To this school, in the 1570's, John Shakespeare, yeoman farmer, dealer in grain and timber, and butcher, sent his young son, William Shakespeare and probably also Wiliam's three younger brothers. William afterwards mentioned sympathetically in one of his plays

"The whining school boy with his satchel
And his shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school."

Ben Johnson later remarked that William Shakespeare had "small Latin and less Greek". He learned something, however. John Aubrey reported, nearly a hundred years later, "I have been told by some of the neighbors heretofore that when he was a boy he exercised his father's trade, but when he kill'd a calf he would do it in a high style, and make a speech." Whether this be mere gossip or not, William Shakespeare was one of the great majority of grammar school scholars who had no desire for further training.

John Harvard's Parents

John Shakespeare's near neighbor, Thomas Rogers, yeoman farmer, doubtless sent his three sons to the same school at about the same time. The four Shakespeare boys and the three Rogers boys must have been well acquainted. In 1584, when William Shakespeare, now twenty years old, had gone to London to become an actor and a writer of plays, a daughter named Katherine was born into the Rogers family. Apparently she did not go to school, for many years later she signed her will with a mark. In 1605, when she was twenty-one years old, she married Robert Harvard, a butcher, whose shop was in the High Street of Southmark, London, near the southerly end of London Bridge and directly in front of St. Saviour's Church. Mr. Shelley makes the very interesting conjecture—there is no direct evidence—that William Shakespeare, whose theatre was not far from Robert Harvard's shop, brought him to Stratford to meet his future wife. Apparently Robert Harvard was unable to write his name, for (though he was a prosperous man, and a governor of St. Saviour's Grammar School,) he too signed his will with a mark. John Harvard, the second son of Robert and Katherine, did not remain illiterate, however. He was sent to a Grammar School—doubtless St. Saviour's—at some period between 1615 and 1620. In 1627 he entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where seven years later he took the degree

of Master of Arts. This is the John Harvard for whom, in 1638, Harvard College was named. The house in Stratford-on-Avon in which his mother Katherine Rogers lived when she was a girl is now owned by Harvard College. It is often called the Harvard House.

John Harvard's School Life

It will be useful in this history to follow the career of John Harvard through the Grammar School and the University, since his experience was fairly typical. No less than thirty-four men who were educated at Emmanuel College came to Massachusetts between 1630 and 1650, together with representatives of every other Cambridge college, and most of the colleges of Oxford.

The records of St. Saviour's, and the general facts now known about English grammar Schools in the early 1600's enable us to reconstruct with reasonable certainty John Harvard's experience at that institution. Before entering he must have learned to read English well, and to write a legible hand, and be competent to be entered straightway into the Latin conjugations and declensions, commonly known as "the Latin Accidence".

Mr. H. C. Shelley thus portrays John Harvard's first day at St. Saviour's: "On that occasion he would have to take with him the sum of two shillings and sixpence, the fee which every scholar was required to pay the master on entrance, and the little satchel slung over his shoulder contained that morning in addition to school-books, and pens and ink and paper, a little Bible—most probably the Geneva Bible, the popularity of which remained unaffected even by the publication of the Authorized Version. As our young scholar began his schooling in the winter, his satchel would also contain a supply of good candles, for in the long school hours of those austere times many lessons would have to be conned by candle-light, and the pupils themselves were required to furnish the source of that illumination. John Harvard, indeed, would ponder his first lesson in school by candle-light, for even in the winter months the scholars had to be at their desks by seven o'clock in the morning. At eleven o'clock lessons were

NEW ENGLANDS FIRST FRUITS:

2. In respect of the Colledge, and the proceedings of *Learning* therein.

1. AFter God had carried us safe to *New-England*, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and setled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning*, and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministery to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great Work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. *Harvard* (a godly Gentleman, and a lover of Learning, there living amongst us) to give the one halfe of his Estate (it being in all about 1700. l.) towards the erecting of a Colledge, and all his Library: after him another gave 300. l. others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest: the Colledge was, by common consent, appointed to be at *Cambridge*, (a place very pleasant and accommodate and is called (according to the name of the first founder) *Harvard Colledge*.

The Edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious Hall; (where they daily meet at Common Lectures and Exercises) and a large Library with some Bookes to it, the gifts of diverse

From the Harvard University Library

suspended for dinner, to be resumed again at one and continued until five. During the summer months, however, the grammar-school day extended to ten hours, that is, from six to eleven, and then from one to six." The "long vacation" in those days was but a week's holiday in September. "Not an unfitting early discipline, this, for one who had the hard conditions of New England life before him."

Recent research enables us to reconstruct with fair accuracy the work of the small boy during these long days. Latin Grammar,—conjugations, declensions and innumerable rules,—memorized without understanding, and driven home by the rod for which he had paid, constituted the beginning. A long series of more or less well graded text-books in Latin accompanied the study of the grammar. A similar statement applies to the study of Greek during the last three or four years of the course. Translations from Latin and Greek into English and back again, the writing of prose compositions of numerous kinds in Latin and Greek, declamations, dialogues and plays in Latin and less frequently in Greek, were the order of the day. In schools under the Puritan influence, at this period, Christian authors, at least those not conspicuously pagan and immoral, were selected for reading.

Influence of the Bible

"Even more potent in moulding the character of the youthful John Harvard was the influence of the Bible. Try as we may, we cannot fully realize what that sacred volume was to Englishmen of the seventeenth century. . . . Listen to some voices of that actual time: 'Englishmen are so eager for the gospel as to affirm that they would buy a New Testament even if they had to give a hundred thousand pieces of money for it.' Again: 'It is wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's Word was read. Everybody that could bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, and divers elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the holy Scripture read.'

"Those who retain a vivid memory of the profound interest

which was awakened by the publication of the Revised Version of the New Testament possess slight clue to the intense excitement which swept over England when the Bible at last became an open book for all. Yet even such will fail to take full account of all the circumstances of that unique event. To the seeing eye, the pages of this book were blackened with the smoke, and charred with the flames, and stained with the blood of martyrdoms. It came, too, in an age of profound spiritual tension. The old faith had crumbled to dust, and the eyes of earnest men were straining into the darkness to find a new temple for the soul. Nor should it be forgotten that the advent of the Bible took place at an era when lofty verse and stirring tragedy had created a new hunger in the hearts of men. To all those needs this one book gave a perfect answer. As it was read aloud in the churches, or in the family circle when the day's work was done, what enviable sensations took possession of those who heard for the first time the legend of the world's creation from the void and darkness of the face of the great deep; who followed with the zest of utter novelty the journeyings of the chosen race towards the promised land; who saw with new vision the labours and triumphs of the kings of Israel; whose ears drank in the stately cadence of Hebrew song and psalms; whose souls thrilled under the stern denunciations of prophets' voices or were enthralled with the untoward beauty of the parables of Christ. Coming as the Bible did to a people practically without books, and yearning for the accents of the voice of God, it is little wonder that the speech of those people became compact of its very words and phrases, or that to them this volume became not only a lamp to their feet in the narrow path that led to heaven, but also a beacon to their wanderings in the world that now is."

Cambridge: Colleges and University

From the grammar school we may follow John Harvard to the University of Cambridge. A glance at the organization of this institution at the time of his entrance will throw much light on the early history of Harvard College.

In 1627 the University of Cambridge included sixteen col-

leges, of which the earliest had been founded in 1284, the last in 1596. Named in the order of their foundation they were Peterhouse, Clare, Pembroke, Gonville and Cains, Trinity Hall, Corpus Christi, King's, Queen's, St. Catherine's, Jesus, Christ's, St. John's, Magadlene, Trinity, Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex. Each college was organized as an independent unit, with its own buildings, endowments, statutes, officers and students. Each had been founded by gifts from individuals or societies. Each was more or less endowed with money, or with lands and tenements. The income from the endowment provided for the upkeep of the college buildings, for the support of a certain number of officers (usually called Fellows) and for scholarships for a fixed number of students who were distinguished as "scholars" or "foundationers". Scholarships or "exhibitions" were sometimes established also by later benefactors of the college, just as in American colleges of to-day. Entrance fees, tuition fees, graduation and other fees, and charges for room, board and "buttery", furnished the additional income required.

The colleges were, (and are) more or less scattered about the town. They differed greatly in wealth, in size of buildings and in number of officers and students. The buildings of each were usually arranged, or planned, in one or more quadrangles, with suitable grounds. These buildings included dormitory rooms and studies for officers and students, a chapel, a library, a dining hall (or "commons") with the necessary kitchens and servant's quarters, and a "buttery". This last had little to do with butter. It was a room in which were kept butts or casks of beer, together with bread, fruit, and other refreshments for students. Beer in those days took the place of tea and coffee,—which were then scarcely even known in England,—and the student's breakfast was often a "sizing" (half pint) of beer and a "sizing" (quarter loaf) of bread. The buttery was open at fixed hours, two or three times a day. The sizings were often given out by a student waiter, known as a "sizar".

The first building of Harvard College (completed in 1643) was not in quadrangular form, nor did it contain a separate chapel; but dormitory rooms, studies, library, dining hall (which served also as chapel and lecture hall), kitchen, and

buttery were duly reproduced, and the sizar was duly provided.

The statutes of all Cambridge colleges were very detailed. They regulated the general administration of the college; they prescribed the duties of the various officers, and they specified in detail the dress, conduct and daily schedule of the students. The first Harvard statutes (1642) concerned the students chiefly. Very naturally, they were much like the rules for students in the Cambridge colleges.

The officers of a Cambridge college included a Master (President or Provost) and a number of Fellows varying in the different colleges from six to sixty. The Fellows held office for periods varying from six years to life. The Fellows served as tutors to the students of their college, as college lecturers, and often as college officers such as the dean. The larger colleges maintained a considerable staff of other officials,—a bursar, an organist, choristers, a steward, an auditor, an attorney, and a long array of servants.

The students included several social groups. "Fellow-commoners" paid twice as much for board as ordinary students, and were privileged to dine with the Fellows. "Greater and lesser pensioners" paid successively smaller amounts than the fellow-commoners. "Scholars" and "exhibitioners" received a part of their support from the endowment. "Sizars", like many a modern college student, earned a part of their expenses by services to the college. The number of students varied from less than a hundred in the smaller colleges to the four hundred or more in Trinity College. The total number of students in the University was about 3,000.

The University, as distinguished from the Colleges, was a corporation composed of men who had taken the degree of Master of Arts or higher degrees and especially of those who were then resident at the University. This corporation prescribed the requirements for the various degrees and supervised the examinations, orations and disputations (debates) which students from various colleges must pass before receiving their degree. The University also owned a great library, and certain lecture halls which were used by students of all the colleges for the "public" (or university) lectures, declamations and disputations. These halls were known as the

"public schools". Together with the university library they formed a quadrangle more or less conveniently accessible from the sixteen colleges.

John Harvard Enters Emmanuel College (1627)

John Harvard matriculated at Emmanuel College on April 17th, 1627. He was then twenty years old. Boys usually entered at 14 or 16; the reason for John Harvard's late entry is not known. Emmanuel, a relatively small college founded by Sir Walter Mildmay in 1583–84, was under strong Puritan influences. Its purpose, emphatically stated in the statutes, was to prepare active preachers for the church ". . . to instruct the people and undertake the office of pastors, which is a thing necessary above all others." The first Master of the college, Laurence Chaderton, emphasized this purpose before his election by denouncing bitterly "the whole swarms of idle, ignorant, and ungodly Curates and Readers, who neither can nor will goe before the deare flocke of Christ in soundnes of doctrine and integritie of life." These "dumme dogges", he charged, often held two, three, four or more places, and rendered little or no service therein.

The course of life in Emmanuel College was sufficiently austere. It was overcrowded; two, three or even four students shared a single room. The students had but two regular meals a day; dinner at eleven o'clock and supper at six. Dinner and supper were much alike: roast or boiled meat, and an occasional pudding. Between eight and eight-thirty in the morning, and seven and eight in the evening the student could get at the buttery a half-pint of beer and a half-penny loaf of bread with butter or cheese.

Seventeen hours constituted a day's work. "At St. Saviour's grammar-school, John Harvard had been accustomed, as we have seen, to begin his day's lessons at six o'clock in the morning during the summer months and an hour later in the winter, but at Cambridge he was roused at five o'clock every morning by the ringing of the bell which called all the students to chapel for morning prayers. On some occasions those early devotions were prolonged by a short address from one of the fellows of the college. After a flying visit to the

buttery for sizings of beer and bread, the serious work of the day began."

Academic Exercises at Emmanuel

The student's work was divided between "college" exercises and "university" exercises. In his college the student studied his text books or perhaps more frequently read over the day's lesson with his tutor. In the latter case, the tutor explained the text, and sometimes as in the case of Greek and Hebrew lessons, translated the passage with the pupil. The tutor in those days was usually, if not always, one of the Fellows of the College,—men who usually held at least the degree of Master of Arts and who were maintained by the endowment of the college. These men, from their close daily associations with their pupils, were in a position to influence their entire under-graduate life. The lesson so read over was to be recited the next day. Various Fellows, selected as college lecturers, gave lectures to groups of students connected with the subject of study. The tutor also assigned the tasks in composition, in Latin or Greek. These were read or declaimed before the tutor, preparatory to their delivery before students of the college or the entire university. The subjects became somewhat hackneyed in the course of centuries; indeed many of them were selected from classical writers of fifteen hundred years earlier. A number of these are preserved in the writings of John Milton, who was a contemporary of John Harvard at Cambridge, though not of his college. "Whether night is more excellent than day" is one of these topics. On one occasion Milton discoursed "on the Music of the Spheres" in order, as he said, to "eschew those threadbare and hackneyed subjects" usually discussed. His other speeches included more serious topics: "Against the Scholastic Philosophy", "In the destruction of anything whatsoever there is no resolution into first matter" (a sufficiently scholastic subject, of the kind which he had condemned in the preceding oration); "There are no partial forms in an animal in addition to the total" (also scholastic); "Art (i. e., a liberal education) is more conducive to human happiness than ignorance."

Another type of exercise which occupied perhaps the chief place in the university curriculum was the disputation or debate. The student, perhaps under guidance of his tutor, prepared arguments on both sides of such questions as "The Knowledge of the Languages is Most Useful"; "Greek is the most Copious of Languages"; "The Art of the Orator is to Conceal Art"; "Universals do not Exist Outside the Mind"; "Modesty is the Chief Ornament of Youth"; "Justice is the Mother of all Virtues" and the like.

Having prepared his arguments, the youth, twice in the four years, offered to defend in public (i.e., university) debate, against all comers, one side or the other of his thesis. Twice also he had to appear as the opponent of such a defender. Attendance on the disputations of students formed a part of each week's work. The debate might be given in the college chapel as a "college" exercise, or it might be given in the "public schools", as a "public" or university exercise.

Besides the university disputation there were the university lectures, which students of all colleges were required to attend. These were lectures in Divinity, Civil Law, Physics, Greek, Hebrew and Mathematics. They also were given in the "public schools".

Lectures and exercises were almost invariably in Latin; Greek was used occasionally. Students were required, under penalty of fines, to speak nothing but Latin or Greek in their ordinary conversation. Monitors were appointed to report to the Dean all who committed the offence of speaking English, without special permission.

Dinner followed the morning exercises, after which "there were declamations and more disputations to hear; after supper came evening chapel, and at eight o'clock each student was required to attend prayers with his own particular tutor. At ten o'clock the college bell was rung and the gates were shut for the night."

On Sundays there was morning service in the college chapel, forenoon service at St. Mary's, the University Church, and the privilege of attending afternoon service in the town church, where the sermon was usually preached by someone of the University Fellows. Sunday evening gave one an opportunity of "enlarging and correcting such notes as he

had taken on these various services in his commonplace book", —which his tutor or the dean often examined.

"Commonplaces" played a large part in the work of the student in Cambridge, as later at Harvard. These included at least four different kinds of exercises: (1) Notes of important passages from the student's general reading, (2) notes of sermons which the student had heard, (3) the written or oral discussion of theological questions, such as the nature of God, the cause of sin, the nature of faith, free grace, predestination, baptism, penitence and Christian liberty; (4) exercises like sermons, written and delivered by Bachelors of Arts as a part of their preparation for the M.A. degree. Commonplace books of the first two types mentioned above often grew to large proportions. Some of those written in John Harvard's time have been preserved; Milton's has been published. "Commonplaces" of all four types formed an important part of the early work at Harvard also.

Recreation at Emmanuel

"In this programme of incessant piety and tuition," says Mr. Shelley "room could only be found for a couple of hours in which the student was free to indulge in his own inclinations, and even those two precious hours were liable to be encroached upon by some 'public exercise of learning or religion.' "

"So far as official approval went, the only recreations in which the students could indulge were quoits, football, archery, bowling, shovel-board, and chess. It has been seen that such sports as coursing, hunting, and bull- and bear-baiting were specially forbidden, and a similar prohibition was in force against 'common plays, public shows, interludes, comedies and tragedies in the English tongue, and games at loggetts and nine-pins.' Plays in Latin, however, did not come within the forbidden degree, and on special occasions such amusement was largely resorted to. For the rest, the student to whom the recognized recreations did not appeal, often followed his own bent in defiance of the authorities, and was duly punished when found out; while others sought amusement in music or some equally innocent occupation for leisure

hours. Several of John Harvard's fellow students, such as Worthington and Sancroft, were skillful players and excellent singers, and we may hope that he was sometimes invited to their rooms for a musical evening."

Degree Requirements at Emmanuel

The studies required for the B.A. degree included rhetoric, with written themes and declamations; logic, with its applications in disputations on such questions as those above noted; philosophy, Greek and geometry. The work for the degree of M.A. included the study of astronomy, perspective, more Greek and more philosophy. Each degree was conferred only after an oral examination of the student and after he had given a fixed number of public declamations, usually two, and after he had appeared in the "public schools" at least twice as defender and twice as opponent in a disputation.

The study of lessons under tutors; lectures, declamations, written themes and disputations or debates; together with religious exercises at least twice a day, were characteristic features of the Harvard program in the seventeenth century, as will duly appear.

Educated Emigrants (1630–1650)

With this sketch of English education in the early 1600's in mind, we may now inquire as to the schooling of the men and women who came to the wilderness of New England between 1630 and 1650. The total number of these, including children, was about 25,000, of whom some 21,000 settled in Massachusetts. They represented, as is well known, a better-than-average-selection of English middle-class families. Little is known of the actual schooling of most of the colonists; but various lines of evidence, including the educational situation above described, suggest two inferences as reasonable: First, it is probable that the great majority who were old enough to have gone to school before they left England, could read the catechism and the English Bible, could write more or less legibly in one of the twenty-eight styles of handwriting then in vogue, and could do simple problems in addition and sub-

traction. Second, it is reasonable to assume that among the men a considerable number, possibly 300 or 400 in all, had attended one of the Latin grammar schools above described. The English Bible and the Psalms (turned into verse for singing), were the chief books of these groups.

The known facts are more important. It has been proved that among the 25,000 colonists above mentioned there were not less than 135, and probably more, men with University training; i.e., one in every 200 of the entire population. Only about a dozen of this group had not remained at the University long enough to take a degree. Among these were men of such distinction as Governor John Winthrop, Governor Henry Vane and several members of the Court of Assistants, —e.g., John Winthrop, Jr., afterward Governor of Connecticut, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Giles Firmin, and William Pynchon, the founder of Springfield, Massachusetts. Of the 120-odd Bachelors of Arts, 55 held also the degree of Master of Arts; half a dozen had been Fellows in one or another of the Colleges of Cambridge or Oxford; and one,—Charles Chauncy, afterwards President of Harvard,—had been Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Trinity College, Cambridge. These men read, spoke and wrote Latin with fluency. They were at home with the Old Testament in the original Hebrew and the New Testament in the original Greek. Their libraries contained imposing lists of Latin works on theological questions of the day. Their sermons and other printed works show not only active thought on contemporary religious and political questions, but also comprehensive scholarship. The *Bay Psalm Book* (1640), the second work to be printed on the press which Mrs. Glover had brought to Cambridge, was translated from the original Hebrew by clergymen of the Colony. The Reverend John Norton, pastor of the church in Ipswich, wrote a work of 170 pages on church government, entirely in Latin,—an achievement which probably few scholars in the United States today would be able to duplicate. The Reverend John Eliot translated the entire Bible into the Indian language.

The presence of so large a body of university-trained men gave to the Colony "a cultural tone unique in the history of colonization." Very naturally these men sought to establish

in the New World educational opportunities such as they themselves had known in England.

Educational Beginnings in New England (1635)

Hence it was that in 1635, five years after the arrival of Governor Winthrop and his associates, the leaders of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay began to provide for the education of the children and youth of their growing commonwealth. The conditions were favorable for action in the matter. The Colony was well established in a dozen little settlements on or near the shores of Massachusetts Bay, with two flourishing outposts—Ipswich and Newbury,—thirty and forty miles to the north of Boston on the shores beyond Cape Ann. The total population of the Colony in 1634 was about 4,000, and it was destined to increase by immigration from England at the rate of about 2,000 a year for the next eight years. In modern phrase, the colony was booming. The quality of the immigrants was even more important than the quantity, as will presently appear.

A representative government, the Great and General Court, had been set up. This included the Governor and his twelve or more Assistants (commonly known as the Court of Assistants) and two representatives from each of the towns. In 1634 (and indeed during the first twenty years of the Colony) the Court of Assistants always included four or five men who had had some University training, although only one of them, Simon Bradstreet, M.A. actually held a degree. The members of the General Court, as a group, were sufficiently trained at least to act on educational policies with foresight and intelligence. Events amply proved this to be the case.

By 1634 churches and ministers had been established in ten of the towns. Five of these churches were supplied not only with pastors "to exhort the people with a word of wisdom", but also with teachers "to expound the doctrine with a word of knowledge". The education of these fifteen clergymen deserves attention. Thirteen were graduates of the University of Cambridge; two were graduates of Oxford; several held the degree of Master of Arts. Needless to say, they

supported, and indeed in some cases led, the movement for schools in the colony.

Purposes of Education

By the end of 1634 at least twenty men with more or less university training,—one in every two hundred of the entire population,—were in positions of influence in the various towns and in the government of the colony. These men had no doubt as to the fundamental importance of the school and the college in the new nation which they were building. In their view, education was essential, not only to the welfare of the individual, but also to the welfare of the state and the church. By education "the Commonwealth may be furnished with knowing and understanding men in all callings, and the Churches with an able ministry in all places." Without schools "it is easy to see how both these estates (Commonwealth and Churches) may decline and degenerate into gross ignorance."

To the individual, education furnished the way to attain the chief purpose of life, which was in the words of the Westminister Catechism, "to glorify God and enjoy him forever". "The end then of learning" said John Milton, writing in 1643, "is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection."

The records of the period show that these purposes were generally recognized by leading persons throughout the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

First Schools (1635–1650)

This being the case, various towns of the colony, the General Court, and public spirited persons acting in groups or as individuals joined in the movement to establish schools and a college. The steps which they took in this matter during the early years of the colony largely determined the future course of education in Massachusetts. Between 1635 and

1650 they founded Harvard College; they set up Latin grammar schools preparatory to the college in eight of the larger towns (Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Dorchester, Cambridge, Roxbury, Braintree, and Dedham), and they presumably established schools, or at least teachers, for reading, writing, and arithmetic in each town of the colony as soon as it attained a population of fifty or more families.

During the same period the General Court provided for the future development of these institutions by a series of laws, unusually enlightened for their time, and to-day remarkable for their far-reaching consequences. The laws of 1642 and 1647, respecting the schools, embodied for the first time in history the policy of universal, tax-supported and state-controlled education as contrasted with the English method of private endowed schools. These laws mark the beginning of the systems of free public schools which in the nineteenth century spread throughout the United States, and far beyond its borders. Other laws enacted in 1642 and 1650 gave to Harvard College its general form of government, and the charter which is still in force.

No less important than these achievements was the example set by the leaders of the colony in the practice of individual giving for educational purposes. These gifts supplemented and often exceeded the enterprise of the towns and the General Court in the establishment and support of the schools and the college. Two or three among many examples may be cited: the town of Boston in 1635 elected a school master, but apparently made no appropriation for his support. In 1636, however, a group of "the richer citizens" subscribed nearly fifty pounds for the support of a free school. The town later took over this school, and has continued it to the present day as the Boston Public Latin School. In the adjoining town of Roxbury, a group of leading citizens formed a private corporation in 1645 for the maintenance of a school. Thus was established, and continued, the Roxbury Latin School, which is to this day open free of charge to all boys residing within the ancient limits of the town. A similar situation existed in regard to Harvard College. In 1636 the General Court of Massachusetts agreed to give four hundred pounds for a school or college, but apparently not over fifty

pounds of this money was ever paid over. The bequest of nearly eight hundred pounds by John Harvard in 1638, and the gifts of many others were necessary to maintain this institution.

Thus during the fifteen epoch-making years, 1635–1650, the founders of Massachusetts established the policy of public and private support for education, set up a system of public schools and a college, and enacted laws which have shaped the development of these institutions to the present hour.

Bearing in mind the English background and the general educational situation in Massachusetts we turn to the origins and early history of Harvard College.

Beginning of Harvard College (1629–1636)

The idea of a Puritan College in the New World seems to have been in Governor Winthrop's mind, as early as 1629, the year before he sailed for Massachusetts. The plan may well have been discussed by the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in their eventful meetings of that year in London and Cambridge. In Winthrop's view, the English universities, Oxford and Cambridge, called by various writers "the fountains of learning and religion" were hopelessly corrupt. Winthrop in fact sent his own son, John Winthrop, Jr., to the university at Dublin, Ireland chiefly to escape the evil influences of the English institutions. His view was shared by many others of his time. In his famous paper, "Conclusions for the Plantation in New England" the following statement appears among the "Reasons to be considered for Justifying the undertakers of the intended plantation in New England and for encouraging such whose hearts God shall move to join with them in it:"

"The fountains of learning and religion [Oxford and Cambridge] are so corrupted (as beside the unsupportable charge of the education) most children (even the best wits and fairest hopes) are perverted, corrupted and utterly overthrown, by the multitude of evil examples and the licentious government of those Seminaries where men strain at Gnats, and swallow Camels, use all severity for maintenance of cappes,

and other accomplishments but suffer all Ruffian-like fashion and disorder in manners to pass uncontrolled."

This seems clearly to imply the idea of a university, or at least a college in which these conditions did not exist. During the next five years this idea must have been made clearer to the New England readers by the activities of Archbishop Laud against the Puritans in England, and especially against those in the universities. The time seemed at hand when no one who did not conform to the doctrines and the ceremonies of the Church of England would be admitted to the universities. This could only mean that Puritans would be deprived of the opportunity for university education, and consequently that the supply of educated men for the New England colonies would be cut off. A college in Massachusetts was the natural answer to this situation. Here morals and manners could be regulated. Puritan ideals and religious doctrines could be inculcated, and the learning of the Old World could be made available for Puritans of both New and Old England.

The urgent tasks of pioneering probably prevented further development of the project during the first four or five years of the colony; there is no direct record of further action until 1636. Circumstantial evidence points, however, to renewed discussion of the subject in Boston in 1635, and to the selection of an agent to procure a printing press, and to solicit funds in England for the projected college. This agent was the Reverend Josse Glover, a wealthy dissenting clergyman, who was much interested in education and who was in Boston in 1635. He returned to England in the spring of 1636, bought the press, secured gifts in England and Holland for a font of type, engaged a printer, and with his family sailed for Massachusetts in 1638. Unfortunately he died on the return voyage. His widow, Elizabeth Glover, brought the press to Cambridge, and it was duly set up in charge of John Daye, the printer engaged by Mr. Glover for the purpose. Whether Glover's activities were really connected with the project of a college or not, the plan seems to have been clearly formed early in 1636. In May of that year [the years then began on March 25th instead of January 1st] the citizens of Salem were considering Marblehead, then a part of Salem, as

a site for a proposed college. Five months later (October 28th, 1636) the General Court sitting in Boston "agreed to give four hundred pounds for a school or college, whereof two hundred pounds is to be paid the next year and two hundred pounds when the building is finished, and the next Court to say where and what building."

The need of such action was emphasized a few months later by two letters from England. One was to John Winthrop from his sister, Mrs. Lucy Winthrop Downing; the other to John Winthrop, Jr. from Mrs. Downing's husband, Emmanuel. Both urged the need of establishing a college in the New England. "I beleev a college would put no small life into the plantation," wrote Mrs. Downing. She hesitated to come over with her family because her son George would have no opportunity for a college training in Massachusetts. Doubtless other desirable colonists hesitated for the same reason.

Notwithstanding the Downing letters, no further action took place until November 1637. During the intervening year the colony was shaken to its foundations by the controversy over Anne Hutchinson, and the struggle between the party of John Winthrop and that of Governor Henry Vane, for the control of the government. Besides these internal difficulties, there was serious trouble with the Indians, which culminated in the Pequod War. We may conjecture that the site of the proposed college was under discussion, however. As we have seen, the citizens of Salem had considered the matter in May, 1636. In 1637, rather significantly, Newetowne was often referred to as Cambridge. At a meeting in Newetowne, November 15th, 1637, the General Court voted, "the College is ordered to be at Newetowne", thereby no doubt greatly disappointing the men of Salem. Five days later the General Court appointed a Committee composed of six members of the General Court and six leading clergymen of the Colony, "to take order for the College at Newetowne." The first group included Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor Dudley, Richard Bellingham, (the treasurer of the Colony) John Humfrey, Israel Stoughton and Roger Harlakenden.

The six leading clergymen included John Cotton, John Wil-

son, John Davenport, Thomas Weld, Thomas Shepard and Hugh Peter.

The Committee thus formed became in 1642 the Board of Overseers. This Board has continued to the present day as one of the two chief governing bodies of Harvard University. Its membership, however, no longer includes officials of state and church *ex officiis*.

Newetowne (Cambridge) in 1636

We may pause for a glance at the New Cambridge (Newetowne) of 1638. It was in painful contrast to Old Cambridge, —the English university town, with its ancient and even stately college buildings, which so many of the colonists had known. New Cambridge was but a little village, scarcely 300 yards from north to south and 400 yards from east to west, on the northerly bank of the Charles River, three miles west of Boston. Its area was divided by four short streets parallel to the river, crossed from north to south by four others. Its boundaries are now marked on the east by Holyoke Street; on the west by the nearly semicircular way through Harvard Square, Brattle Square and Eliot Street; on the north by Massachusetts Avenue eastward from Harvard Square; and on the south by the (then) marshy banks and muddy tidal flats of the Charles River. Within this area were forty or fifty unpainted wooden houses with shingled roofs. A little church, of hand-hewn logs, stood near the center of the village. Extending eastward from Harvard Square in what is now Massachusetts Avenue was a row of houses which formed the northerly limit of the town. First was the house of Thomas Coffe; second that of William Peyntree who had recently moved to Hartford, Conn.; third was the parsonage, occupied at that time by the Rev. Thomas Shepard,—of Emmanuel College, Cambridge,—pastor of the church, and member of the committee on the new college. These houses fronted south. Each was provided with a lot which extended back of the houses, some 500 feet into the present College Yard. Other lots occupied the remaining area of the Yard; to the north of these was the Charlestown Path (now Kirkland Street), extending eastward three miles to Charlestown.

From Charlestown one took the ferry for the few hundred yards across the mouth of the Charles River to Boston. By this way Governor Winthrop and his escort came in state from Boston to the first commencement of Harvard College in 1642.

No direct record remains of the early proceedings of the committee on the college, but during the six months following its appointment it appears to have done three things: (1) it bought the house and lot of William Peyntree as a site for the institution; (2) it appointed the Rev. Nathaniel Eaton, M.A., (who had recently come to the colony with his family) as President of the projected college; and (3) it secured from the town the gift of 2 2/3 acres of land adjoining the Peyntree lot on the north, in what is now the northwesterly corner of the College Yard.

The town also assigned to "the professor" 2½ acres of land north of the Charlestown Path opposite the lot given to the college. On the date of these gifts, May 2, 1638, the General Court changed the name of Newetowne to Cambridge, in recognition of the Alma Mater of many of the colonists, and "for the sake of somewhat now founding here, which might hereafter grow into an University."

The Peyntree house, the first building used by the college, stood within the present lines of Massachusetts Avenue, about a hundred yards east of Harvard Square. Its site is now marked by corners of red brick set in the street pavement. It is conjectured that in the summer of 1638 Nathaniel Eaton, the newly chosen President of the college, remodelled this two-story wooden structure to provide rooms for students as well as for his family, and that the college was opened there in the same year, perhaps in September. The number of students can hardly have exceeded a dozen, and may have been not more than nine.

John Harvard in Massachusetts (1637–1638)

Meanwhile (in July 1637) John Harvard, whose education in England we have followed in the preceeding pages, had arrived in Charlestown with the young wife whom he had married on April 19, 1636. She was Anne Sadler, sister of

From a reproduction of the original which is in the Massachusetts Historical Society

EARLIEST VIEW OF HARVARD COLLEGE, 1726, BY WILLIAM BURGIS

one of his college chums, and daughter of the vicar of Ringmer in Sussex, England. John Harvard was a wealthy man, as wealth went in the colony; he possessed a fortune of £1600. He also had a very unusual library of about 250 titles, numbering about 400 volumes. The collection of this library had involved no small risk on his part. It contained many Puritan religious works which Archbishop Laud, relentless enemy of the Puritans, had strictly banned in England. Among the books thus forbidden were the works of the Rev. William Ames, M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge. Ames (1576–1633), who was perhaps the most distinguished Puritan theologian of his day, had been driven out of England because of his opposition to the ceremonies of the Anglican Church. He spent the latter part of his life in Holland, chiefly as a professor in the now extinct University of Franeker. His writings in theology and ethics were widely studied in the Protestant universities. Laud considered him so objectionable that the sale of even his commentaries on the Psalms was forbidden, under penalty of £100. John Harvard's library contained at least six of Ames's works. Archbishop Laud objected hardly less strenuously to the views of John Calvin. John Harvard's library contained no less than eleven of Calvin's works.

How did he get these books? Probably they were smuggled in from Holland, and passed by divers porters and book dealers into his hands. Doubtless a sufficiently dramatic story would unfold if the facts were known.

The library as a whole included three general divisions. Rather more than one-third of it was devoted to theology; more than one-third consisted in commentaries on the Bible, chiefly in Latin. The remainder of the 250 titles included apparently John Harvard's school and university text-books, —grammars and dictionaries in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; phrase books in Latin, some classical Latin and Greek authors, and a few works on natural science, logic, philosophy, law and medicine,—also chiefly in Latin. Among the works in English was Francis Bacon's *Essay on the Advancement of Learning,* published originally in 1605; owned by John Harvard in the edition of 1633. "To advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry

to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust" was one chief concern of the first colonists of New England.

John Harvard was admitted a townsman of Charlestown in August 1637, shortly after his arrival. He bought or built a house, and acquired several pieces of land in the town. On the 2nd of November in that year he rode the three miles westward along the Charlestown Path to the little church in Newetowne, where the General Court was in session; there he took the oath and was admitted as a freeman of the colony. As he entered the village he passed, all unknowing, the site on which the future Harvard College was to rise. At this very session of the Court, two weeks later, the college, still unnamed, was "ordered to be at Newetowne."

The remaining facts of John Harvard's life in the colony are quickly told. He and his wife were admitted as members of the church in Charlestown on November 6th. Within a few months he became pastor of the church, and in April 1638 he was elected by his fellow-townsmen as one of a committee of six to "consider of some things tending toward a body of laws" for the colony. Up to this time the Governor and his assistants had ruled affairs in accordance with the Bible, but without fixed general laws. The demand of the colonists for a code was now becoming insistent.

What the Charlestown committee did does not appear. No records of any kind give us another glimpse of Harvard until his death by pulmonary tuberculosis on September 14, 1638. At about this time the new college, under Eaton's presidency, was opening for its first session. The young clergyman's thoughts turned the future of this institution as his end approached. Perhaps, recalling the colleges of Old Cambridge and the long line of benefactors who through four centuries had given buildings and endowments thereto, he looked forward with prophetic vision to a similar development in the New Cambridge on the banks of the Charles River. His faith in the future was shown by the one great act of his life. To the new college he left one half of his fortune of £1600, and his entire library. Six months later Secretary Increase Nowell made the following entry, still legible, in the records of the General Court: "It is ordered, that the

Colledge agreed upon formerly to bee built at Cambridg shalbee called Harvard College."

The First Harvard Hall

The money received from the Harvard legacy was used in part to erect a college building on the Peyntree lot, near the southerly end of the present College Yard. Work was begun in the summer of 1639, but nearly four years passed before it was completed. The construction was at first supervised by President Eaton. His account of expenses for the first summer is still extant. It includes items for digging the cellar, for "leading" (transporting) clay and stone for the underpinning; for felling, squaring and "leading" timber for the frame; for cedar boards, iron casements, bricks and lime; for "fencing the yard with a pale fence 6 foot and ½ high," and for setting out thirty apple trees,—all at a total cost of £301.

The building was scarcely well under way when (in September, 1639) Eaton was dismissed from office for brutally beating Nathaniel Briscoe, a young man whom he had recently engaged as an usher (assistant) for the college. Management of the college funds and the building operations was then delegated by the Overseers (the committee of twelve, described above) to Samuel Shepard of Cambridge and the Rev. Hugh Peter of Salem. How the teaching was carried on during the year 1639–40 is unknown.

Dunster and Chauncy (1640–1672)

Early in August 1640 the Rev. Henry Dunster (1609–1659) arrived in the colony. He had matriculated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1627,—the year in which John Harvard entered Emmanuel College. The two took their degrees in the same years (B.A., 1631; M.A., 1634). Dunster was invited to take the presidency of Harvard College within a few days after his arrival in Massachusetts; he was elected to the position on August 27, and he served with great distinction therein for fourteen years. In 1641 he married Mrs. Elizabeth Glover, widow of the Rev. Josse Glover, who, it will be recalled, had brought the printing press to Cambridge

after her husband's death in 1838. Mrs. Glover-Dunster died in 1643. There were no children by this marriage. A year later President Dunster married for his second wife Elizabeth Bass by whom he had three sons and two daughters.

Dunster was thirty-one years old when he began his service as president of Harvard College. He was a man of the highest character and ability,—a preacher "very powerful . . . to move the affections"; a scholar distinguished for his knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, as well as Latin; a keen thinker; a courageous follower of the truth as he saw it; yet possessed of "a gentle heart, and a noble vein of Christian charity" for those who finally (in 1654) drove him from his place because of his views on the baptism of infants.

As President of the college he proved that he was not only a scholar, but also a many-sided man of affairs. He rendered to the institution a long "series of official services, well directed, unwearied, and altogether inestimable."

The story of Dunster's dismissal from his position in 1654 cannot be here rehearsed. It is a tragedy of the first order, in which Dunster's character shows at its highest. He was succeeded in 1654 by the Rev. Charles Chauncy, B.D. of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had been some years in the colony. He served until his death in 1672. Like Dunster, Chauncy was a scholar of great distinction. He had been Professor of Hebrew and acting Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge; he had been driven from his pulpit by Archbishop Laud. "Few suffered for non-conformity more than he, by fines, by gaols, by necessities to abscond, and at last by an exile from his native country." President Josiah Quincy, writing in 1840, thus compares Dunster and Chauncy:

"Both of them were able, faithful, and earnest. Both pious, even to the excess of the standard of that quality, which characterized the times. Both were learned beyond the measure of their contemporaries; and probably, in this respect, were surpassed by no one, who has since succeeded to their chair. After years of duty unexceptionably fulfilled, both experienced the common fate of the literary men of this country at that day;—thankless labor, unrequited service, arrearages unpaid, posthumous applause, a doggrel dirge, and

a Latin epitaph." The limitations of space forbid a detailed acount of their services.

In 1643 a small pamphlet appeared in London under the heading *New England's First Fruits: In Respect of the College and the Proceedings of Learning Therein.* This is the earliest printed account of Harvard College; it was originally a letter "sent over by the Governor and divers of the Ministers," and apparently written shortly after the first Commencement in September, 1642. The reader who has followed attentively the description of education in England, and especially at Cambridge, at the outset of this chapter will have no difficulty in understanding the phrases of this pamphlet, and in perceiving that the beginnings of education "in the English manner" had been made in the New World. Nevertheless, Harvard was not a mere copy of an English original. Puritan ideals colored instruction, government, and discipline, through and through. Puritan doctrines shaped the curriculum. The ideal of a reformed college, implied in John Winthrop's "Conclusions for New England" in 1629, was here achieved. At this point the writer of 1927 stands aside for the chronicler of 1642:

New England's First Fruits (1642)

After God had carried us safe to New England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and setled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance Learning, and perpetuate it to Posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate Ministery to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great Work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard (a godly Gentleman and a lover of Learning, there living amongst us) to give the one halfe of his Estate (it being in all about 1700.l.) towards the erecting of a Colledge, and all his Library: after him another gave 300, l. others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest: the Colledge was, by common consent, appointed to be at Cambridge, (a place very pleasant and accommodated

and is called (according to the name of the first founder) Harvard Colledge.

The Edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious Hall; (where they daily meet at Commons, Lectures, Exercises) and a large Library with some Bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their Chambers and studies also fitted for, and prossessed by the Students, and all other roomes of Office necessary and convenient, with all needfull Offices thereto belonging: And by the side of the Colledge a faire Grammar Schoole, for the training up of young Schollars, and fitting of them for Academicall Learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this Schoole. Master Corlet is the Mr., who hath very well approved himselfe for his abilities, dexterity and painfulnesse in teaching and education of the youth under him.

Over the Colledge is master Dunfter placed, as President, a learned concionable and industrious man, who has so trained up his Pupills in the tongues and Arts, and so seasoned them with the principles of Divinity and Christianity that we have to our great comfort, (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progresse in Learning and godlinesse also; the former of these hath appeared in their publique declamations in Latine and Greeke, and Disputations Logicall and Philosophicall, which they have beene wonted (besides their ordinary Exercises in the Colledge-Hall) in the audience of the Magistrates, Ministers, and other Schollars, for the probation of their growth in Learning, upon set dayes, constantly once every moneth to make and uphold: The latter hath been manifested in sundry of them by the savoury breathings of their Spirits in their godly conversation. Insomuch that we are confident, if these early blossomes may be cherished and warmed with the influence of the friends of Learning, and lovers of this pious worke, they will by the help of God, come to happy maturity in a short time.

Over the Colledge are twelve Overseers chosen by the generall Court, six of them are of the Magistrates, the other six of the Ministers, who are to promote the best good of it, and (having a power of influence into all persons in it) are to see that every one be diligent and proficient in his proper place.

Rules and Precepts that are observed in the College.

1. When any Schollar is able to understand Tully, or such like classicall Latine Author extempore, and make and speake true Latine in Verse and Prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte;* And decline perfectly the Paradigim's of Nounes and Verbes in the Greek tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge.

2. Let every Student be plainly instructed, and earnestly pressed to consider well, the maine end of his life and studies is, to know God and Iesus Christ which is eternall life, Job. 17.3. and therefore to lay Christ in the bottome, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and Learning.

And seeing the Lord only giveth wisedome, Let every one seriously set himself by prayer in secret to seeke it of him Prov 2, 3.

3. Every one shall so exercise himself in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in Theoretticall observations of the Language, and Logick, and in Practicall and Spirituall truths, as his Tutor shall require, according to his ability; seeing the entrance of the word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple, Psalm. 119. 130.

4. That they eschewing all profanation of Gods Name, Attributes, Word, Ordinances, and times of Worship, doe studie with good conscience, carefully to retaine God, and the love of his truth in their mindes else let them know, that (notwithstanding their Learning) God may give them up to strong delusions, and in the end to a reprobate minde, 2 Thes. 2. 11, 12. Rom. I. 28.

5. That they studiously redeeme the time; observe the generall houres appointed for all the Students, and the speciall houres for their owne Classis: and then dilligently attend the Lectures without any disturbance by word or gesture. And if in any thing they doubt, they shall enquire as of their fellowes, so, (in case of Non satisfaction) modestly of their Tutors.

6. None shall under any pretence whatsoever, frequent the company and society of such men as lead an unfit, and dissolute life.

Nor shall any without his Tutors leave, or (in his absence) the call of Parents or Guardians, goe abroad to other Townes.

7. Every Schollar shall be present in his Tutors chamber at the 7th. houre in the morning, immediately after the sound of the Bell, at his opening the Scripture and prayer, so also at the 5th. houre at night, and then give account of his owne private reading, as aforesaid in Particular the third, and constantly attend Lectures in the Hall at the houres appointed. But if any (without necessary impediment) shall absent himself from prayer or Lectures, he shall bee lyable to Admonition, if he offend above once a weeke.

8. If any Schollar shall be found to transgresse any of the Lawes of God, or the Schoole, after twice Admonition, he shall be lyable, if not adultus, to correction [whipping], if adultus, his name shall be given up to the Overseers of the Colledge, that he may bee admonished at the publick monethly Act.

The times and order of their Studies, unless experience shall show cause to alter.

The second and third day of the weeke, read Lectures, as followeth.

To the first yeare at 8th. of the clock in the morning Logick, the first three quarters, Physicks the last quarter.

To the second yeare at the 9th. houre, Ethicks and Politicks, at convenient distances of time.

To the third yeare at the 10th. Arithmetick and Geometry, the three first quarters, Asstronomy the last.

Afternoone

The first yeare disputes at the second houre.

The 2d. yeare at the 3d. houre.

The 3d. yeare at the 4th. every one in his Art. [arithmetic, etc.].

The 4th. day reads Greeke

To the first yeare the Etymologie and Syntax at the eighth houre.

To the 2d. at the 9th. houre, Prosodia and Dialects.

Afternoone

The first yeare at 2d. houre practice the precepts of Grammar in such Authors as have variety of words.

At the meeting of the Governours of Harvard Colledge, held in the Colledge-Hall this 27 of 10th — 1643.

It is ordered that,

1. The Accounts of Mr Harvards Gift are to be finished, & Mr Pelhat, Mr Nowell, Mr Hibbins, Mr Symms, Mr Wilson are desired to finish it, & an acquittance may be given Mr Allin. And it agreed upon if they find things cleared in the fulfilling the will of the dead they are to desire the Governour of the Colledge his hand to it as a full determination & acquittance.

2. Mr Pelhat is elected Treasurer of the Colledge by the joynt vote of the Governours of the Colledge.

3. It is ordered that there shall be a Colledge seale in forme following

A copy of Mr Adams & Mr Woolsons letter to Mr Eaton

+ Mr Eaton,

After our loue remembred to you whereas we understood by your former letter that the money wch was accounted for heretofore for publique vse was not all wel disbursed, we request for our parts, desire that it is your honourings, may be bestowed wholly about the building of the new Colledge at Cambridge, in N. England, wch we understand is now reviving. So we rest your loueing friends

Thomas Adams
Whitston for Woolson.

26 March 1640.

This money was wholy put into the hands of my brother Nath: Eaton
Aug. 9. 1647. D. Theoph: Eaton

[illegible] mentioned in a letter of the Late Mr Woolsons

From *College Book No.* 1 in the Harvard University Library

RECORD OF THE CHOOSING OF THE HARVARD SEAL

The 2d. yeare at 3d. houre practice in Poesy, Nonnus, Duport, or the like. [Nonnus turned the Psalms into Greek verse; Duport similarly versified the gospel of St. John in Greek.]

The 3d. yeare perfect their Theory [principles of rhetoric] before noone, and exercise Style, Composition, Imitation, Epitome, both in Prose and Verse, afternoone.

The first day reads Hebrew, and the Easterne Tongues.

Grammar to the first yeare houre the 8th.

To the 2d. Chaldee at the 9th. houre.

To the 3d. Syriack at the 10th. houre.

Afternoone

The first yeare practice in the Bible at the 2d. houre.

The 2d. in Ezra and Danel at the 3d. houre.

The 3d. at the 4th. houre in Trestius New Testament.

The 6th. day reads Rhetorick to all at the 8th. houre.

Declamations at the 9th. So ordered that every Schollar may declaim once a moneth. The rest of the day *vacat Rhetoricis Studiis.*

The 7th. day reads Divinity Catecheticall at the 8th houre, Common places at the 9th. houre.

Afternoone

The first houre reads history in the Winter,

The nature of plants in the Summer.

The summe of every Lecture shall be examined before the new Lecture be read.

Requirements for Degrees

Every Schollar that on proofe is found able to read the Originalls of the Old and New Testament into the Latine tongue, and to resolve them Logically; withall being of godly life and conversation; And at any publick Act hath the Approbation of the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, is fit to be dignified with his first Degree [Bachelor of Arts].

Every Schollar that giveth up in writing a System, or Synopsis, or summe of Logick, Naturall and Morall Phylosophy, Arithmetick, Geometry and Astronomy: and is ready to defend his Theses or prositions: withall skilled in the Originalls as abovesaid: and of godly life & conversation: and so approved by the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, at

any publique Act, is fit to be dignified with his 2d. Degree [Master of Arts].

4. The manner of the late Commencement, expressed in a Letter sent over from the Governour, and diverse of the Ministers, their own words these.

The Students of the first Classis that have beene these foure yeeres trained up in University-Learning (for their ripening in the knowledge of the Tongues and Arts) and are approved for their manners as they have kept their publick Acts [disputations and debates] in former yeares, our selves being present, at them; for have they lately kept two solemne Acts for their Commencement, when the Governour, Magistrates, and the Ministers from all parts, with all sorts of Schollars, and others in great numbers were present, and did heare their Exercises; which were Latine and Greeke Orations, and Declamations and Hebrew Analysis Grammaticall, Logicall & Rhetoricall of the Psalms: And their Answers and Disputations in Logicall, Ethicall, Physicall and Metaphysicall Questions; and so were found worthy of the first degree, (commonly called Batchelour) *pro more Academiarum in Anglia:* Being first presented by the President to the Magistrates and Ministers, and by him, upon their Approbation, solemnly admitted unto the same degree, and a Booke of Arts delivered into each of their hands, and power given them to read Lectures in the Hall upon any of the Arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the Library.

All things in the Colledge are at present, like to proceed even as wee can wish, may it but please the Lord to goe on with his blessing in Christ, and stir up the hearts of his faithfull, and able Servants in our own Native Country, and here, (as he hath graciously begun) to advance this Honourable and most hopefull worke. The beginnings whereof and progresse hitherto (generally) fill our hearts with comfort, and raise them up to much more expectation, of the Lords goodnesse for hereafter, for the good of posterity, and the Churches of Christ Iesus.

Boston in New-England,
September the 26.
1642.

Your very loving
friends, &c.

Summary of Early History

The summary of the early history of Harvard may be read in the Latin inscription over the stage of Sanders Theatre, in the Memorial Hall erected in commemoration of Harvard men who more than two centuries later laid down their lives in the American Civil War:

Here in the woods and wilds
Englishmen, fugitives from home,
in the year of our Lord 1636,
the sixth after the settlement of the Colony,
holding that the first thing to cultivate was wisdom,
founded a College by public enactment
and dedicated it to Christ and his Church.
Upraised by the generosity of John Harvard,
aided again and again by patrons of learning both
here and abroad,
entrusted finally to the charge of its alumni,
from small beginnings guided to a growth of greater powers
by the judgment, foresight, and care
of its Presidents, Fellows, Overseers, and Faculties,
it has ever cultivated the liberal arts and public
and private virtues,
and cultivates them still.

"And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliography following chapter xiii (Literature), and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

CARLISLE, Nicholas.—*The Endowed School of Great Britain* (2 vols., London, 1818).—Brief histories, with charters and statutes, of the chief endowed schools. Vol. I pp. 583–587 contains the statutes of St. Saviour's School, Southwark; in force during John Harvard's time.

CHAPLIN, Jeremiah.—*Life of Henry Dunster* (Boston, 1872).—The best single account of Dunster's life, with important documents.

DAVIS, Andrew McFarland.—"The Early College Buildings at Cambridge" (Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings,* April, 1890).—An exceedingly careful study from the records. Supplemented by Littlefield, George, q.v.

DUNSTER, Henry.—*Letter, with Notes and Remarks by H. H. Edes* (Cambridge, 1897).—Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. 3. Dunster's account of his services as President. A document of the first importance.

LANE, William C.—"Early Harvard Broadsides" (Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings,* Oct. 1914).—Complete list of Harvard Commencement programs 1642–1810, with many facsimile reproductions and valuable notes.

LITTLEFIELD, George E.—*The Early Massachusetts Press* (2 vols., Boston, 1907).—Contains the best account of Rev. Josse Glover and the first printing press. Also the early history of the college. Supplements the account of first college buildings by Davis, A. McF., q.v.

MSS., Harvard Archives, Widener Library.—*Harvard College Records* Book I, 1643–1687; Book III, 1636–1686.—The best collection of original documents relating to the early history of the college. Now being published by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Records of Overseers and President and Fellows; rules and regulations, list of gifts, catalogues of books, etc. etc.

MSS., Harvard Archives, Widener Library.—*Steward's Account Books.*—Vol. I; 1650–1659; Vol. II, 1687–1720. Charges and credits to individual students for rooms, board, tuition and other expenses. Payments made in bacon, beef, butter, apples, wheat, malt, shoes, etc.

MASSON, David.—*Life of Milton* (5 vols., London, 1873).—Vol. II contains a full account of Milton's studies at the University of Cambridge. Milton was a contemporary of John Harvard.

MATHER, Cotton.—*Magnalia* (2 vols., London, 1702; Hartford, 1853).—Contains the most complete early account of the founding and early history of Harvard College: also lives of Dunster, Chauncy, and ten early graduates. To be read with reserve as to the accuracy of details.

MATTHEWS, Albert.—*Comenius and Harvard College* (Cambridge, 1919., Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications, Vol. XXI).—"Was Comenius invited to be the president of Harvard? It is possible; but there is no proof." Detailed, scholarly discussion.

MATTHEWS, Albert.—*Harvard Commencement Days 1642–1916* (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, Vol. 28).—Authoritative, interesting account, from the sources.

MULLINGER, J. Bass.—*History of the University of Cambridge* (3 vols., Cambridge University Press, 1873, 1884, 1911).—Vol. II, Chap. v. College Life at the Commencement of the 17th Century; Vol. III, Chap. ii. The Exiles to America. Authoritative work.

PAIGE, Lucuis R.—*History of Cambridge (Mass.) 1630–1877* (Boston, 1877).—The early chapters deal with the beginnings of Cambridge. An authoritative account.

QUINCY, Josiah.—*The History of Harvard University* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1840).—Vol. I, Chaps. 1 and 2 contain a good account of Dunster and Chauncy. Should be supplemented by later information. Long the standard work on the subject.

SHELLEY, Henry C.—*John Harvard and His Times* (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1907).—From a full knowledge of the times Mr. Shelley weaves in interesting style a web of inference and conjecture around the known facts of John Harvard's life.

SHUCKBURGH, E. S.—*Emmanuel College* (London, 1904).—Chaps. 1–5. Interesting account of the personalities connected with the early history of the college. Pp. 44–48 deal with early New England colonists.

SIBLEY, John Langdon.—*Biographical Sketches of Harvard Graduates* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1873, 1881, 1885).—Accurate, detailed accounts of the lives of Harvard men by classes, beginning with 1642. Indispensable.

WATERS, Henry F.—*John Harvard and his Ancestry* (Boston, 1885).—For 250 years little was known of John Harvard. Mr. Waters discovered his ancestry, including the Rogers family at Stratford-on-Avon.

WATSON, Foster.—*English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1908).—The best existing survey of the studies, text books and exercises of grammar schools in the 1600's and earlier.

WRIGHT, Thomas Goddard.—*Literary Culture in Early New England 1620–1730* (Yale University Press, 1920).—The chapters on education, books, libraries, literary intercourse with England, and catalogues of colonial libraries are especially valuable.

CHAPTER XIII

MASSACHUSETTS IN LITERATURE THE 17TH CENTURY

By F. J. Stimson
Ex-Ambassador to Argentina

Literature of Soul-Saving

The Puritans were primarily concerned with the state of their own souls. You have but to read the diary of the typical Puritan, Cotton Mather, to realize that; and it was mainly their own souls, not the souls of the other people. You must turn over many pages of such a literary man as Cotton Mather before you find any entry concerning anything else than his own soul; and then it is to note that he had bought a Spanish Indian slave to give to his father. Five years later, he records his courtship,—to which he gives five lines, and (on the following page) allots four lines to his marriage.

It may be said that Cotton Mather is not a writer of pure literature; nor are diaries literature; but he covered more paper than any man of his time, having something like a hundred publications to his name, not counting the last enormous six folio volumes of manuscript for a work called "Biblia Americana", which was designed to illustrate every text in the Bible with an apposite story. For this, he never found a publisher.

Clearly earthly things did not arouse the interest of the early Puritans; nor even the souls of men other than themselves. At the beginning, they had no design of christianizing New England; their religion was not Catholic; it was Spain that bore the Cross to the new world, however cruel the application. A few early liberal minded persons proved an excep-

tion, as was shown in Eliot's labors, and by Harvard's Indian College and its one Indian graduate; and by a definite Indian mission or two like that of Mayhew to Martha's Vineyard. Otherwise Massachusetts Calvinism remained self-centered; Roger Williams went outside the Commonwealth. For nigh two centuries, until after Jonathan Edwards' time, the writings of God-fearing men of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth and Hartford and New Haven, were mainly pre-occupied in determining each one for himself, whether he was of the Elect; that if Elect, Communion with God was the sole business important in this world. If not of the Elect, all worldly things, including art and literature, were of little interest to one about to be damned forever. To this introspective spiritual condition must be added the effect of the century of disrepute that our English forbears attached to all things aesthetic, though Barrett Wendell may be extreme in asserting that the first one hundred years here had bred almost no literature.

By "literature", we mean writing which is not *primarily* religious, or philosophical, or scientific, or historical, or even an autobiography, or a book of travel: all these may indeed have a literary quality—even sermons, though rarely so with the Calvinists. Few would say that Thomas A. Kempis' *Imitation* is not literature,—or Lucretius, or Pepys, or Boswell; but while there are some diaries, histories and perhaps books of travel in the seventeenth century, written or published in Massachusetts, yet of "literature" for the *sake of literature,* there is none, with the regrettable exception of Anne Bradstreet, one or two Latin translations, and the turning of the splendid prose of the Psalms of King James's version into the metre of a rhymed doggerel. Out of over three hundred publications in Massachusetts in the seventeenth century all but a scant dozen were sermons or religious controversies.

Travel

It is as well to expect from the Puritans no "Belles-lettres" for when even Shepard and Anne Bradstreet drop into poetry, the results are terrible, but we have a right to expect from the Pilgrims, books of travel. They had the wonderfully interesting experience of encountering a new world, new

races, new life—in all of which they showed no more interest than a British subaltern in India. Hooker, or Cotton Mather, —though late in life he became a Fellow of the Royal Society—would ride into a new country, almost the first man between the Charles and the Connecticut or the Merrimac, and find nothing to tell you about, except his soul's preparation for eternal life; and this with a serene unconsciousness that it is of moment to no one but himself. He has no eyes for other people, or the face of nature.

This apathy lasted well on into the second American century. The present writer possesses the diary of his own greatgrandfather who was a surgeon in Washington's army, for two months after the Battle of Long Island; he fills two-thirds of the space given to that famous retreat from New York with the synopses of sermons preached on Sundays.

Hence, from now on we shall leave out theological writings and will start our group of Massachusetts writers with John Smith, who visited New England, named New England and loved New England, though he neither lived nor died there; and New England literary beginnings with writings political, historical and travel. John Smith, it will be said, was not a Massachusetts man. Wasn't he? He first discovered it, first wrote about it, first noticed the tang in the quality of the air that invigorated Hawthorne, Harriet Stowe, Melville, Mary Wilkins; and quoted Higginson's phrase that "it was better than a stoup of old England's ale." If it comes to that, neither were Endecott, Bradford, Shepard or the first Mather or Johnson, or Nathaniel Ward, Massachusetts men. True they lived some time and died here, while Smith and Josselyn only voyaged here; but they all fairly belong to New England, which inspired them to make their books; and Massachusetts was then New England.

John Smith

We will begin then with Capt. John Smith, who in 1616 published his description of New England. He had previously written about Virginia and other voyages, but he made this New England voyage in 1614. He describes himself as Admiral of that country, and dedicates the book to "Charles,

From the map in his *Generall Historie* in the American Antiquarian Society

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

Prince of Great Britain". Other dedications were "to the Right Worshipful Adventurers" and his "Majesty's Councell for all Plantations". Agreeable literary versions of English institutions and much admiring poetry follow of which the most noteworthy lines are by George Wither:

"In that rude Garden, you New England Stile . . .
The Proud Ibernians shall not rule those seas,
To checke our ships from sayling
Where they please.
Nor future times make any forreign power
Become so great to force a bound to Our."

Because Prince Charles "had altered the names", Smith finds it necessary to prefix a schedule of the old names, Massachusetts names, and Prince Charles' names. Some of these are interesting: Cape Cod becomes Cape James; Massachusetts Mt., Cheviot Hill; Massachusetts River, Charles River; Cape Trabigzanda becomes Cape Anne; and Aggawam, Sagadahock, Pemaquid, Monahigan, Matinnicus and Penobscot all lose their Indian names; of Prince Charles' names have survived only two. It is a shame to have lost "Trabigzanda"; for she was a Turkish Princess, who saved Smith's life much as, later, Pocahontas did.

The book is written in a lively style with embellishments and observations that fairly entitle it to be called literature. He found at least forty "Indian" villages between Penobscot and Cape Cod, compares the sea coast to that of Devonshire, predicts a great future for shipbuilding and the iron industry, and writes a panegyric upon fishing as an industry, which certainly justifies the retaining of the cod in the Boston State House. Geographically he sketches somewhat of the country, all the way from what is now Maine to the River Plate; and says that the isle west of it in the South Sea (Pacific Ocean) is Nova Albion, "discovered as is said by Sir Francis Drake". He records an event in allied geography and gastronomy: "I made a garden upon the top of a rocky ile in 43½.4 leagues from the main, in May, that grew so well that it served us in salads in June and July." This was doubtless on the Isles of Shoals, which are called Smith's Isles, in the book—one of the few names retained by Prince Charles.

There is something of the Theodore Roosevelt about Smith;

he was a man of action; a leader of men and in government; and an explorer and a writer. The famous story of his cutting off three Turks' heads when in the service of the Prince of Transilvania may be entirely authentic; does he not print in Latin the Grant of Arms conferred upon him by Sigismund Bathori December 9, 1603, relating that exploit? And was not the same confirmed by Garter, King of Arms, in 1625? Who shall deny the constructive pen of Garter, King of Arms, in 1625? His biography ends with his experience in Barbary and the strange discoveries and observations of the "Portugalls" in Africa. Altogether, we may claim him as the earliest of New England writers with more justice than we can claim Poe as a Massachusetts poet, because he was born in Boston; though Smith went back to England for his declining years. True, most of it; imagined, perhaps some of it,—anyhow a record of what a real man thought in and about Massachusetts. Likewise he is particularly proud that it was he who persuaded King Charles I to give the name of New England to the country.

Smith's most interesting work, however, is on Virginia and his travels elsewhere in the world. This was published in London in 1629, and a reprint in two volumes in Richmond in 1819 contains also many dedications and poems addressed to him. His biography reads like Defoe; and despite his amazing adventures, sounds veracious, and most of it has not been seriously impugned. Certainly no traveller, not even Marco Polo, nor Sir Walter Raleigh, had adventures in so many countries.

Next we find the *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles* by Captain John Smith, "sometime Governour in those countryes and Admirall of New England," inscribed to the Duchesse of Richmond and Lenox. He describes Gosnold's discovery of the Elizabeth Islands in Buzzards Bay, Pring's voyage to Virginia in 1603, and Waymouth's in 1605. Finally in the second book, he gets down to his own business.

Smith was an excellent observer and possessed a distinct literary style. Certainly early Massachusetts produced no writer of such varied interest.

Smith passed most of the last years of his life about New

England, and even offered to lead the Pilgrims thither in 1619; "but they would not have him, he being Protestant and they Puritans." It is interesting to reflect the consequences, had they had him as guide, instead of one Jones, who was said by some writers to have been bribed to land them, not in New York bay, but on the shores of Cape Cod.

William Bradford

Plymouth was part of the early wave of emigration and has long since been a part of Massachusetts. Bradford's famous *Journal,* a manuscript bound in leather, often called the Log of the Mayflower, was given back to Massachusetts by the Bishop of London, through the efforts of Ambassador Bayard in 1896. It has a printed bookmark, stating that it "Belongs to the New England Library, begun to be collected by Thomas Prince, upon his entering Harvard College, July 6, 1703." How this Puritan chronicle got back into the hands of an Anglican bishop does not appear. It gives a full and vivid account of the vicissitudes of the Pilgrims from their departure to Holland in 1608, their life there, and the reason for their removal to "Virginia"; principally that their life in Holland was "hard" and not puritanical, so that their youth was "falling away"; but also the desire for free ownership of land, and their zeal for propagating the gospel in these remote parts are given as the final reason. He describes the history of the Covenant, which sets up a communal society for seven years only; and even during that time allows a man two days work a week for "his private advantage." Then follows a full acount of the voyage and landing, and the whole history of the Plymouth colony in the form of annals, at first full, but later more summary, ending in 1644 with a pathetic relation of the dwindling away of the Pilgrim settlement. In that year the apportionment of soldiers in the New England Confederation to the Boston colony was 190 against Plymouth's 40; even Hartford had 40, and New Haven 30. The cause of this slow advance was largely geographical; Plymouth had neither a convenient harbor, nor a fertile hinterland. Even in that year, 1645, it was proposed to move the capital to Nauset on the Cape, which would have been

from the barrens to the sands. Bradford makes no mention of the foundations of Harvard College; he concludes with the Treaty with the Indians after the Pequod War—"Benedicte Arnold, Interpreter".

No one can deny that Bradford's history is literature; unless we deny that distinction to Caesar's *Commentaries.* In fact, the founders wrote well. Elizabethan all, (as Wendell was first to point out) in culture, if not in creed. It is only when we come to the Puritans of New England born that the sands run dry. John Winthrop's *History of New England,* like his diaries is as full of interest as the Paston letters; while Cotton Mather writes his voluminous diaries unenlightened by a single touch of literature, though he shows he has some tincture of letters in his *Magnalia,* which was published in 1702.

Descriptive Works

In 1624, *New English Canaan* was published by Thomas Morton; known to most of us as the leader of the rebels at Merry-Mount, and very far from being a Puritan; detested, attacked, and finally exiled by Bradford, he is for that reason a more interesting writer than the average Puritan. His description of New England, its natural history and its unnatural government is both instructive and full of humor. He visited there first in 1622, and kept returning; he joined Sir Christopher Gardiner under the influence of Gorges and Nason in trying to annul the Massachusetts charter, with the powerful assistance of Archbishop Laud. When things went wrong with him and the King, Morton disappeared for seven years; but surprisingly reappeared in Plymouth in 1643, was allowed to stay there through the winter, and went to Maine in 1644. Motley, the historian, began his literary labors by attempting a novel about him; but despite the interest of the subject, it has not survived.

Francis Higginson, the first minister of Salem, wrote *New England's Plantation* in 1629, and a *True Relation of the Last Voyage to New England* in 1629. It is very interesting as the log of a voyage and a description of New England as it first appeared; the author also praises the "clerre and dry

Aire" and exults that although always ill, living in England, he has had perfect health since he came to Salem; he originated the statement that "a sup of New England Aire is better than a whole draft of old English ale," and died of consumption the following year.

William Wood's *New England's Prospect* in 1634 comes next, a somewhat more elaborate description of the country and the Indians. It is a vivid gazetter of Massachusetts as it then was. He came over to Saugus in 1629, lived there four years, and went to England in 1633, "and glad to get back." Not being a Puritan, he had an eye for nature—animals, climate, geography and the manners and customs of the Indians. That he is strictly truth-telling may be seen in his statement, "Concerning Lyons, I will not say that I have seen them myselfe, but some say that they have seen them on Cape Anne."

John Josselyn made his first voyage to New England in 1638 and his second in 1663. His *New England Rarities* is a book of travel and description; except that the Massachusetts Governor and people were antipathetic to him, and as he recalls the fact that he was glad to get home to end his days in England, perhaps we should not count him among Massachusetts writers. His style is lively; he talks of a mermaid and a triton seen in Casco Bay, and a "lyon" on Cape Anne. "These be a sort of stagnant stinking spirits who, like flyes, lye sucking at the botches of carnal pleasures, and never travelled so much Sea, as is between Heth-ferry and Lyon-Key: yet (sitting in the Chair of the Scornful over their whists and draughts of intoxication) will desperately censure the relations, of the greatest travellers". Truly, this is language! And his account of the fauna, flora, fruits, crops, and particularly of the Indians and the Puritans themselves is fuller and more picturesque than that of the proper New England writers. If one of the functions of literature be to amuse, this is literature.

Nathaniel Ward

For next we come to a man who certainly was a Massachusetts writer; and whose work the great *Bodie of Liberties,* is possibly more enduring—than those of other settlers. This is Nathaniel Ward, "The simple Cobbler of Agawam". This book was published in 1647 under the pseudonym

of Theodore de la Guard, and is most certainly a piece of literature. It is an extraordinary mixture of humor, patriotism and bigotry. He begins with a defense of Massachusetts, and a plea for religious persecution, and the execution of all heretics, worthy of the Spanish Inquisition; also for the extermination of the "Bloodie Irish." Next he devotes his attention to women's fashions and tthe despicable habit of men in wearing their hair long. Thereafter he devotes the greater part of his book to a most reasonable and patriotic appeal to King Charles and the Roundheads to make compromise and come together without the horrors of the coming Civil War. He reasons with both parties, but like most Erasmians without success. The king was beheaded and the Commonwealth proclaimed two years later.

But a decidedly far greater achievement, now well known to be his, *The Bodie of Liberties;* although adopted by the Massachusetts Council in 1641, remained in manuscript for many years. Ward was a lawyer, but it seems amazing that a comparatively obscure man could draw up a constitutional document which in important matters far transcends the work of Blackstone one hundred years later. It contains 98 sections and no distinction, of course, is made between ordinary statutes and fundamental provisions—which we would call constitutional, and many of which have indeed passed into our constitutions, state or federal. This indeed would not have been done by an Englishman; to this day there is no difference in origin and sanctity, to the English legal mind, between a statute which in England would be considered part of the constitution, and an ordinary law. If it be questioned whether such high political writing be in truth literature, one may urge that man's intellect has hardly a higher exercise. Certainly no one would say that Lincoln's phrase about—"Government by the people" was not literature, nor the famous clause commended as the highest by Daniel Webster in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, that it be "a Government of laws, and not of men"; nor Ward's paragraphs about personal liberty, containing many American constitutional principles, which are therein first written out, one hundred and thirty-five years before they begin to appear in our state constitutions. These are landmarks in the history of free government.

Theological and Sermons

In 1642, John Cotton wrote a book on the Canticles or Song of Solomon, anticipating that of Rénan, more than two hundred years later; and in 1643, appeared *New England's First Fruits,* notable as being the best account of the foundations of Harvard College.

In 1642, T. Lechford published *Plain Dealing, or News From New England;* but this work is entirely given to church government, etc., and he presently returned to New England. About the same time, Roger Williams began to write; but he was driven from Massachusetts to Rhode Island for a reason that may be divined when we see that about the same year appeared Williams' work, *Bloody Tenets of Persecution,* and John Cotton's *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England;* to which Williams naturally retorted the next year with a tract, *Christening makes not Christians.* Most of the writings of these five years are concerned with the assertion or denial of liberty of conscience in religion, which is the title of a book published by Cotton in 1649, wherein he bitterly attacks the doctrine.

In 1647, Thomas Shepherd published *The Day Breaking,* about the carrying of the Gospel to the Indians; and in 1649, the Apostle John Eliot published his first work on the same subject. Meantime Winslow was attacking Roger Williams and Gorton, another emigrant to Providence, with works entitled *Hypocrisie Unmasked* and *Disturbances by Gorton,* who answered with *Simplicitie's Defense against Seven-Headed Policy.*

The greatest service of early Massachusetts men was in the literature of the science of free government. May 31, 1638, Thomas Hooker, a Massachusetts man from 1632 to 1645, preached his famous sermon—"The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance." "They to have the power to appoint officers and magistrates, (it is in their power, also, to set bounds and limitations of the power and place to which they call them)" and therefore, "the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people." Adams is therefore inaccurate in saying that in the seventeenth century "there is no literature

except theological and the few historical accounts brought out by the Indian Wars." We shall find that, little as there was, it was in quality and even volume superior to that of the century following.

Verse

In 1650, Anne Bradstreet first began publishing poems; they are rhymes and metrical and not at all like Walt Whitman. Perhaps, she is the earliest of those American writers who according to a thesis made and defended before the American Academy of Arts and Letters as late as 1924, derived entirely from the English; Anne Bradstreets's verse as poetry, is, however, not so bad as that of Shepherd and Cotton Mather. Still, we must concede to Mistress Bradstreet the distinction of being the first person in Massachusetts to attempt literature for literature's sake.

Diaries

That Elizabethan quality leaves us when we come to the Diaries of Cotton Mather and Judge Sewall. For this reason we have thought best to leave them for the chapter on the eighteenth century. John Winthrop's *Diary* only half a century before is entirely Elizabethan in quality. Sewall's and Mather's are more like a Puritan Pepys. Indeed he shares with the functionary of Charles Second's time that curious quality of exaggerated introspection; though we must claim that the self-study of Mather is always directed to the welfare of his soul; that of Pepys rather to his body's satisfaction of material things.

Narrative and Historical

In 1654 appeared Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence.* Since Morton's *New Canaan* in 1634, twenty years had passed, and the two books made a curious contrast. Edward horrible verse. The main book is rather a gazetter than a Johnson lived in Woburn, was a captain in the wars, and wrote lively prose which he unfortunately interspersed with

history of New England, although the third and last book does give "the passages of God's providence towards this wondering Race—Jacobites in these seven years, from the year 1645 till towards the latter end of 51." And the most "admirable Act of Christ—preparing for his people's arrivall in the Western World" was, according to Johnson "a sore consumption, sweeping away whole Families, but chiefly young Men and Children, the very seeds of increase," so that "their wigwams lie full of dead Corpes—by this means Christ—not only made room for his people to plant, but also tamed the hard and cruel hearts of those barbarous Indians." The second book is largely given to the Pequod war, in which he took part: the massacre of the Great Swamp fight is graphically described, and the modern reader is relieved to find that they did not spear the squaws. Immediately follows a long chapter on the first Synod at which he would fain have seen bodily present four classes of persons, to be purged of error; and he would "with a good will have paid their passage out and home againe to England." These were the Prelates, the Presbyterians, the "Erronists" (or Gortonists and other Machiavellian followers of Satan) and lastly (and somewhat surprisingly) those who despise "Physitians" and Scholarship! Altogether we must rank this epic of the providences of *Sion's Saviour in New England* with the *Magnalia,* and assess it distinctly as literature; and the account of the founding of the twenty-seven towns with descriptions of their country and ministers will always be of interest. They are: Salem, Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, Roxbury, Lynn, Watertown, Cambridge, Ipswich, Newbury, Cambridge (Second Church), Concord, Hingham, Dedham, Weymouth, Rowley, Hampton, Salisbury, Sudbury, Braintree, Gloucester, Dover (now in New Hampshire), Woburn, Reading, Wenham, Haverhill, Springfield, and Malden—each introduced with an appropriate poem, an especially long one being given to Harvard College.

By this time the unity of Church and State in Massachusetts was well established. About the only things ministers could not do was to marry people; but one of their special privileges was to preach to the unfortunates who were condemned to death. On the date of their execution they were brought into the Church for this purpose, and Cotton Mather notes with

annoyance any instance when that happened on a day on which he was not to preach; and as an "instance of divine providence" when the date of the execution of an unfortunate woman was delayed to fall upon the day of his service; and remarks with pride that he preached to her and the congregation for three hours. By that time she was doubtless well prepared for her execution.

Censorship

The Puritan Church, of course, controlled letters as well as doctrine and politics; but there were hardly any books published except on religious subjects. Indeed the first printing press set up at Harvard College in 1639 was subject to the strictest censorship, though Cotton Mather, as we know, and doubtless others had many profane works in their libraries. Among the books which escaped the censor in 1654, we find—J. Norton, *The Orthodox Evangelist;* and W. Pynchon, *The Sabbath.* In 1655, C. Chauncy, *God's Mercy;* and Cotton's *The Chief Magistrate's Power in Matters of Religion,* and *The Pope's Inquisition recently erected in New England.*

In 1659, J. Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth;* J. Norton, *The Heart of New England Rent,*—that is, by the Quakers; even Roger Williams published in 1676 a tract entitled *George Fox Digged out of his Burrowes.* In 1660 The Apostle Eliot also published a tract claiming that Indians are descendants of the Jews; and the next year his first translation of the New Testament into Algonquin and of the Psalms of David into Indian verse; in 1663, the full Bible translation with an interesting addition—"Dying Speeches of Several Indians", and in 1669, his *Indian Primer.*

In 1658, appeared (in London) *America Painted to the Life,* ascribed on the title pages to Sir Fernando Gorges, but in reality taken bodily by his son from Johnson.

History

There are, however, some historical works well worthy of mention. Nathaniel (not to be confused with Thomas) Morton's *New England Memorial* (1669), an interesting his-

tory of the early settlement, but mainly based on that of Bradford; in 1670, J. Mason's *History of the Pequot War;* in 1674, Daniel Gookin's *Historical Collections of the Indians;* in 1676, Increase Mather's *Brief History of King Philip's War;* and *New England's Crisis,* a poem on the same subject that appeared the year before; and five years later, William Hubbard's first general history of New England; while his *Troubles with the Indians from earliest times* had appeared three years before. In 1678, Anne Bradstreet wrote some more poems; but J. Norton, the gloomy divine, shortly after published her *Funeral Elegy.*

In 1672, had appeared John Josselyn's *New England Rarities,* already mentioned, and in 1674, his *Two Voyages* dedicated to the Royal Society—perhaps the most readable of all the early descriptions: "Wherein you have the fetting out of a Ship, with the charges; the prices of all necessaries for furnishing a Planter and his family at his first coming; a description of the Countrey, Natives and Creatures, with their Merchantil and Physical use; The Government of the Countrey as it is now possessed by the English, &c. A large Chronological table of the most remarkable passages from the first discovering of the Continent of America, to the year 1673" —what we should now call the publisher's blurb. This work is full of picturesque observations, as, in New England, how "the men and women keep their complexions, but lose their teeth; the women pitifully toothshaken. Whether through the coldness of the climate or by sweet-meats, of which they have store, we are not able to affirm;" and on the next page that "the blackness of the Negroes proceeded from the curse upon Cham's posterity." But Josselyn, with Smith and T. Morton certainly the most picturesque of our early writers, went back to die in England.

In 1687 appeared William Penn's *The Excellent privilege of Liberty and Property, being the Birthright of the Free-Born Subjects of England;* and N. Byfield, the *Late Revolution in New England,* referring to the accession of William of Orange, and the expulsion from Boston of Andros. The same year G. Keith published a book *Presbyterian and Independent Churches no True Church of Christ;* and Increase Mather, one on *The Unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship.*

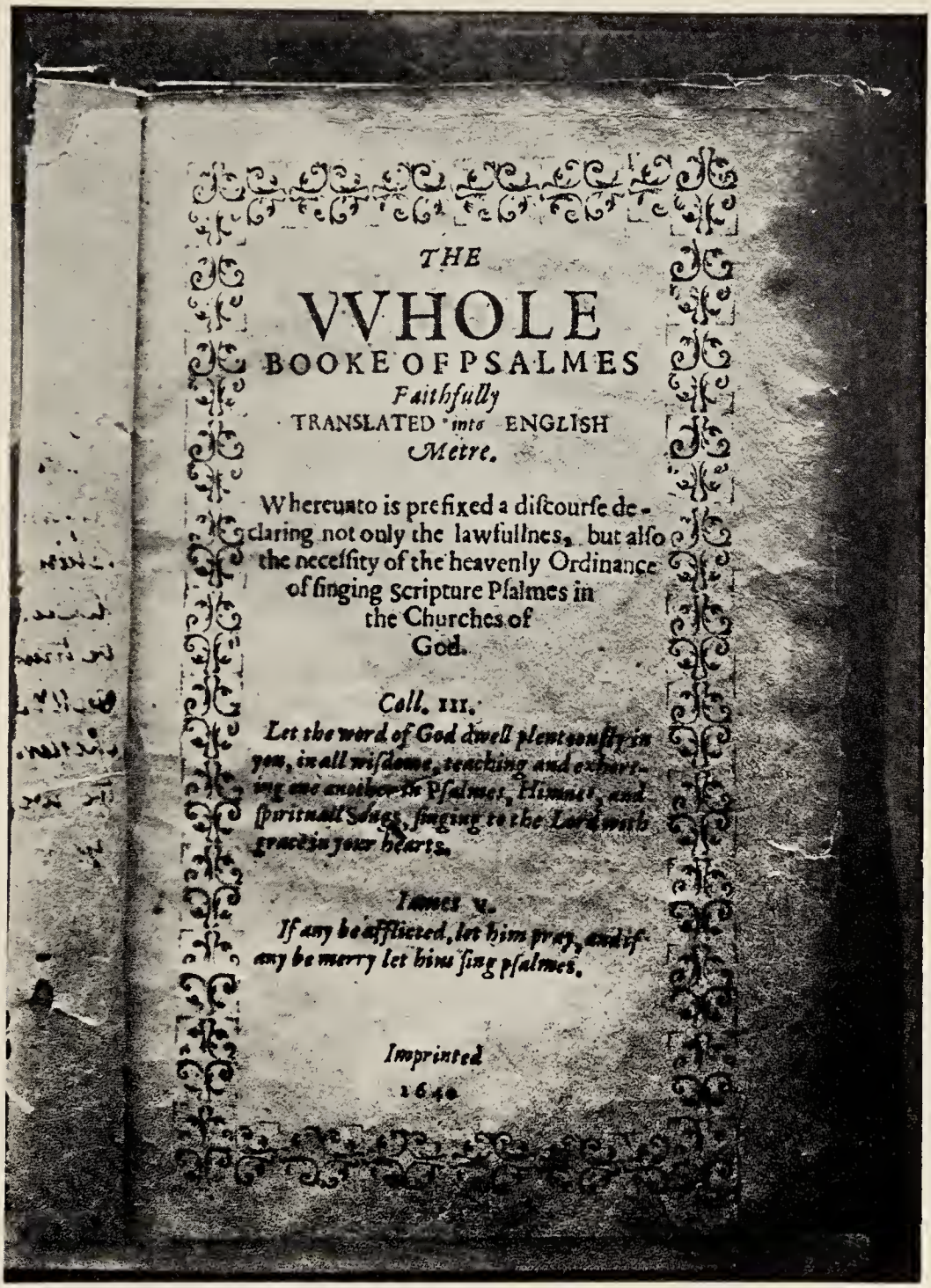
Science

In 1676, Foster's *The First Almanac* appeared; in 1682, Mary Rowlandson's narrative, *Captivity among the Indians.* The same year, Cotton Mather published his *Character . . . of a Virtuous Woman,* but it was not until 1685, that he courted and married one; and in 1683, Increase Mather published his work on comets, being the first sign of interest that any New Englander had shown in any phenomena outside New England, or any celestial body outside Heaven or, more especially Hell; there the very next year, Cotton Mather published his famous work on witchcraft, full of research and interesting to this day, by no means differing from many modern works on hypnotism or psycho-analysis.

The Mathers

Increase Mather was continually starting to England on behalf of the Massachusetts Colony to regain its Charter; he was a diplomat, a man of action, and perhaps we might add, a man of the world; but his son Cotton, was nothing but a preacher, and a research worker, though by far the most voluminous writer that Massachusetts has ever produced. In 1694, he published his *Short History of New England,* and in 1699, *The Long War with the Indians,* 1688-1699, King Philip's War; and he was at the trouble of learning Spanish in the Boston of that day, in order to convey "religion" into the Spanish Indies. He assures us that he mastered the language in a few weeks; and in 1699, he did publish in Spanish *La Religion Pura,* a tract to inform the benighted Catholics of those countries with Puritan truth. Barrett Wendell's remarkable biography is the classic authority on the life of Mather, and depicts the thought and environment of Boston, as it was then, in a manner so life-like that one can hardly discuss Massachusetts in the 17th century without mentioning this book.

In 1700, Mather published the *Selling of Joseph,* which is remarkable as being the first American argument against slavery (although we remember one of the first things for which he spent his money on arriving at majority was to buy his own father a slave); and the first prohibition tract had



THE

VVHOLE
BOOKE OF PSALMES

Faithfully
TRANSLATED *into* ENGLISH
Metre.

Whereunto is prefixed a diſcourſe declaring not only the lawfullnes, but alſo the neceſſity of the heavenly Ordinance of ſinging Scripture Pſalmes in the Churches of God.

Coll. III.

Let the word of God dwell plentifully in you, in all wiſdome, teaching and exhorting one another in Pſalmes, Himnes, and ſpirituall Songs, ſinging to the Lord with grace in your hearts.

Iames V.

If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any be merry let him ſing pſalmes.

Imprinted
1640

From the Boston Public Library

THE BAY PSALM BOOK

been written by his father, Increase, as early as 1673, *Wo to Drunkards.* This, however, is not an argument for total abstinence, but for temperance.

We are rapidly approaching the end of Massachusetts' first century. Practically all of its writers, till we come to Cotton Mather and Sewell, have been born in England. With Cotton Mather's best known work *Magnalia* in 1702—the literature of the founders may be said to end, and as if by coincidence, that year old Increase published a book entitled *Ichabod.*

With the *Magnalia,* we may well close this brief survey. Winthrop's *History of New England* is a history which the *Magnalia* certainly is not. Winthrop's diaries will compare with Pepys; Cotton Mather's form a curious contrast; Winthrop being entirely concerned with New England, the voyage thither and the people outside him. Cotton Mather is concerned with nothing that does not affect his own soul. Perhaps the most concise judgment on the *Magnalia* will be found in a Lowell Lecture given by the first Robert C. Winthrop in 1869. He calls it "a monstrous mass of information and speculation, of error and gossip, of biography and history, of italics and capitals, of classical quotations, Latin and Greek, and the original epitaphs, Latin and English, in prose and in verse," and its author—"the giant of New England early literature, with a voracity for everything relating to our colonial conditions and history, as insatiate as his own vanity."

It contains, however, as a first book, "Antiquities," being a history and description of New England, followed by the "History of the Town of Boston," an account of Harvard University, lives of all the ministers; and in tthe second volume a further account of Harvard College, its laws and rules of government and memoirs of many other worthy designs. The fifth book, entitled "Acts and Monuments," relates to the Church and its government. The sixth book is a marvellous collection of marvellous occurrences "dictated by Divine Providence" with mercies, judgments and punishments on many persons among the people of New England, which form the most bulky part of the volume and one hardly knows whether to compare it to Munchausen or to *Gesta Romanorum.* It also has the touch of Herodotus.

Military History

We have passed without mention Hubbard's *General History of New England* which has a pompous and affected style, which however grows simpler and livelier when later he writes his own narrative of the Pequod War and the Wheelwright and Hutchinson troubles.

Church's *King Philip's War,* first printed in 1716, fairly belongs to the earlier century; and with the work of Johnson may fairly be added to the classic histories of Bradford and Winthrop, though, of course, not to be compared with them.

New England's first Fruits (1643) belongs only to the curiosities of literature. *The Day Breaking* (1647) is a most interesting repository of Indian folk lore and customs. It is the first and most comprehensive account of the attempt of the Puritans to make Christians of the Indians, and the deeds of the Apostle Eliot, Winslow of Plymouth, Mayhew, head of the Martha's Vineyard mission, and Whitfield.

John Davenport belongs to New Haven; but his discourse (in 1663) on free government, anticipates the famous sermon of Thomas Hooker in the matter of the separation of the church and state, though by no means agreeing with him on the other great political doctrine, almost for the first time announced by Hooker, that all government must rest on the consent of the church.

The *Magnalia* is both the first and the last literary work of the Puritans, in that it is, first, written by a man born on Massachusetts soil; second that it is the last book to represent the old conviction that the Puritan Church, especially that branch of it which was Congregational and independent, could alone preach the Truth of Christ. Jonathan Edwards in the next century was of the same mind, but he wrote only theology. In Cotton Mather, we are discussing also literature. Sewall's diary also; but in spirit he belongs to a later century, and for that we may reserve him.

With all that we have said and discussed of barrenness of the field, particularly as concerns writers who were born or who died in Massachusetts, its literature of the seventeenth century, in history, autobiography, theology, travel and adventure, is by no means to be neglected. Yet the adventurers went back to England, and only the Puritans remained; writing to amuse

or delight was as much anathema as writing a stage play. Only theology and self-analysis remained. But the greatest of all discoveries of the Puritans—those relating to the government of man outside the Church—had their fruition in the eighteenth century. To them, more than to any other writer or people, are due democracy and constitutional government, that government which is introduced to protect the cardinal rights of even minorities.

It always must be remembered that among the early colonists there was no literary spirit, or interest in their writings as such. Such Massachusetts books as we have in the seventeenth century are written mainly for the people in old England who wish to know about the new. Then again, such literary faculty as the first Massachusetts men possessed was based entirely on the literature of old England, Elizabethan in quality, and this lasted down until the end of the century. Tyler, Wendell, Truslow Adams and Charles Francis Adams are as one in saying that there is practically no pure literature during this early period: C. F. Adams goes so far as to refer to it as the glacial period, into which both letters and arts passed under the Puritan Government. We indicated our dissent from this in at least one important domain, that of the science of government and the liberty of man, as well as in the examples of *Bradford's Diary* and the *Magnalia.* The *Bay Psalm Book* and the *New England Primer,* while of intense contemporary interest, are hardly literature; and the efforts of Anne Bradstreet and Shepherd are hardly poetry; but the perfection they aimed at was entirely of old England. That tang of New England air gave no touch to New England writing for nearly two centuries, and the terrible poem of Michael Wigglesworth—"The Day of Doom," beginning with its best known lines—

> "Then to the Bar, all they drew near
> Who dy'd in infancy."

is rather theology than poetry.

From the vast field of the sermons, an analytic student many doubtless derive many matters still fit to be stated in a religious tract, or in any essay by Santayana still writing on such in the twentieth century—and perhaps he is the last of Massachusetts writers upon religion. Yet the distance from

the Puritans' world to his is not in reality so far as the distance from their life, manners, arts and tastes to those of the present day. It is not so far from the Puritans to the Roman Catholics as people think; and both churches in those days wished to impress their belief both on savages and on fellow citizens even to the death, but only for the salvation of their souls.

Freedom of the Press

The four great civic freedoms may be summarized as—the liberty of the person or possessions; political equality; freedom of religion; and freedom of speech and thought, including of the press. Liberty of the person was established first, that of religion last. Civic liberty was not entirely assured in Massachusetts until the decline of the Congregational as an established church. We have seen that the first printing press was at Harvard College in 1639, and needed no censor; but it was twenty-six years later before there was a press in Boston, and the restrictive censorship enacted in 1662 was lax in enforcement, and abandoned by 1723 entirely. Yet down to Franklin's time, the printer of a book or newspaper was doubtless held responsible in the courts for his opinions after they had been printed (though not submitted to a censor) in a way that would not be tolerated today. And it must always be remembered that the Puritans came to Massachusetts Bay for the freedom of their own religion, not of others. Consequently of the four cardinal liberties, that of free thinking was the last to appear. They sought not literature nor art—only their own peace—with a sword.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies following Chapters iv (Plymouth); v (Charter and Colony); vii (Winthrop); x (Social); xi (Women); xii (Harvard); xvii (Controversies); xx (Crisis); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

BRADFORD, William.—*History of Plimouth Plantation,* 1608–1648 (Boston, Little Brown, 1856).—Ed. by Deane.

BRADSTREET, Anne.—*The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America* (1650).

BRADSTREET, Anne.—*Several Poems* (Boston, 1678).

BYFIELD, Nathaniel.—*The Late Revolution in New England,* 1689 (Chiswell, 1689).

CARPENTER, G. R.—*American Prose* (New York, Macmillan, 1898).

CHANNING, Edward and HART, Albert Bushnell.—*Guide to the Study of American History* (Boston, Ginn, 1896, 2nd ed. with Turner, 1918).

COTTON, John.—*A Brief Exposition of the Book of Canticles* (London, Young, 1642).

DUYCKINCK, E. A. and G. L.—*Cyclopedia of American Literature* (Philadelphia, Zell, 1875).—1st ed. New York, Scribner, 1853.

ELIOT, John.—*Indians are Descendants of the Jews.*—Many other writings about this time.

ELIOT, John.—*Translation of the New Testament into Algonquin* (1661).

ELIOT, John.—*The Holy Bible translated into the Indian Language* (1663).

ELIOT, John.—*The Dying Speeches of Several Indians* (1663).

FISKE, John.—*Beginnings of New England* (Boston & New York, Houghton & Mifflin, 1889).

FORD, Paul Leicester.—*The New England Primer* (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1899).

GOOKIN, Daniel.—*Historical Collections of the Indians in New England* (Boston, Belknap, Hall, 1792).

HART, Albert Bushnell, editor.—*American History Told by Contemporaries* (4 vols., N. Y., Macmillan, 1898–1902).—Literary Extracts in Vol. I.

HIGGINSON, Francis.—*New England's Plantation* (London T. & R. C., 1629).

HOOKER, Thomas.—*The Soul's Preparation* (London assignes of T. P., 1638).

HUBBARD, William.—*Narrative of the Troubles With the Indians* (Boston, Foster, 1677).

HUBBARD, William.—*History of New England* (1680).

JOHNSON, Edward.—*Wonder-Working Providence* (London, 1654, Andover, W. F. Draper, 1867).

JOSSELYN, John.—*An Account of Two Voyages to New England* (London for G. Widdows, 1675, Boston, Veazie, 1865).

JOSSELYN, John.—*Chronological Observations of America.*

JOSSELYN, John.—*New England's Rarities* (London, for G. Widdows, 1672, Boston, Veazie, 1865).

KEITH, George.—*A Chronological Account of the World from Adam to Christ and from thence to the End of the World.*
LETCHFORD, Thomas.—*Plain Dealing,* or *News from New England.*
MASON, John.—*History of the Pequot War* (Boston, Kneeland & Green, 1736).
MATHER, Cotton.—*The Long War with the Indians* (1699).
MATHER, Cotton.—*Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, Andrus, 1702).
MATHER, Cotton.—*Observanda on the Life of the Late Queen Mary* (1695).
MATHER, Cotton.— *Witchcraft.*
MATHER, Cotton.—*Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston, B. Harris, 1693).
MATHER, Cotton.—*The Short History of New England* (1694).
MATHER, Increase.—*Brief History of the War* (London, for Chiswell, 1676).
MATHER, Increase.—*A Discourse Concerning Comets* (1683).
MATHER, Increase.—*A Further Account of the New England Witches* (London, for J. Dunton, 1692).
MATHER, Increase.—*Ichabod . . . What Cause there is to Fear that the Glory of God is Departing from New England* (Boston, T. Green, 1702).
MATHER, Increase.—*The Life and Death of Richard Mather* (Cambridge, Greens Johnson, 1670).
MATHER, Increase.—*The Unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship.*
MATHER, R.—*The Bay Psalm Book* (Cambridge, Day, 1640).—The first English book printed in America.
MORRELL, William.—*Nova Anglia* (Latin verse, 1625).
MORTON, Nathaniel.—*New England's Memorial* (Cambridge, G. & J. 1669).
MORTON, Thomas.—*New English Canaan 1624* (Amstredam, J. F. Stam, 1637).
NICHOL, J.—*American Literature* (Edinburgh, 1882).
PANCOAST, H. S.—*Introduction to American Literature* (New York, 1898).
PIERCE, William.—*Almanac* calculated for New England, 1639.
PIERCE, William.—*Freeman's Oath* (first product of the press in the United States—Whitcomb).
QUINCY, Josiah.—*History of Harvard University.*
RICHARDSON, C. F.—*American Literature* (New York, 1887).
ROWLANDSON, Mary.—*Narrative of Captivity Among the Indians* (1682).
SEWALL, Samuel.—*Diary Begun* (1673).
SHEPARD, Thomas.—*Good News from New England* (1648).
SIBLEY, J. L.—*Harvard Graduates.*
SMITH, John.—*A Description of New England* (1616).
SMITH, John.—*New England's Trials* (1620).
SMITH, John.—*A True Relation,* etc., (1608).
SMITH, John.—*True Travels, Adventures and Observations* (1630).
SMITH, John, and others.—*The General Historie of New England, Virginia and the Summer Isles* (1624).
STEDMAN, E. C. and HUTCHINSON, Ellen M.—*Library of American Literature* (11 vols., New York, 1888–90).
THOMPSON, Benjamin.—*New England's Crisis* (Poem on King Philip's War), 1675.
TYLER, M. C.—*A History of American Literature During the Colonial Period.*
TYLER, Moses Cait.—*The Literary History of the American Revolution.*
WARD, Nathaniel.—*The Bodie of Liberties* (1641).

WARD, Nathaniel.—*The Simple Cobbler of Agawam* (1647).
WENDELL, Barrett.—*A Literary History of America.*
WENDELL, Barrett.—*Stelligeri* (New York, 1893).
WHITCOMB, S. L.—*Chronological Outlines of American Literature* (New York, 1894).—For a complete chronological list, nothing has superseded this.
WHITE, Greenough.—*Sketch of the Philosophy of American Literature* (Boston, 1891).
WIGGLESWORTH, Michael.—*The Day of Doom* (1662).
WILLIAMS, Roger.—*The Bloody Tenet of Persecution* (1644).
WINSOR, Justin.—*Narrative and Critical History of America.*
WINTHROP, John.—*The History of New England* (1630–1648).
WOOD, William.—*New England's Prospect* (1634).

CHAPTER XIV

QUESTIONS OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM (1630-1689)

By Edward Caldwell Moore

Parkman Professor of Theology and Plummer Professor of Christian Morals, Harvard University

Toleration

The reverence in which the world holds the Pilgrim Fathers and the men of Massachusetts Bay Colony has led some to attribute to them an ideal which was not theirs—that of religious toleration. The pride which Americans take in the separation of church and state has caused some to imagine that beginnings of the application of that principle might be discerned in the policy of the founders—which is far from being the case. The fact that the Pilgrims "found what there they sought, Freedom to worship God," did not at all mean the freedom of others to worship God as they chose, or even the freedom not to worship. Because no one of these things is true, some are disposed to discount the achievement of the founders and to disparage their high qualities.

It may be true that no passionately religious age has ever been tolerant. It may even be true that passionately religious individuals in any age are rarely tolerant. It is certainly true that much which in our age vaunts itself as tolerance is mere indifference and censoriousness toward those who take their religion seriously.

We have no cause however to attribute to the men of Massachusetts of three hundred years ago our own sentiments and then judge them by those sentiments. We should begin by inquiring what were the sentiments of the men of Massachusetts upon this topic three hundred years ago. Fortunately

neither in their writings nor by their conduct have they left us in doubt. We should inquire also what were the convictions concerning these matters prevalent in the England from which these men came out, to which some went back and with which those who remained kept up connection. Finally, we should do well to ask what were their civil rights under patents and charters and what departures from these they may have felt to be forced upon them, either by the disturbed state of the homeland or by unforeseen experiences in the land of their adoption.

Basis of Puritan Religious Control

After 1630 some of the best of men left England and,—for private reasons,—many who were not so good. After 1640 many of the best went back. They hoped to accomplish in the homeland things of which they had despaired when they came to these shores. We do not read that many of the worse element went back,—certainly not for such high reasons. When the tide turned again, between 1660 and 1689, institutions in Massachusetts both civil and religious had crystallized in marked degree. Meantime, the tremendous political and military conflict in England, the drawn battle between the two nearly balanced opposing elements, had there imposed more liberal views. The expectation of the potentialities and destiny of Puritanism at home was changed.

On this side of the ocean there had been no such gigantic struggle. The confusion of the period in England left the colonies in a degree to their own devices. The same causes were eventually to bring about the same changes of opinion here, but they worked more slowly. Here Puritanism was supreme. The growing variety of religious elements in the colony, the justice of their respective claims, were slowly to force greater tolerance and a truer conception of religious liberty. These influences were bitterly resisted by magistrates and ministers. The change of point of view was not achieved within the period of which we write. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, in the modern sense of the words "religious liberty" the history of Massachusetts in the seventeenth century is mainly the history of the lack of liberty. It is the

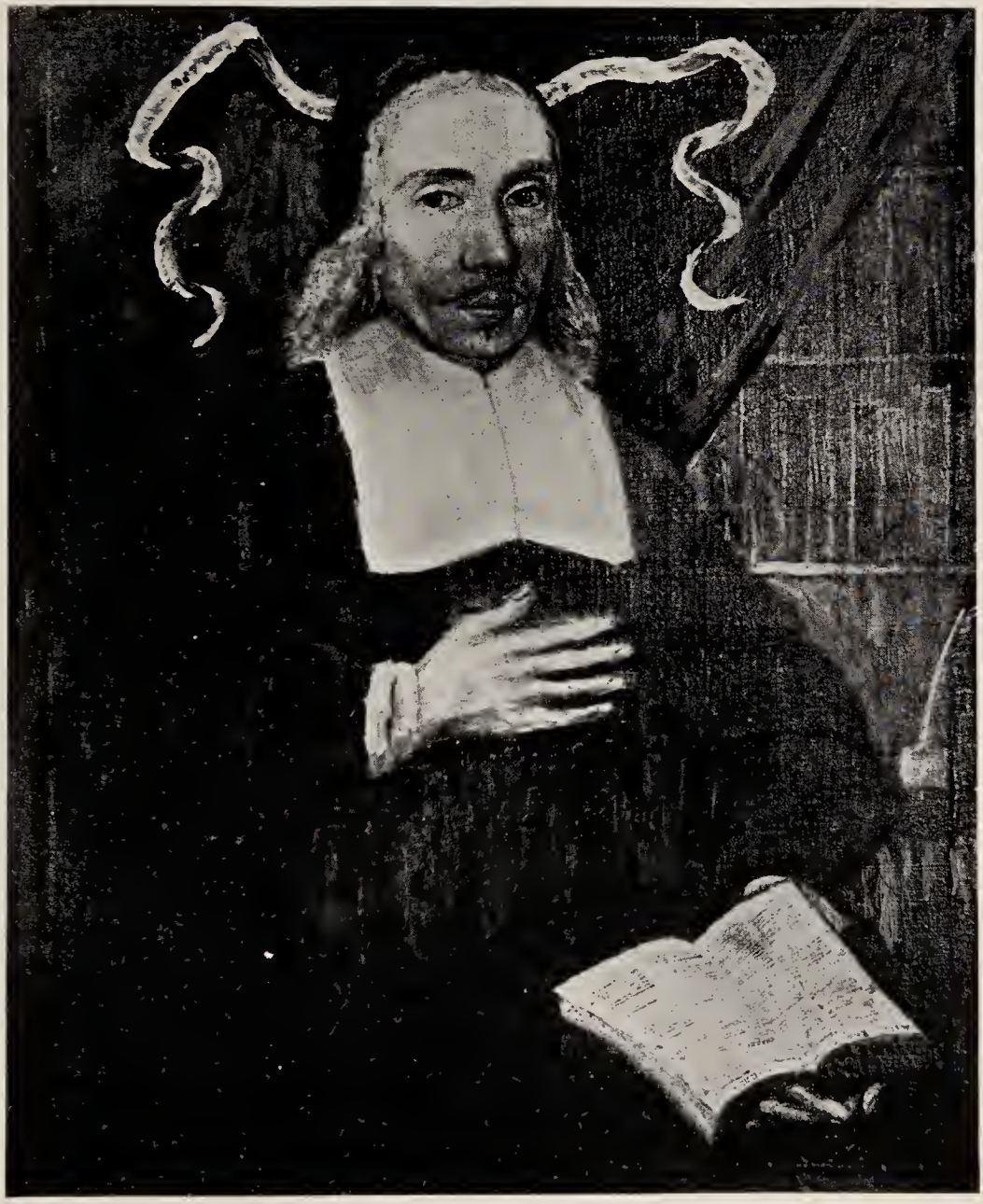
history of some noble tentatives and some other influences not so noble. These tentatives and the resistance offered them will engage our attention.

The Puritan conflict in England was not a purely religious conflict. It was an antagonism of political and social principles as well. The Pilgrims were religious radicals. They were "come-outers." They were for "reform without tarrying for any." For a long time the more important part of the Puritan movement in England was within the Established Church. The men of the Bay Colony also took a view both of the mother country and of the ancestral church the poignancy of whose expression, as they left those beloved shores, could hardly be surpassed. They sought some concession to their religious views. The denial of inherited, and to them, obvious, political rights weighed upon them equally.

This double motive drove those of like mind who had not come to this country into the English Civil War. Those who did come to this country set up a government in which these same principles, civil and religious, were jointly to be expressed. They did not imagine themselves to be setting up a government upon new principles. They were Englishmen ruling Englishmen under the king. They provided a government by representative persons, but it was far from being a democracy. They took a larger religious liberty for themselves than they were, at that moment, assured of at home. Yet the maxim "Cuius regio eius religio" was not a principle of ambitious monarchs only. It was a rule which few of the most enlightened would then have disputed. Was it likely that men responsible for this little community, on the frontier of the world, with meagre resources and a growingly varied population, in a generation of the violence of sects, would take a different view? From the first they believed that theirs was the region, theirs the right to determine the religion.

Power of the Scriptures

Again, not the worst, but the best, of our forebears in the colonies felt themselves bound to demand of others obedience to another external authority which they acknowledged as sovereign over themseelves. This was the authority of God. Concretely it was that of the Word of God in the



From a portrait reconstructed under the direction of C. K. Bolton of the Boston Athenaeum from one which had been painted over and changed after its original completion

REVEREND JOHN COTTON

Holy Scriptures. "The most erected spirits" of the time believed in a miraculous origin of the Bible and its oracular authority. Luther, for a brief time, had had a more adequate notion. He held that the truth was to validate itself in the experience of the devout heart. The exigencies of the conflict with the Roman Church, however, and the struggle against evils in Protestant circles, led to an assertion both by Luther and by the Puritan leaders of the authority of Scripture, not within, but over, the souls of men and over all their conduct, precisely parallel to that which Catholics asserted for the church. The insistent demand of the Puritans for a further reform of the church was that the church must be brought into accord with the Scripture. In civil matters we see the best of men bewildered between their normal reasonings and the meaning which they read out of the inflexible "Word." It was this latter which they felt bound to put above all their reasonings.

One easily thinks of high examples of dissent from this external authority of Scripture. Cromwell wavered. Milton deplored the excesses to which it led. George Fox developed a very different view. But, "The Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants," said Chillingworth. For a hundred years in Britain, for far more than a hundred years in this country, this view maintained itself. The Old Testament lived again as if Sinai were but of yesterday. When Judge Sewall said that "apart from the Scriptures" he "could see much that made against the belief in witches," he threw a flood of light upon the minds of seventeenth century New Englanders.

Authority for the Colonies

By the document generally cited as the First Virginia Charter (1606) James I claimed the right to colonize American lands between the 34th and 45th parallels of latitude, or from the Cape Fear River to Halifax and thence inland. The whole region was called Virginia. This charter provided that English Colonials and their posterity "shall enjoy all liberties, franchises and immunities within any of our dominions to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born

within this our realm of England or any other of our said dominions."

Channing asserts that this declaration marks off English colonization against any other up to the time of its enunciation. Attempts at settlement under this grant on the shores of Chesapeake Bay and again on the coast of New Hampshire met with little success. In 1620, a title to the region between the 40th and 48th parallels was granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges with his associates. The new corporation took the title of the Council for New England. The Council was eagerly seeking settlers. The authorization originally provided for the Mayflower Company had been for settlement in Virginia. The fact that the Pilgrims were landing in New England probably led to the signing of the famous Mayflower Compact. The Compact, it is customary to attribute in form, at least, to the lofty spirit of William Brewster. In substance it is the reiteration of principles known if not practiced in England. It is we who look back upon it, and not its signers, who conceived of it as an outline of government for a new world.

For three years, the condition of the Plymouth Colony was wretched. A mistaken policy as to the tenure of agricultural land had been imposed upon the Pilgrims by the supporters of the venture in England. Bradford on his own responsibility altered this arrangement. This is the first departure from the letter of the agreement.

As to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, its patent was issued in March, 1629, by the New England Company above mentioned, to John Endecott and five colleagues. Endecott was to be the resident representative. Most of the associates in the Company were of the Non-conformist mind; a few were Separatists. Some were, perhaps reluctant, conforming members of the Church of England. The venture was thought of at first as commercial.

In 1629 however, events occurred in England which caused men of this mind to feel that they had, for the present, small hope in their own country. One of these was John Winthrop. The Company had been counting upon Winthrop and his friends to emigrate. He hesitated. In Cambridge this group pledged themselves to be ready to go by the first of March. But they made explicit condition "that the charter of the Mas-

sachusetts Bay Colony and the whole government be first, by order of court, legally transferred to, established in, and remain with, us and others who shall inhabit upon said plantation." With Winthrop, political and economic considerations had place, but religious reasons took precedence of all others. In their own words, the Massachusetts settlers left the land of their birth to establish a church more in accord with the Scripture and their own conscience. The Company acceded to the demand, Winthrop being elected Governor in England.

Leaders in the Community

The company sailed on Easter Monday, 1630; and on June 12th twelve ships anchored at Salem. At Salem the ministers permitted themselves to be elected by their congregation, despite that fact that they were in good and regular standing in the Church of England. The location at Salem proved unfavorable. Winthrop, seeking a more favorable site, decided upon Boston Harbor.

So significant had the movement of population become, so important were men of the type of those who were leaving, that the royal government took drastic measures to prevent emigration. These measures met with no success. The king resolved to diminish the attraction of liberty beyond the sea. He appointed a commission to supervise the affairs of the colonies, of which commission the Archbishops of Canterbury and York were members. Full powers were given to impose penalties in religious matters. The commission never functioned. Those who constituted it were fully occupied with affairs in their own land. This state of things, however, lent color to the accusation, now and then made, that disaffected immigrants were sending information to the government at home. The authorities in the colony dealt severely with such cases.

It is a point of inherited belief that the level of religious interest was higher among the men of the Massachusetts Colonies at this period than with any group of settlers in a primeval wilderness which the world has seen. This is probably true. Emigrants and colonials of the first generation have usually been prompted by more obvious forms of self-interest,—prospect of wealth in the country to which they

went, or of punishment in the country from which they came. That presently men of these self-betterment types appeared among the Bay settlers is beyond question. It is vicious to say that all evil elements present in the Colony,—say in 1640—were Puritans degenerated since their arrival. The men of the higher type, even if in proportion less than they were, could easily have maintained the ascendancy. They showed solid qualities of intellectual precedence as well.

It is said that one family in forty of those who came to New England in the earliest years included some members who had received a university education. Three-fourths of these educated forces were from Cambridge. The number of students in Oxford and Cambridge in those days was not large. The proportion of students to families in England was certainly nothing remotely resembling the figure just given. Those who then studied in Oxford and Cambridge were largely destined to the Church. Of the university men who emigrated, the great majority were ministers. This gave point to the phrase which the General Court used in the founding, in 1636, of the college presently called Harvard. "We dreaded to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust." The colony was thus dominated from the first by men, some of whom had a modicum of property, some of whom had had a measure of civil experience, and an unusual proportion of whom were educated and religious men.

The Charter and the Freemen

The political situation with which the heads of the colony had to deal was not an easy one. The actually resposible persons were, at the first, merely the twelve "members" of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Winthrop and these eleven had received by vote of the Company at home, the full power which they had demanded as the price of their coming at all. The Governor and assistants and freemen of the company (the twelve above referred to) possessed by grant from the king, power "to correct, govern, punish, pardon and rule all the king's subjects within the limits of this patent." The motive for this extraordinary grant may have been in part economic, in view of the hard experience of the early years at Plymouth.

It may have been partly civil. It was undoubtedly in large part religious. In any case, they had received it. Twelve gentlemen, with Winthrop at their head, possessed the legal right to govern a body which, within two years, had reached the number of two thousand of their fellow subjects.

Within a year of their landing, one hundred and nine persons applied to the Great and General Court for admission as freemen of the Corporation. One surmises that the question had already been raised by smaller groups and that this large number now made simultaneous demand, further to show the strength which lay behind it. This very show of strength put the Corporation on its guard. To yield all that was asked was to jeopardize their influence upon the future policy of an adventure, in which legal concessions had been made to them, of which they had taken the initial risk, for which they had made great sacrifices, and upon which they set large hopes. If, on the other hand, the application were denied, the men seeking the new citizenship might go elsewhere.

The governors compromised. They restricted the rights of the newly admitted freemen to the vote for assistants, retaining the number of these assistants at twelve. This meant that the responsible body should still be a small group. Thus far the solution strikes us moderns as at least, human and natural. The leaders took however another step which had far-reaching significance. It was provided that no person should henceforth be admitted a freeman who was not a member of some one of the churches in the colony. Civil rights were thus limited to those who were in sympathy with the religious purposes of the colony.

This remained the basis of the franchise in Massachusetts until after the Restoration. Everyone in the colony was taxed under order of the Great and General Court, for the support alike of civil and religious institutions. Upon this point there was protest by Sir Richard Saltonstall of Watertown, but the protest was overruled. One wonders whether there were not questionings among the loftier spirits upon the other point, as well, namely, as to the limitation of the franchise to communicants in the church. Was it likely that the king's patent and the intention of the New England Company would cover such a limitation of the franchise? Winthrop was a Trinity

College, Cambridge, man and a man of great ability. He had been trained as a lawyer. It is difficult to think that he never reflected upon the action here taken.

When in later years, demand was made upon the part of the dissentients to see the charter, that demand was refused. He and his companions had left the country because, they were not sufficiently free to worship according to their own consciences. Many Non-conformists had, however, remained behind to continue the same struggle. Persecution was occasional. Yet, except for the disabilities of Roman Catholics inherited from an earlier period, there was in England at this time no theoretical denial of civil rights to all dissenters.

In mitigation of this judgment, it is perhaps just again to refer to the view of Scripture which the men of the original groups unquestionably held. It had not been the purpose of these men merely to set up a church. They had desired to establish a Scriptural commonwealth. Channing quotes a suggestive passage from Charles Chauncey, president of Harvard College, "If the establishing of a Bible commonwealth was permissible, this was the best means which could be devised to carry out the scheme, since it placed the government in the hands of those who were interested in the welfare of the particular church which they had come over to nourish."

Faith of the Later Colonists

Finally, we cannot suppose that such numbers as those above cited, streaming to these shores in the first thirteen years, were all animated by zeal either for the Non-conformist church or the Bible Commonwealth. It was a period of stimulation of colonization from many countries in Europe, and from no country so much as from England. This was because of England's mastery of the sea, achieved since the Armada, because of her huge landed possessions on the Atlantic seaboard, and because of the political, as well as the religious, unrest at home. There must have been thousands of those who came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in those early years whose purpose was merely to better their condition.

The limitation of participation in the government is explicable if the members of the original group felt that they must hold hard to their ideal. It does not admit of doubt that

the best of the members of the church were by far the largest part of the best element in the community. Despite the errors which it is part of the purpose of this chapter to discuss, it may fairly be questioned whether any public in the early stages of any frontier settlement showed higher qualities than did the body of citizens in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Proof of this is the influence which they have left behind them in this country and the ideals which they have set before other lands.

Religious Liberty of the Time

Passing allusion has been made to the beginnings of protest as to the use made by the authorities of the power entrusted to them. The remainder of this chapter will be engaged with the history of some of the more important of these opposing movements. In some cases, as in that of the Quakers, the demand was really for a larger and truer liberty. In some cases, it was simply a cry for liberty for a different group. The time came when considerable groups of those who held opposing religious opinions could no longer be driven out, nor even be put at a disadvantage. Then tolerance was forced; and, at last the sentiment of religious liberty took the form in which it is expressed in the American Constitution.

This result came a century after the close of the period assigned to this chapter. It was a movement, moreover, which covered the whole eastern portion of our country, and not merely the Massachusetts colonies. Also, it must be conceded that, before that issue was reached, religion had lost its controlling position among the interests of the world. This was true in America almost as much as in England or Germany, though not so much so as in France.

Down to 1689, it is evident that even in decisions which seem to us deplorable the magistrates were fairly well supported by public opinion. This was more true in the early decades than in the later ones. The colonies were as yet oligarchies, and the Bay Colony had a distinctly aristocratic trend, much more so than Plymouth. Even so, Winthrop and Bradford could not have maintained themselves so long and so uninterruptedly as the heads of their respective communities had not the mass of their fellow-citizens been behind them.

This is by no means to say that majorities are always right. In some of the controversies they were clearly wrong. Nevertheless, it is by majorities that, in the long run, the action of communities is guided in which there is any semblance of freedom.

The episodes which we should call infringements of religious liberty occurring in Plymouth between 1620 and 1630 are but few and of no great significance. Plymouth was small and remained so. It was homogeneous. There was little to attract adventurers. The Rev. John Lyford, a clergyman of the Church of England, arriving at Plymouth, joined the Pilgrim Church, confessing his "former irregular religious walking." He held public services however apart from the others and according to the rites of the Church of England. He was proved to be sending secret information to the home authorities. Bradford therefore seized his letters. He was banished from the colony and, no long time thereafter, died in Virginia.

The case of Thomas Morton, gentleman, could hardly be called one of religious persecution. The merry life which he and his compeers led at Merrymount, near Quincy, was not to the taste of the sterner company at Plymouth. Morton must have made a mistake in choosing his location. Dissipation was alleged. What was proved was that he sold both liquor and firearms to the Indians. Driven from Merrymount by Bradford, he returned and Endecott deported him.

The case of Sir Christopher Gardiner, Knight, was even more clearly a mere case of maintaining order. His establishment included, besides some men of doubtful repute, a "comely young woman," whom, when his troubles began he left upon her own resources. The Plymouth Colony, especially Duxbury, brought itself no honor in its treatment of some of the Quakers who fled thither from Boston. In the matters with which we are concerned, as in many others, its history even before the union with Massachusetts comes more and more to be merged in that of the Bay Colony.

Faith of Roger Williams (1632-1635)

The case of Roger Williams is on a very different footing. It is the first of the cases to which attaches an interest almost

equally painful whether one thinks of him or of the colony. Roger Williams came on the *Lyon* in the spring of 1632. He was received as a "godly minister." A little later it was proposed that he should take the place of the Rev. Mr. Wilson during the necessary absence of the latter in England. Williams declined, declaring that he "durst not officiate to an unseparated people." He esteemed the Church of England to be utterly unscriptural. The founders were indeed Non-conformists, but they did not share so extreme a view of the Established Church. Besides, they were committing themselves to a religious establishment of their own.

The logic of Williams' contention would have made him an enemy of any establishment. He was convinced that the State has no right to compel anyone to go to church services, or to tax all citizens for support of the Church. Williams doubted the rightfulness of "praying with the unregenerate." This seemed to militate against the holding of any religious services. He betook himself to Plymouth. Here the tradition was of separatism, but Williams was unsympathetic with this group on other counts. Bradford records a measured judgment of him: "He had many precious parts, but was of unsettled judgment." Dissentions arose. Bradford again records: "He left us somewhat abruptly," returning to Salem.

Here he spoke against the king and the patent and threw doubt upon the tenure by which the colonists held their land. He felt that they ought to hold their titles from the Indians. The authorities were demanding an oath of fidelity. Williams thought it sinful to take such an oath. The authorities ought not to punish sins under the first four Commandments. These were only upon the individual conscience and against God. Here is certainly a curious mingling of surprising forecast of liberal opinion with other convictions and some personal qualities which made Williams difficult as a citizen in that place and time. Upon occasion of a dispute between the Salem men and the Court on the score of boundaries, Williams resigned his pastorate. He expressed his opinion of the government.

In the autumn of 1635, it was decided to deport him. He betook himself to the wilderness. He settled at the head of Narragansett Bay, calling his place of refuge "Providence."

He bought land of the Indians. Few persons followed him from Salem. Traders came. The settlement which gradually formed itself was less of a government than any of which we have record of that time in these parts. Williams would minister to any who came to hear him, but as yet no church was established. No man was pledged to support religion or to attend services. Providence was not a religious settlement in the sense of Plymouth and Boston. Or rather it was the refuge of representatives of a variety of religiously minded people some of whom found settlement elsewhere difficult.

All this time Williams had not proclaimed himself a Baptist. Some of the opinions above expressed date from the teaching of Browne in the time of Elizabeth. The rest can most of them be traced to the utterances of Independents of Baptist conviction in London in 1611. These did also object to infant baptism and argue for immersion. It seems to have been after his settlement in Providence that Williams became convinced of the correctness of Baptist views upon these points, as well, and proclaimed himself as of that persuasion. The logic of his own temperament led him, however, after only a few months, to withdraw from this allegiance, although there is no evidence that he changed his view. Allegiances were not for Williams. He was not only a Separatist, but a solitary. When he was no longer in spiritual communion with any, he communed with God alone. For the rest of his life he was a "Seeker."

As to the validity of many of Williams' contentions, no modern mind is in doubt. Nor can one rid himself of the sense of surprise and, equally, of admiration, as he reads these bold statements of principles which were often far in advance of his time. Nor does the fact that many of these things had been said before detract from Williams' originality. Apropos of the question between Independents and Presbyterians, Cromwell is quoted as having said in 1655, "It is ungenerous to ask liberty and not give it. What greater hypocrisy, for those who were oppressed by bishops, themselves to become great oppressors as soon as the yoke is removed."

Williams had been saying something like this with his whole life. In the eyes of posterity, with whom these ideals have became commonplace, it must always remain distressing to see

THE BLOODY TENENT YET More Bloody:

BY

Mr *Cottons* endevour to wash it white in the BLOOD of the *LAMBE*;

Of whose precious Blood, spilt in the Blood of his Servants; and

Of the blood of Millions spilt in ~~former~~ and later Wars for Conscience sake,

THAT.

Most Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of Conscience, upon a second Tryal, is found now more apparently and more notoriously guilty.

In this Rejoynder to Mr *Cotten*, are principally

I. *The Nature of Persecution*,
II. *The Power of the Civill Sword in Spirituals* } Examined;
III. *The Parliaments permission of Dissenting Consciences* } Justified.

Also (as a Testimony to Mr *Clarks* Narrative) is added a Letter to Mr *Endicot* Governor of the *Massachusets* in *N. E.*

By R. WILLIAMS of *Providence* in *New-England*.

London, Printed for *Giles Calvert*, and are to be sold at the black-spread-Eagle at the West-end of *Pauls*, 1652.

From the Harvard University Library

the protagonist of them suffer for them and those in power fail to rise to them. But that is history, or, at least, it is a part of history. We may censure Winthrop and his compeers, although they do not seem to have been vindictive toward Williams. We need not be too sure about Williams' unhappiness. We regret his isolation, but Williams was never happy except when he was isolated.

Faith of Anne Hutchinson (1634–1643)

The next religious difficulty which arose in the Bay Colony presents in some ways a marked contrast. In this case, the leader was a woman, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, distinctly a personage, of intelligence and will and social position. She did not share Williams' aversion to society. On the contrary, she found her happiness in gathering society about her. When she departed across the border she drew an appreciable portion of society after her. Williams was sometimes voluble to his own detriment, but in his own way. Mrs. Hutchinson was voluble in a different way. The number of creative ideas which she offered was small. The animosity which she aroused, and perhaps reciprocated, was proportionately great. The personal element in the controversy came to be preponderant. It was a struggle for ascendancy which in another time and place might have been fought out upon some other subject.

Her husband is described as a "peacable man of good estate." They exercised hospitality and Mrs. Hutchinson was devoted to good works. Winthrop says that she was "of a haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, and a very voluble tongue." This is one of several indications that Winthrop disliked her. She assembled her friends at her home, edifying them with comment upon the ministers' utterances. The Boston church had two ministers, John Wilson and John Cotton. Wilson, although the younger man, was the senior in office. Cotton was the abler man. Mrs. Hutchinson seems at first to have impressed him. When Wilson preached she sometimes left her pew.

Sir Henry Vane was drawn to Mrs. Hutchinson's circle. Vane had been honored, almost at once upon his arrival, by being elected Governor, in deference perhaps to his high sta-

tion, in appreciation also of his high qualities. Winthrop, as a kind of anchor to windward, was elected Deputy-governor. Vane and Mrs. Hutchinson seem for the moment to have carried everything before them.

The main tenet in Mrs. Hutchinson's religion seems to have been the doctrine that she herself received inspiration from on high. Thus moved, she passed vigorous judgments, especially upon Wilson and Winthrop. No principle was more alien to non-conformity in general than was this of private illumination. There had been bad experiences with this doctrine, among Catholics before the Reformation and in Protestantism, as at Münster. It was in contradiction with the prevailing conception of the authority of Scripture. Perhaps the oracular view of Scripture had been accepted, in some measure, to escape the vagaries of people who claimed immediate inspiration. Mrs. Hutchinson's influence threatened to become subversive of the government as well as of the church.

The period of her ascendancy was, however, short. In the election of 1637, Winthrop was again chosen Governor. No representative of the Hutchinsonian faction was returned to office. Vane sailed for England. He was very young. Perhaps he felt that he had made an error. The situation in England was now calling men of his sort. Even in company of men far greater than himself, he seems however not to have been easy to work with. Cotton had completely recovered from any illusions which he may have had. The General Court in November of that year, determined "to send away" some of the more prominent of the troublers of the peace.

The governing body cannot escape censure as to its legal proceedings. The public examination of Mrs. Hutchinson was not a trial. It served only to explain to the public a decision already arrived at. Mrs. Hutchinson poured oil on the flames by her freedom of speech. When she demanded to know why she was being banished, the Governor replied, "Say no more. The Court knows and is satisfied." Some of her followers were disfranchised, some were fined.

Mrs. Hutchinson was however not to be banished before she was dealt with "in a church way," as the phrase was. Men whose names we honor, Wilson and Davenport, Shepard and Cotton, used language strong even for ecclesiastics in cutting

her off from the congregation of the faithful. She was not silent under their censure. It is an affair upon which one's mind does not rest quietly, no matter how great the provocation. If the system to which the rulers had committed themselves was not actually at stake, at least the ascendancy of the persons who had made these commitments was in play. As things were in their world, one cannot be sorry that the authorities triumphed. One could wish that they had triumphed with more of the grace of which they frequently spoke.

Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers betook themselves, not indeed to Williams, at Providence, but to the northern end of Rhode Island, at Portsmouth. A quiet life was not for the prophetess. In 1642, on the death of her husband, she removed from Narragansett Bay and settled at the western end of Long Island. There she lived with her children and servants for about a year. Then the whole household, to the number of sixteen persons, were murdered by the Indians. John Winthrop commented upon this providence of God in language which has been described as the most regrettable which he has left on record.

Henry Dunster on Baptism (1640–1654)

We may begin what we have to say of the treatment accorded the Baptists by relating the experience of the Rev. Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College. He is the most notable person whose troubles came upon him because of his profession of the particular tenets of that faith. Furthermore, his connection with the college, founded by the General Court in 1636, the name of which was changed to Harvard College in 1638, and which was the object of the pride and concern of the colony, gives to his case a significance transcending that of the humble men and women who suffered things different from those which he was called to bear.

Dunster was of Magdalen College, Cambridge. Cotton Mather speaks of him as having exercised his ministry in England. He must have begun early. He arrived in Boston in 1640, at the age, it is said, of twenty-one. He was called to the presidency of the college in August of that year. The author of *The Wonder-working Providence* in early en-

thusiasm wrote, "Mr. Dunster is now President of the College, fitted from the Lord for the work and, by those who have skill that way, reported to be an able proficient, as well in languages as in the truths of Christ." Quincy in his history of Harvard College says, "No man ever questioned his talents, learning, exemplary fidelity and usefulness." In another place Quincy says, "He rendered to the College in a succession of years a series of official services well directed, unwearied, and altogether inestimable."

The General Court had passed in 1644 a statute relating to Baptists, the preamble of which began thus: "For as much as experience hath plentifully and often proved that, since the first rising of the Anabaptists, about one hundred years since, these have been incendiaries of commonwealths and infectors of persons in the main matter of religion and troublers of churches in all places where they have been. . . .": the statute concludes:—"it is ordered and decreed that if any person or persons within this jurisdiction either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants . . . or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy or their lawful right to punish the outward breaches of the First Table . . . every such person or persons shall be banished from the colony."

Roger Williams would have made himself liable under this statute on several counts, had it existed in his time. In his Massachusetts period, he had not yet gone over to the specific view of the rite of baptism. Men had now come into the Colony who professed these latter views with vigor, while they conducted themselves in an unoffensive manner upon the other points mentioned. In the year 1651, three Baptists, Clark, a man of some distinction, founder of the Baptist church of Newport, and with him Crandall and Holmes, visiting Lynn, were accused of propaganda and seized by the authorities. Two of them escaped with heavy fines. Holmes was imprisoned and later publicly flogged.

Whether this spectacle moved Dunster, we do not know. What he now courageously asserted was that he had been led to look into the matter of baptism. He declared that he found "that all instituted gospel worship hath some expressed word of Scripture, but paedo-baptism hath none." In October, 1654, he was forced to resign the presidency of the college,

after having been indicted "for disturbing the ordinance of infant baptism in the Cambridge church." Cotton Mather says, "His unhappy entanglement in the snare of Anabaptism filled the Overseers with uneasy fears lest the students by his means should come to be ensnared." Dunster removed to Scituate, taking the ministry of the church in that place. There he died in 1659.

It is clear that Dunster had made himself liable under one clause of the statute. Perhaps that was enough for his opponents. It is not clear from this passage of Mather's whether the thing uppermost in the mind of the Overseers was the specific matter of the rite of baptism, or whether behind it lay also a vague association with the lawlessness which the word Anabaptist seems to have conjured up. Did not Mather know the difference between Anabaptists of the violent sort and Baptists who were but an offshoot from his own Independency, the sobriety of whose utterance in the confession of the first Arminian Baptist Church in London in 1611 is noteworthy?

The Baptists (1654-1680)

To the first of these Confessions belongs the really prophetic cast which we noted in the teachings of Williams. Dunster was apparently a man of circumspection and of high sense of responsibility. He had voluntarily announced his change of view in face of the obloquy which he knew this announcement would bring. He gave the very reason which his opponents gave for their view, namely, his understanding of Scripture. It almost seems as if there must have been other motives at work.

For the authorities of the college proceeded at once to elect as his successor, Charles Chauncy, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, of whom it was well known that he held to baptism by immersion only. One hears nothing in his case about the fact that any Baptist might be suspected of the nondescript political views of Anabaptists. Long afterward in a letter to Increase Mather, one Cobbett, a minister of Ipswich, wrote, "Their very principle of making infant baptism a nullity doth make at once all our churches and our religious and civil state and quality and all the officers and members

thereof to be unbaptized and so to be no Christians." That was a possible inference, but there is no evidence that it was in the minds of the men of Dunster's time.

There was a little group of Baptists in East Boston which met in the house of Thomas Gould. They had suffered fines and imprisonment though we do not read of whippings or banishment. In 1670 they bought land in Boston with the purpose of building a church. This the General Court forbade them to do. They do not seem to have attempted to carry out their purpose until 1680. By that time Charles II, in the interest of Episcopacy, had directed the Colonial authorities to allow all Protestants liberty of conscience. The Court, however, acted upon the colonial law instead, ordering the marshall to nail up the doors of the meeting house. Russell, who became the second minister of this church, wrote an account of the wrongs of Baptists in Boston which was printed in England. It called out a protest from English Baptists wherein they say, "For one Protestant congregation to persecute another where there is no pretense of infallibility in the decision of controversies, seems more unreasonable than the cruelties of the Church of Rome toward those that depart from her superstitions." Times were changed in England since 1640. The tide was running strongly in favor of the Established Church. Great hardships were suffered by dissenters. Nothing undermined the entrenchment of the standing order in Massachusetts or shook the Puritans of New England as the Restoration was shaking the men of the Commonwealth and Protectorate in England.

The Quaker Doctrine (1648–1689)

Far more extravagrant was the treatment of the Quakers in Massachusetts. It is the more striking because it comes late in our period. It is the most serious indictment of the Massachusetts Puritans because it had to do with a people in the main so peaceable. Yet it is the most logical of all these episodes. For however peaceable their conduct these people put forth the most revolutionary theological and governmental ideas with which we have to deal. The Quakers came into existence as a distinct religious society during the period of the English Commonwealth. George Fox began

his mission as itinerant preacher in 1648. From the year 1652, when Fox fell in with bands of "Seekers" in the northern counties, the movement grew rapidly. It attracted notice, and because of its uncompromising views and practices brought persecution upon its adherents.

Fox and his followers at first called themselves "Children of Light." They professed to be led by a divine light revealing the truth to the believing soul. Later, by a happy insight, they called themselves "Friends." By the populace they were known as "Quakers," probably because, in their meetings, they sometimes trembled under excess of feeling. Their claim to the inner light might be thought to resemble that which the Hutchinsonians professed, but it was a profounder thing. It was not the crude assertion of one's own individuality over against that of another. It was a reversion to the mystic's position that even the Scripture itself is only an expression. It but records the fact that the Eternal Spirit once moved great souls. Why should not the Spirit move upon the hearts of the least of men and express itself through their utterances, if only they are open to the influence?

Fox held that the Church with its tradition regarded itself far too much as an external authority. When he looked at the sects with their bibliolatry he thought the case was even worse. It would be absurd to attribute to Fox a theory of knowledge. By intuition he had however anticipated some religious consequences of the theory of knowledge given to the world by the greatest of modern philosophers. This theory makes it possible for us to hold a reasonable view of the nature and authority of Scripture and even of dogma, so that we neither blindly worship these nor yet blindly reject them.

With Fox it was pure religious insight. It carried him much further than any of the dissentients with whom we have dealt. Not only was there to be no Bible commonwealth. There was to be no Bible, in the sense of Puritans and Protestants in general. There was to be no church, either Establishment or Independent. There was to be no ministry of constituted interpreters. There was to be only a body of men and women waiting for the spirit of God to speak to them. Men, and equally women, to whom the spirit spoke were then to speak to the rest. There were to be no sacraments.

These were but signs. If one had the thing signified, the sign was superfluous. If one had not the thing, the sign was a snare. There was to be no taxation for religious purposes. There was to be no taxation for other purposes, like war, which the Friends could not approve. There was to be virtually no government, only a maintaining of peace and order in view of the evils in the world. There were to be no punishments for revenge, but only for reformation. There were to be no outward sign of respect for persons, no differences of stations, nor even of dress.

Quakers in Massachusetts (1656–1681)

When the new faith was stated in this way, it is not surprising that organized society turned against them. Their non-resistance had a very resistant quality. To ordinary men, the Quakers seemed to represent a completely disorganizing principle. They were accordingly the objects of a persecution both in England and in America which went far beyond that which befell others, who by modern standards more deserved it. Our eyes may be quite dry over Mrs. Hutchinson who shrewdly defended herself. The deep things within us are touched at the thought of men who suffered for a vision of truth which we are still immeasurably far from realizing.

Nevertheless, these doctrinal contentions were not the whole truth. Organization has something to say for itself. Quakers have never permanently prospered except where some one else has furnished the government against which they render the invaluable service of protest. The modern decline of their community as a religious body shows not necessarily the decline of the inner spirit. It does show that a spirit must have some external organism through which to work.

The first recorded visit of Quakers to Massachusetts was that of two women, Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, who arrived from Barbadoes in July, 1656. There was as yet no law against Quakers as such. The Deputy-governor, however, on their arrival searched their chests, seized their books and commanded that they be detained on board. Later the women were imprisoned and their books publicly burned. They were subjected to an unseemly examination as to whether they might not be witches, though the witchcraft

fury was not yet raging. After four months the unfortunates were sent back to Barbadoes. Shortly afterward a ship arrived from England bringing eight members of the sect. These the master was compelled to take on his return voyage.

Then a law was passed, in 1656, by the terms of which any Quakers were to be committed forthwith to the house of correction. There they were to be kept constantly at work. No one was permitted to speak to them. Finally, in 1661, it was enacted that those banished the colony and returning might be put to death. Under this law, three men and one woman, Mary Dyer, were hanged on Boston Common. It was said that Mary Dyer was led to her execution through a side street because of the possibility of public disapproval. A solid public opinion was no longer behind the magistrates.

The king rebuked this cruelty and twenty-eight prisoners were released. Whippings, even of women, stripped to the waist, took place as before. Imprisonments continued. In 1681 the law against Quakers as such was suspended. In 1724 the Royal Council, on appeal, reversed the action of the colonial government in all particulars.

The Episcopalians (1629–1684)

As to members of the Anglican Church, Episcopalians as we now call them, there seem to have been in both Plymouth and Massachusetts those who entered New England in the name not only of the crown but of the church as well. When Salem men came to settle in Charlestown in 1629, they found Samuel Maverick of Chelsea, and with him the Rev. William Blackiston. A saying of Blackiston's is famous: "I have come from England because I did not like the Lord Bishops. I cannot join you because I would not be under the lord brethren." He afterward removed to Providence, "near to Williams but far from his opinions." There was also a Rev. Robert Jordan, at Casco, now Portland, Maine. After his death in 1679 it is said there was no Episcopal clergyman remaining in the whole territory of New England.

Yet many of the earlier clergy of the Bay Colony had originally been ordained in the Church of England. Their low churchmanship, beginning with non-conformity to details not according to Scripture, had been aroused by the excesses of

the high church party and by the use of the king's power in favor of this party. Their non-conformity developed into separatism not widely different from that of Plymouth. One sees the parallel to this frame of mind in the cooperation of churchmen in England with the Puritans in the civil war. That they would be the first to recoil when they saw the lengths to which the Puritans were going, needs no saying.

When, however, the Commonwealth and Protectorate were ended and Charles and the Church had been restored, measures were taken in England to deal with religious issues in this country also which tended rather to widen the political breach and to stiffen the determination of the colonists. These had long been free from immediate interference on the part of the mother country. That this degree of freedom was partly due to the paralysis of both State and Church at home is obvious to us. It was not so obvious to the colonists.

Episcopalian Worship Established (1686–1693)

In Judge Sewall's diary for May 30, 1686, he reveals his deep feeling about the fact that "worship is to be held according to the rites of the Church of England as it is called, in the town house, by consent of our authorities." The privilege of the use of any one of three meeting houses in Boston for this purpose had been asked for and refused. In December in that year, Governor Andros newly arrived, asked for the use of one of the meeting-houses. The request was again refused. Tuesday of Holy Week, the Governor "viewed" the three meeting-houses. On Easter, the governor's company met in the South meeting house at eleven o'clock, telling the proprietors that they might come at one-thirty.

By 1688 this relation had been so far from contributing to good feeling that the Governor and Council "took a corner of the burying ground for their own undivided use." In June 1689, the first service was held in the church erected thereon. As it happened, although these events were not yet known on this side of the sea the Revolution had already taken place in England, James had been dethroned by act of Parliament, William of Orange and Mary had been called to reign in his stead. Andros was recalled. His departure wore the aspect of an expulsion. The enthusiasm of a part of the populace

vented itself upon the little ecclesiastical building, it is said, in base manner.

The ship which brought Dudley to be President of Massachusetts in 1693 brought also the Rev. Robert Ratcliff to conduct services in Boston according to the Book of Common Prayer. The Church of England came thus to New England with a show of legal backing which was not good for its cause.

These events, so differently viewed in court circles in England and in colonial councils in America, inaugurated a state of tension between the Colony and the Church of England which lasted in some sense, until after the American Revolution. The Puritans were quite right in identifying the religious with the political situation. Their opponents did the same. Governor Cranford of New Hampshire, wrote home expressing his "humble opinion as a Churchman that it will be absolutely necessary to admit no person to any place of trust but such as will take the Sacrament and are conformable to the rites of the Church of England." He said further: "I utterly despair of any true duty and obedience paid to his Majesty until their college is suppressed and their ministers silenced."

The Issue of Toleration Summarized

It is difficult to say which side is most to blame in these deplorable events. The affiliation of the representatives of the Church of England with the assumption of arbitrary power upon the part of the realm had obscured the fact that, in any case, the body for which they stood had rights and should have been accorded privileges. The unwise procedure of the representatives of what had till fifty years before been the mother church of all Englishmen, cut off this church, and by and by this church only, from the benefits of a growing sentiment, to which, but for this error, they might have made their own contribution. It is not true to say that the Massachusetts people came seeking religious liberty. They came seeking such liberty for religion as understood and preached by and for themselves. That everyone else was seeking for himself.

The Puritans were seeking for themselves with such zeal that they had been tempted to deny it to all others. Would

the Anglicans, had they been in possession have done differently? The Anglicans came claiming sole authority just as the Puritans on the spot claimed sole authority. It was an advantage to be on the spot. As we have seen, the Puritan uniformity was gradually yielding. This episode gave them something to which they felt that they could never yield. The Puritan determination to enforce uniformity depended, at least in the case of the purer minds among them, upon a view of Scripture which in the modern world has largely passed away. The Anglican view of one only church, and the desire to secure uniformity, rests upon a view of the nature of the church which has by no means passed away. From the point of view of Protestantism it rests, however, upon the same assumption, namely, the belief in the absolute in the midst of the world of the relative.

If the magistrates and ministers thought that under the new regime in England they would be safe from further interference, they were mistaken. They asked that the old Colonial charter be restored to them. The request was refused. King William III was a man of great ability and of firm purpose. The Bill of Rights of 1689 brought relief in England to vexed questions. His handling of questions pertaining to the colonies was on the same large lines. His policy was on the side of mutual understandings and more tolerant views. He could not permit a virtually independent government of the colonies; nor, in the logic of his treatment of such matters at home, could he permit the legal exclusiveness of a church. Yet in spite of this, the representatives of no sect were so slow to reap the benefit of this better situation as were the Anglicans.

Other Beliefs

As to Roman Catholics, Jews and atheists — there were none. The disability of Roman Catholics in England after the failure of Mary Tudor were so great that, had the laws against them been strictly enforced, no Catholics could have remained within the realm. The laws were not thus enforced. Great Catholic nobles secured immunity for sums of money paid to the needy treasury of James and Charles. It is difficult to conceive that within our period a Roman Catholic

should have wished to go to New England. They would have preferred to go to Virginia and, presently, to Calvert's colony at Baltimore.

Here they could even expect protection, although they were warned "to practise their religion discreetly." After 1649, the assembly of Maryland with the full consent of Lord Baltimore, proclaimed "the rights in Maryland of any who professed to believe in Jesus Christ."

There were few Jews in England at the time of which we speak. The first Jew of whom we have information as coming to America came from Holland to New Amsterdam at some time between 1650 and 1660. The first man of the race well known in Massachusetts was Judah Monis, instructor in Hebrew in Harvard College in 1722. Even he was not appointed until after he became a Christian.

The word atheist appears now and then in the literature of our period in New England. The connotation is difficult to establish. Even the most theoretical of the deists, at the end of the 17th century in England, had rarely advanced to the belief in no God at all. It is this which we should mean by the word atheist. In the seventeenth century usage, the term is apparently nothing more than a word of opprobrium applied rather indiscriminately to persons not holding orthodox views.

The Outcome

In Massachusetts, within the period of which we speak, even tolerance was rare. It was, however, a step on the way to liberty. The idea that a sound body politic could be built upon the principle of religious liberty, as we understand it, was never even conceived by the authorities of the colony. For that matter, even in Europe, it was rarely conceived save by the most enlightened of those who were not governing.

For almost a whole century, between 1689 and 1789, the process which we have been following in Massachusetts went on in the country at large. In this wider process Anglicans and Roman Catholics had their share, along with branches of the church which we have had no occasion to discuss—Dutch Reformed, German Reformed, Lutherans, Huguenots, even Jews.

At last, in point of law, the slow result was secured, and is embodied in the Federal Constitution of 1787. It seems to us an inestimably precious thing. It was secured, however, in part, at the cost of an indifference to religion which marked much of the eighteenth century; just as dissension and frenzy about religion in the seventeenth century. In the workings of the inner spirit of man, the same age-long struggle is with us still. It places non-religiousness, or even anti-religion, in antagonism against a zeal which, flaming up and taking hold of outward things again endangers a large and liberal mind, a just and loving heart. With this broad and tolerant spirit, religion has been the highest blessing to mankind. Without it, religion may be, as has often been said it was in seventeenth century Massachusetts, a disruptive force and a bar to a truly united society.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies to the following chapters: i (England); iv (Plymouth); vii (Winthrop); viii (Sister Settlements); x (Social Life); xii (Harvard College); xvii (Controversies with England); xx (Crises); xxi (Dominion); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

ADAMS, Charles Francis.—*Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (2 vols., Boston, New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1892).

BARCLAY, R.—*Apology* (Aberdeen, 1678; 6 ed. Newport R. I., 1729; Franklin, Philadelphia, 1837; Kimber Conrad, 1805).

BARCLAY, Robert.—*The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* (London, His widow, 1877).

BRADFORD, William.—*History of Plymouth Plantation* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1856).

BURRAGE, Henry S.—*A History of the Baptists in New England* (Philadelphia, 1894).

CHANNING, Edward.—*History of the United States* (N. Y., Macmillan, 1907 and 1910).—Vols. I and II.

CLARKE, John.—*Ill Newes from New England* (London, 1652).—Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, Vol. II, 4th series, (Boston, 1954).

DEXTER, Henry M.—*Congregationalism* (Boston, 1865, Harper, New York, 1880).

FISHER, George P.—*The Colonial Era* (New York, Knowles, 1892).

ELLIS, G. E.—*The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1888).

FISKE, John.—*Beginnings of New England* (Boston, New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1889).

GAMMELL, W.—*Life of Roger Williams* (Boston, 1844).

GOOCH, G. P.—*History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, University Press, 1898).

HALLOWELL, R. P.—*The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1887, Houghton Mifflin, 1883).

McCONNELL, S. D.—*History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York, Whittaker, 1890).

MASSON, David.—*Life of John Milton and History of his Times* (7 vols. London, Macmillan, 1859–1880).

MATHER, Cotton.—*Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, ed. Andrus, 1702, New Haven, Andrus, 1820).

PLATNER, John W. and others.—*Religious History of New England* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1917).

RUSSELL, John.—*A brief Narrative and some Considerable Passages concerning the First gathering, etc.* (London, 1680).

THOMAS, Allen C.—*History of the Society of Friends in America* (New York, in the American Chuch Histories Series, 1894).

TREVELYAN, G. M.—*England under the Stuarts* (New York, 1904; London, 1905; New York, 1914, Putnam).

WALKER, Williston.—*A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States* (New York, Christian Literature Company, 1894).

WINTHROP, John.—*Journal* (Hartford, original edition, Hartford, 1790, also edited by J. K. Hosmer, 2 vols., Scribners, 1908).

CHAPTER XV

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION (1620–1689)

By Davis Rich Dewey,
Professor of Economics
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Financial Basis of Plymouth (1620–1630)

Except for the more ample financial resources of the Massachusetts Bay Company and the greater number of settlers enjoying its protection, there was little difference in the economic life of that colony and the Plymouth settlement. The economic organization of the two colonies may therefore, after the first few years, be considered as one; the inhabitants were engaged in the same occupations, used the same forms of property rights, traded with the same kinds of monetary media, and supported their governments by similar methods of taxation.

The financial support of the Plymouth settlement was a loose joint-stock company based upon an agreement, but not incorporated. So-called "Adventurers," mostly in London and possibly seventy in number, made small subscriptions. Ostensibly they were influenced by the desire to relieve religious persecution; but in the negotiations with their brethren in Leyden who were most active in seeking a new home, they showed themselves exceedingly timid in entrusting their capital to the new venture; and they were over-solicitous as to the profit which they themselves would derive. The Leyden folk and their companions who joined them at Southampton could raise but scanty funds; and the financial burden lay largely on

the Adventurers. This and the risk of the undertaking may furnish some excuse for the extreme caution and hard terms laid down in the agreement between the Adventurers and the planters, as the colonists were called.

Under this agreement a share was equal to £10. A single share was given to each person sixteen years and over who took part in the settlement, and two shares if the colonist furnished himself with £10 in money or provisions. For wives, older children and servants, a single share was also allotted for each, and doubled if the necessaries of life were provided. For children between ten and sixteen, two were to be reckoned as one; and children under ten were given a right to 50 acres of unmanured land.

The partnership held for seven years, and during that period all property was to be held in common, and the colonists were to have "their meat, drink, apparel, and all provisions" out of the common stock. This in particular was the clause to which the colonists made most strenuous protest. They did not object to the common or joint-stock regulation which governed the distribution of profits in trade and fishing; but they did demand vigorously from the beginning individual ownership of houses, home lots, gardens and improved lands; and also that they be allowed two days in each week for their own "private employment." No such concessions, however, were granted. Subsequent experience revealed, according to Governor Bradford, "the vanity of that conceit of Plato's and other ancients, that the taking away of property and bringing in community into a commonwealth would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God."

The communal holdings of land imposed upon the Plymouth colonists did not last long. Demands were made that individual diligence and labor be recognized. Within three years a part of the land was allotted to each household to be cultivated for a single season. This in turn did not give satisfaction; and, in the fourth year of settlement, one acre of land was given to each freeman in perpetuity. Apparently this was done with the silent consent of the Adventurers, who were too far away to exercise active control.

Information is wanting as to the occupations and training of most of the Pilgrim colony previous to sailing to their new

home. Those that came from Leyden had been accustomed to hard work in trades and mechanical pursuits rather than farming. Little effort was made to form a well-balanced economic group, qualified to found a settlement devoid of most of the comforts and conveniences which European homes afforded. It is evident that farming was not planned to be the chief occupation. The articles of agreement, drawn up by the company financing the enterprise, specifically refer to the profits to be gained by "trade, traffic, trucking, working and fishing," and the colonists were instructed to choose fit persons to furnish ships and boats for fishing; the remainder were advised to work upon the land and build houses. The Leyden pastor, John Robinson, in the preliminary negotiations wrote that the greatest part of the colony would probably be employed, not upon dressing the land and building houses, but upon fishing and trading.

Even for trade and fishing there was little forethought; for this the colonists themselves were not responsible. The financing company was not whole-hearted in its support, supplies were insufficient, and at the last moment the *Mayflower* passengers sold at Southampton a part of their supplies, in order to satisfy pressing claims before they could set sail. As Governor Bradford pathetically wrote, the Pilgrims sailed with scarce any butter, no oil, not a sole to mend a shoe.

Financial Basis of Massachusetts (1628–1630)

The establishment of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was much more auspicious. Preparations for economic welfare and development were made well in advance. The germ of this settlement was an unincorporated joint-stock association with a capital of £3000, known as the Dorchester Adventurers. It was formed to provide a settlement which would afford greater comfort and religious privileges for the transient sailors and fishermen who yearly visited the New England coast. As a settlement in Massachusetts it failed; but interest in the plan gained in England. Men with property and established social position were enlisted in a much more ambitious project which led to the creation of a chartered corporation, the "Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." Details as to the financial resources of this company

are lacking; but it is evident that they were substantial and far in excess of those that promoted the Plymouth colony. The charter cost £2000; and no time was lost in sending (1628) six vessels carrying nearly 300 persons with provisions, clothing, tools, and live stock. This was followed in 1630 by the larger migration, which marked the founding of the colony. Among the leaders, Winthrop, who was chosen governor in 1629, had property in England of over £600 a year; Isaac Johnson owned land in three counties; another had been minister to the court of Denmark; and a fourth had accumulated wealth in the West Indies.

There was no fixed amount of capital, nor share certificates. Contributions were voluntary, but each contributor was entitled to 200 acres of land, as well as a share in trading profits. In addition, if the subscriber went over as a colonist at his own expense, he was to receive 50 acres more for himself, and 50 acres for each member of his family. Settlers who were not contributors were granted 50 acres; and allotments were also made for servants. Apparently there was no plan to make profit for the joint-stock company at the expense of the welfare of the colonists. The company simply reserved to itself the exclusive fur trade for seven years.

Records as early as 1628 contain detailed lists of supplies to be sent over. Instructions as to outfitting called for an allowance to each man of four pairs of shoes, three pairs of stockings, a pair of Norwich garters, four shirts, a suit of doublet and hose of leather lined with oilskin leather and with hooks and eyes, a suit of Hampshire kerseys, four bands, a waistcoat of green cotton bound with red tape, a leathern girdle, a Monmouth cap, a black hat lined in the brow with leather, five red knit caps, two dozen hooks and eyes, two pairs of leather gloves, a blanket, and a pair of sheets.

Similar specifications were made for household utensils and the staple grains of agriculture. Special mention is made of liquorice, potatoes, madder, flax, and hemp. Currant plants, hop roots, saffron heads, seeds of apple, pear, quince and pomegranate, and stones of peaches, plums, cherries, and filberts are named. Cattle, horses, goats, and tamed turkeys are likewise enumerated.

The need of skilled workmen and engineering talent was not

overlooked. A concession was made to one group which agreed "to provide able men to send over for managing the business." Mechanics were engaged, including carpenters, wheelwrights, shipwrights, coopers, cleavers, saltmakers, and miners of iron. Preëminent among these early records is the agreement in 1628 with Thomas Graves, "skillful and experienced in the discovery and finding out of iron mines and also of lead, copper, mineral salt, in surveying of buildings and lands, in describing a country by map, in finding out sorts of limestones and materials for buildings, and in manufacturing." This all-embracing engineer and chemist agreed to go for three years at a salary of £5 per month.

Distribution of the Population (1620–1689)

The population which occupied these new settlements was not large as judged by modern ratios of density, but from the beginning there was constant complaint of over-crowding. The Plymouth Colony grew from 100 in 1620 to 300 in 1630; but even with that slight addition, the colonists felt the necessity of pushing northward to Duxbury, Marshfield, and Scituate, and were turning southward toward Cape Cod. The Massachusetts Bay colonization brought several thousand persons between 1630 and 1640, until in the latter year there were probably close to 9000.

A traveller, William Wood who spent four years in New England, has left an interesting description of the Massachusetts Bay settlements as he saw them in 1633. Beginning at the south, Dorchester was the largest town, well wooded and watered, with good arable lands, hay land, fair corn fields and kitchen gardens. It possessed many cattle, goats, and swine.

There was one "inconvenience"; it had no alewife river. A mile away was Roxbury, "the inhabitants of it being all very rich." Here there was a clear and fresh brook, wanting alewives, but having "a great store" of smelts. A quarter of a mile north is Stony River with a water mill. Roxbury had "good ground" for corn, and meadows for cattle. The corn fields were sourrounded by a paling.

Northeast two miles, was Boston, located on a peninsula, and so located that a little fencing would protect the cattle from wolves. Boston lacked wood and timber, which had to

NEVV ENGLANDS PROSPECT.

A true, lively, and experimentall deſcription of that part of *America*, commonly called NEVV ENGLAND: diſcovering the ſtate of that Countrie, both as it ſtands to our new-come *Engliſh* Planters; and to the old Native Inhabitants.

Laying downe that which may both enrich the knowledge of the mind-travelling Reader, or benefit the future Voyager.

By WILLIAM WOOD.

Printed at *London* by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Iohn Bellamie*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop, at the three Golden Lyons in *Corne-hill*, neere the *Royall Exchange*. 1635.

From the Harvard University Library

be fetched from the islands in the harbor by boats. Hay was likewise brought in on lighters. The inhabitants who had cattle were forced to own farms at a distance, as in Muddy River (Brookline), two miles away, where there was good soil, large timber, and marshlands. Here they could keep their cattle and swine during the summer while the corn was growing in their home lots in Boston. Boston was not the greatest or richest town at that time, but was the most noted and most frequented, for it was the seat of government.

Charlestown was another neck like Boston which was reached by a ferry boat over the Charles River. Mystic (Medford), a mile and a half away was very fertile and pleasant, "fit for more inhabitants." New-town (Cambridge) three miles south of Charlestown, was "one of the neatest and best compacted towns in New England," and most of the inhabitants were very rich and well supplied with cattle. Many hundreds of acres were "paled in with one general fence a mile and a half long," remnants of which still exist. This town had one drawback; it was too far from the sea. Westward was Watertown, where there was a weir to catch fish, especially shad and alewives. The traveller remarks that he had seen 100,000 caught in the span of two tides.

To the west of the Mystic River was the farm of Governor Winthrop where he kept his cattle; and to the east of this river was the plantation of an earlier governor, Craddock. This was impaled in a park. Another town in the bay was Winnisimet (Chelsea), also "fit for more planters." At Rumney Marsh, also now a part of Chelsea, were "fresh meadows" and "more English tillage than any place," suitable for barley, rye, and oats. There was also an abundance of ducks, geese, and fish, including bass, mackerel, and rock cod.

Six miles northeast was Saugus (Lynn), well wooded with oak, pine, and cedar, a "store of good land, fit for plow," used then only for young cattle and wether goats and swine, "to secure them from the wolves." Nearby was a weir with a herring-house, and again the traveller notes that he had seen 10,000 taken in two hours by two men without use of the weir. North of Lynn was Marblehead, "convenient for plantation and fishing," and still further north was Salem Neck. Its

soil was sandy but good for corn. There was also timber, and the harbor supplied fish. Outlying farms were reached by small canoes, made of "whole pine trees," twenty feet long and two and a half feet wide. Akawam (Ipswich), nine miles from Salem was a "spacious place," with fish, game, and plain plowing fields. This and Merrimac (Newbury) furnished the greatest opportunities, and in the Merrimac River there was a great supply of sturgeon and salmon.

The ascendancy of Oliver Cromwell in England, which brought relief from persecution by land, slackened migration somewhat; while the Restoration in 1660 again gave it new impetus. In 1665, the population of Massachusetts is estimated at possibly 25,000, and by the end of the century, between 50,000 and 60,000. Of these about 7500 lived in Boston; an equal number in the dozen townships of the Plymouth Colony, and the remainder scattered in settlements located in the eastern third of Massachusetts, and in a few towns bordering the Connecticut River. If the more populous towns, like Boston and Salem be omitted, the density of population in the farming towns did not probably much exceed ten to the square mile.

Roughly a line drawn from the present Lowell at the north, southwesterly to Worcester, and then bending to the east to the southern border, marked the boundary between which and the ocean most of the inhabitants lived. A few settlements had been planted on the Connecticut River by 1665. Springfield, Westfield, Northampton, Deerfield, Northfield, Hatfield, and Hadley were outlying settlements in the west, which could only be reached by vessels rounding Cape Cod, or by an arduous horseback journey or on foot overland by Indian trails, marked by blazed trees.

During King Philip's war (1675) fourteen of the interior settlements, extending from Groton, Worcester and New Bedford, were abandoned, as well as Deerfield and Northampton on the Connecticut. The Indian population was small. At the beginning of the seventeenth century there may have been a good many thousand; but as already noted, in the chapter on Plymouth, a plague destroyed at least half of the natives, and weakened the rest.

Allotment of Land (1620–1680)

No instructions were given to the Plymouth colonists as to how their common property was to be divided at the end of seven years. Some distribution of 100 one-acre lots was, however, made in 1624; and in 1627, when the partnership with the Adventurers was formally dissolved, allotments of 20 acres were given.

The charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company was more precise in its instructions. Instead of a right to an indefinite amount of property, each shareholder in the migration received a grant of a stated number of acres of land. Allotments were also planned on a generous scale; for the total area open to settlement was far more extensive than was possible under the conditions existing at Plymouth.

Although each of the original shareholders of the Bay Colony was entitled to 200 acres, the right of locating every community settlement was under control of the General Court. When grants were made to a group of persons to settle a plantation — and frequently in the case of special grants to individuals,— the Court appointed a committee to view the location and determine whether it was suitable. Settlers were enjoined to keep together; and care was taken to prevent the scattering of the population beyond the limits of protection against possible attacks by unfriendly Indians.

The several town settlements established regulations as to distribution for the members of their own particular group. Lands were in some instances allotted by a vote in town meeting; sometimes by selectmen, and again by special committees. Two tests were prominent in the assignment of acreage — the amount of the settler's estate and his vocation and capacity to cultivate the land. A typical illustration of the method followed is seen in the settlement of Woburn. Seven freemen were given by the General Court a grant of Woburn, four miles square; these seven in turn made grants to those who agreed to settle. Those who lived nearest the meeting-house were given less land about their houses; those living farther away received more. To the poorest was given a meadow lot of 6 or 7 acres, and an upland lot of 25 acres.

Again, the settlers of Springfield, in almost their first town

meeting in 1636, voted that "planting ground and meadow" should be divided among persons "who are most apt to use such ground." The value of the settler's resources and the number of his cattle were taken into account. A person who had no cattle was, however, granted not less than 30 acres of mowing ground; while those who had cows, steers, or year-olds had at least two acres for each animal, and for a horse not less than four acres.

To some of the grants was annexed the consideration that the grantees should bring testimonials of their peaceable behavior, or that they would agree to remain in town for five or more years. Unfriendly settlers in many instances were excluded, and grants were frequently ordered to be forfeited if not cultivated within a reasonable time.

Special allotments were made for ministers, for schools, and for other public purposes; and an outlying acreage was often reserved for future needs. Worcester, for example, settled in the latter part of the century (1684), was divided into 480 lots; out of which 60 were tax-free, for a school, training ground, ministers' houses, cemetery, gristmill, sawmill and fulling mill.

To the extent that allotment was based upon the amount of stock subscribed, the settlement might be regarded as a capitalistic enterprise. In actual evolution, however, it was essentially democratic, not only in its political relationships, but in its economic characteristics. A few of the leaders assumed, either by contributions or by loans, a considerable amount of the initial expense; but not enough to justify the grants of extensive tracts of land, even if there had been a disposition to build up great estates, such as existed in the home country. There is abundant evidence that no such desire existed in the planning.

In 1653 when a request was made for a further division of the plantation of Springfield, the Court ordered that not more than 100 acres be granted to any one settler; in Sherborn, laid out in 1674, it was ordered that no man should have more than 50 acres until twenty families were settled; and in Salem, the customary grant to late comers was 50 acres.

Individual Holdings

Farms, particularly in the early years, were small, as might be expected in an uneven, hilly country where there were few open stretches of cleared land. In general the large majority of the farms in the coast towns varied from ten to forty acres each, the latter being nearly the acreage of the present Boston Common.

For special meritorious public service by magistrates, clergymen, and promoters of industrial undertakings, a few large grants were directly made by the General Court. A 4200-acre grant was given in return for £400 "adventured in the common stock," 2000 acres were granted in 1657 "for the encouragement of Harvard College," and a few years later 500 acres to its president; the widow and sons of Mr. Nowell, long secretary of the colony, were rewarded with 2000 acres in two or three farms. Such exceptional wholesale grants, however, always carried the proviso that they did "not frustrate any previous grant," or hinder a plantation which had already been established.

The allotment to each settler was generally in scattered tracts. To each of the twenty or thirty heads of families, who formed the community seeking to found a new township, was given a home lot of four or five acres, and frequently the Court ordered that these be not more than half a mile from the meeting house. In addition the newcomer received lots of upland or meadow more remote from the center and rights in common lands.

It was difficult to secure equality of location owing to differences in soil, and the interruption of barren hill-tops, marsh lands, and swamps. Fields were consequently subdivided, and the holdings of individual proprietors broken up in different parts of the town. Thus fields were apt to be small; later, however, by exchange or purchase the farmer created more compact holdings around the home lot.

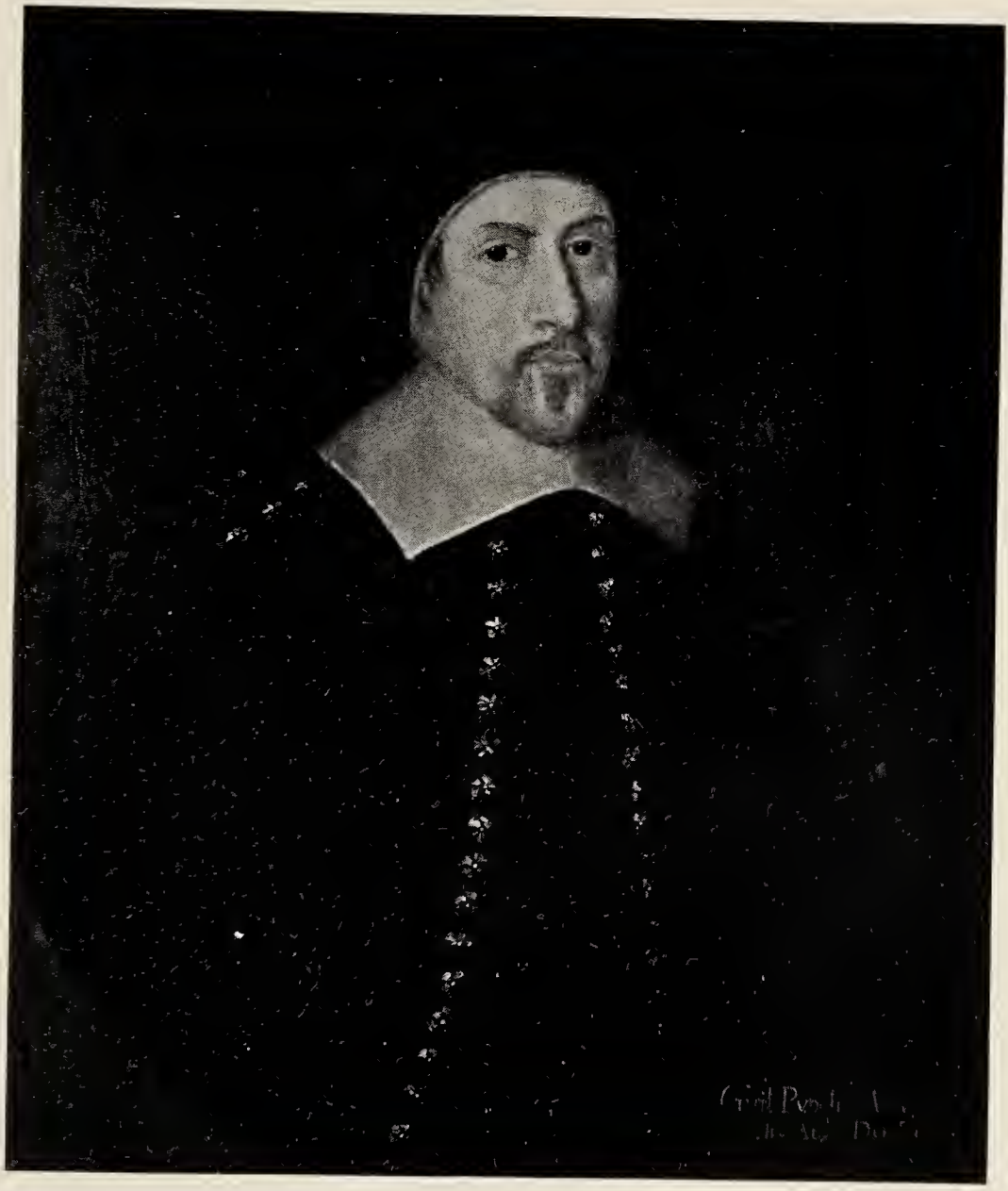
Although the "planting land" and meadows were divided among several proprietors, the several divisions were not separated by fences. The whole crop field was frequently fenced, each proprietor contributing his share according to the size of the allotment. Not only was each settler responsible to a common group for fencing, but he was subject to regulations as

to kind of crops to be cultivated and the date of harvest. After the crops were harvested, the common fence might be removed, and the field opened to the village cattle for pasture.

Commons

Neighborliness and need of easy opportunity for mutual counsel and assistance prevented the scattering of the population, except in village groups. Nor could a large settlement thrive, until commercial and manufacturing enterprises were developed. Agriculture alone could not support a population of more than a few hundred in a single township. Even in the latter half of the century, as seen in the instructions for the laying out of Groton, a plantation eight miles square was considered appropriate for sixty families. This would give to each family a farm of approximately one square mile. This did not mean, however, that the homes of the farmers were widely separated; these were compactly grouped in the center, a policy which was the more necessary for interior towns subject to attack by the Indians.

A part of the common land was held by the original proprietors, and rights to its use were inherited or could be sold, as was the home lot and meadow which the settler held in fee. A part, generally the larger portion, was held in common by the village community collectively. This naturally lay on the outskirts of the settlement. Such land was open to pasturage, the cutting of wood, or free taking of any other products which the land afforded. Squatters frequently settled on this land, and late comers were made grants from this source. There were thus two kinds of commons, the proprietors' commons, in which the owners had fractional rights, and town commons which comprised land not allotted. In the first years of a settlement, the proprietors' commons furnished pasturage for the several owners, and little use was made of land more distant from the center of the new community. In some towns the commons were divided off and each devoted to a special use of pasturage; in Newbury, for example, there was a cow common, an ox common, a calf common and a sheep common. As late as 1880 titles on Cape Cod existed to "one-eighth-of-a-cow right."



From the portrait in the Essex Institute, Salem

WILLIAM PYNCHON, CONNECTICUT VALLEY PIONEER

Land from Indians

In the acquisition and settlement of land, the colonists were disposed to give some respect to the rights of the Indians. In this they found a difficult problem. According to English jurists, discovery and possession gave a valid title to lands; and the ultimate title rested in the Crown which in turn could make royal grants. Expediency and a sense of justice led the colonial authorities to apply this principle in a liberal spirit. Fortunately for the colonists, the Indian population in the eastern part of Massachusetts was not large. The plague which a few years before the Pilgrims arrived had swept through that section, left in many sections but a small number of the natives. Abandoned clearings accordingly were not infrequent. The General Court frequently qualified a grant by the proviso that the just right of any Indian to possession be respected. In a grant to Simon Bradstreet, an active leader in colonization, in 1657, the Court specifically provided that he "compound with the Indians for their interest thereon."

Local town records give abundant testimony to the purchase of land from the Indians. The latter were easily satisfied if they could retain fishing rights and a claim to a small parcel for planting corn. Typical of the indifference of the natives to ownership of land was the sale of a tract on the west side of the Connecticut River in 1641. Title was formally transferred by Indians on payment of 15 fathoms of wampum, 1¾ yards of double shag bags, 1 bow, 7 knives, 7 pairs of scissors, 7 awls, "with certain fishhooks and other small things." In this instance, the only reservation was that the Indians had the "liberty of fishing in Chicoppy at the usual weirs that now are in use."

Agriculture

The first business of the settlers was to get food, either from the soil or from the ocean and the forest. Especially worthy of record is the struggle of a poorly equipped band of pioneers to support life and provide for material wants in a new and strange country. As a group, the Pilgrims had no special aptitude or training for farming, and least of all for farming in a new country, with a harsh climate, soil

not characterized by high fertility, and land heavily timbered, with but few clearings suitable for immediate cultivation. The outlook for the first colonists at Plymouth in 1620, about 100 in number, of whom less than half were adult men, was forbidding. They did not make their first landing until November and New England's on-coming winter denied them any opportunity for agricultural activity. More than half of the adult males died that first winter; the labor force to establish a new settlement was weakened at the outset.

In the first spring at Plymouth six acres were planted to barley and twenty to corn, the latter from seed hidden by Indians, but discovered by exploring parties during the winter. This grain was new to the settlers, but the friendship of an Indian taught them the method of cultivation. Henceforth it played a large part in satisfying the food wants of the colonists. Fish, particularly cod and bass, game, including wild turkeys, pigeons, and deer, and wild fruits helped to supply their needs. From such humble beginnings the economic life of Englishmen in Massachusetts had its origin.

The colonists quickly added to the cultivation of corn, beans, and pumpkins, which they found in their new land, some of the principal grains and vegetables of Europe, as wheat, rye, buckwheat, and oats; and the vegetables, cabbages, turnips, onions, carrots, and parsnips. Corn, however, was the principal food crop, except in a few favored spots where there were extensive clearings adaptable for wheat. Barley was grown for the making of beer which was a common drink until the apple orchards furnished fruit to be converted into cider. Oats were sown for food for horses.

The cultivation of hemp was attempted to provide cordage for vessels, but little success was attained. The settlers were more fortunate in the growing of flax, especially along the Merrimack and Connecticut Rivers; this was raised for its fibre to make linen for household consumption, and also for its seed to be crushed into oil. The colonists early introduced fruit trees, including apples, pears, plums, and cherries, partly from seeds and partly from trees brought over from Europe.

Stock

The farming tools used during this period were the simple

hand implements with which we are familiar today, the hoe, fork, spade, shovel, ax, grub-ax, mattock, pick-ax, rake, scythe, sickle, flail and wheelbarrow. The Pilgrims did not use the plow until twelve years after landing, and by the middle of the century probably half the farms in Massachusetts did not possess this tool. Towns were encouraged to buy plows, and for this service bounties were paid. Carts were crude affairs; frequently the wheels were sawn from solid plank and had no tires. Sleds were often used in place of carts even in the summer.

The farm home except in the few larger settlements was the center of economic activity. The settlers lived by hand labor; in most of the communities their food, clothing, shelter, furniture and farming implements were home-made from raw materials of the fields and forests in the immediate neighborhood. Neighbors were few; roads to the outlying settlements were but rude paths or trails; each family in the farming settlements at the outset was to a large extent a self-sufficing unit. Gradually there was introduced a division of labor, seen first in the establishment of a sawmill, followed by a gristmill, and then possibly a fulling mill.

Cattle were brought over soon after the first settlement at Plymouth and also by the Massachusetts Bay colonists, and by 1650 importations were made from Virginia. Most of those from Europe came from Devonshire and formed the basis of the present Devons. A small importation of Danish cattle to New Hampshire in 1633 later found its way to Boston and vicinity. Sheep were also imported, but it was more difficult in the early years to establish this stock, owing to wolves and the severe winters. The Massachusetts Bay government tried to encourage the industry in order to provide wool for clothing; and special rights were granted for sheep in the common pastures.

In the vicinity of Boston 31 farms in Muddy River (now Brookline) in 1687 had 195 cattle, and 13 farms had 214 sheep. The largest herd reported was 13, and the largest flock, 40. In Rumney Marsh (now Chelsea) 32 farms had 344 cattle and 30 farms had 1544 sheep. The maximum number of cattle on a single farm was 40, and of sheep 370. In Ipswich and Newbury, however, protected by the ocean and

the Merrimack River, sheep raising was more successful, and there are records of five flocks of 1000 each in Newbury. By the end of the century there was sufficient wool clipped in the colony to supply domestic needs. Other live stock imported included horses, swine and poultry.

Occupations

The forests provided ample supplies for domestic needs and material for export. Lumber for cooperage and clapboards had a ready market; the white pine was eagerly sought for masts and spars for the royal navy; and timber was used in large quantities for ship-building. The forests also supplied materials for the manufacture of tar, rosin, turpentine, and potash. As water power was available from the numerous streams throughout the colony, every settlement had its sawmill. Before the end of the century timber was scarce along the coast; and demand for it was one of the factors which drove the pioneers to make settlements in the interior.

The trapping of fur-bearing animals added to the income of many a farmer. Beaver were common in the first half of the century, and provided a large enough supply to give colonial hatters an advantage over those in England.

The fisheries engaged the employment of a considerable portion of those who lived near the coast. This industry provided welcome food in the earlier days before agriculture was finally established, and fish furnished an essential fertilizer in the cultivation of crops.

More important than either of these objects, fish was the basis of an export trade, especially to Catholic countries. The General Court endeavored to foster this trade and in 1639 forbade the use of cod or bass "for manuring of ground," and exempted those employed in the industry from taxation and military training. Coast dwellers were encouraged to build weirs for catching alewives. The fishing industry promoted the building of vessels, and several hundred vessels were launched from the coast towns in the seventeenth century.

Representatives of the principal handicraft industries plied their trade in the larger settlements. Among the early records we read of carpenters, wheelwrights, smiths, gunsmiths, coopers, curriers, ropemakers, cordwainers, glaziers, soapmak-

ers, tailors, weavers, hatters, glovers, bakers and butchers. Of the factory type of industry there were gristmills, tidemills, sawmills, hempmills, tanneries, malt-works, breweries, saltpeter works, iron works, brickyards, and shipyards.

The smaller settlements, however, included few mechanics. The carding, spinning, and weaving of wool and flax was done in the home; even the furniture, tools, clothing, shoes, and bedding were made by household labor. As early as 1640 the General Court directed town authorities to consider "what course may be taken for teaching boys and girls in all towns the spinning of yarn." A little later an obligation was placed by law upon each family which could furnish a spinner to spin three pounds monthly for thirty weeks.

Higher Classes

Every settlement had its minister, under penalty of being "presented" before the General Court; and a few, especially Boston and Salem, maintained more than one. Only the larger towns had a surgeon or professional doctor, and the same was true of lawyers. Savage, in his *Genealogical Dictionary* names 134 practitioners who migrated to all the New England colonies previous to 1692. Ministers frequently served in the smaller communities, both as lawyer and physician.

The General Court early recognized the value of education. "It being one chief object of the old deluder Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures," it was ordered that a teacher be engaged in every township which had fifty households, and in addition a grammar school, if there be one hundred families, to instruct youth for the university. It was hard to enforce this law owing to the difficulties of travel; and parents objected to taxation for schools if their children could not attend. The actual number and service of the schools is discussed in the chapter on Harvard College in this volume.

Some of the larger towns, such as Boston, Ipswich and Salem, had shopkeepers and merchants who devoted themselves solely to trade; and a few of these, who engaged in commerce with Europe and the West Indies, accumulated fortunes for that day. Of the 91 grantees of Newbury in 1635,

two were clergymen, eight were gentlemen, two or three were merchants, one maltster, one schoolmaster, one physician, one sea-captain, one mate of a ship, one dyer, one glover, three or four tanners, seven or eight shoemakers, two wheelwrights, two blacksmiths, two linen weavers, two weavers, one cooper, one saddler, one sawyer and two or three carpenters. A few were designated as yeomen.

Regulation of Trade and Industry

The colonists brought from England the current policy of regulating industry and trade. Standards of quality of goods were prescribed and wages and prices were fixed by law. Legislation in regard to these matters was confused, and many of the laws quickly repealed, as experience proved them impractical. Particularly was this so in the fixing of wages. In the first year of settlement in 1630, the wages of carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers and thatchers were limited to two shillings a day, and if more was given a fine of 10 shillings levied upon both employer and worker. The daily wage of unskilled laborers was set at one shilling and at only sixpence if meat and drink were provided. In less than a year, as might be expected when labor was in great demand by a community eager to build homes, this law was rescinded and workmen were left "at liberty as men shall reasonably agree."

In 1633, however, wages of the principal skilled trades were again fixed at varying rates according as to whether the workmen received "diet" or not. The wages of "inferior" workmen were left to the decision of the several towns, as determined by the constable and two local citizens. Furthermore, it was specified that "all workmen shall work the whole day, allowing convenient time for food and rest." A year later the fine imposed upon an employer for exceeding the legal limit was repealed and towns were given control of oppressive bargains. Each town was forbidden to offer wages which would entice labor from other towns and thus occasion complaint.

These regulations did not solve the wage problems of the colonists; for in 1638 a committee of leading citizens was appointed to investigate the whole subject and frame new laws. Prices by this time were falling and the established wages

proved oppressive; in 1641, it was therefore ordered that wages be lowered according to the fall in prices of commodities. In other words, wages were adjusted proportionately to the cost of living.

In the latter half of the century, the regulation of wages was left to the jurisdiction of towns; and local documents contain frequent records of such action. For example, in one town in 1668, the wages of shinglers was fixed at 7 sh. 6 d. per 1000; and in 1675 the wage of laborers harvesting corn was limited to 1 sh. 6 d. for a day's work; and in another settlement an employer was summoned and fined for paying too low wages to workmen employed in making nails and rivets.

As in the mother country, special trades were recognized by law. In 1648 the shoemakers of Boston were incorporated with a long list of dignitaries: master, warden, clerk, sealer, searcher, and beadle. The company, or union as it would now be called, was given power to determine admittance to the trade and prescribe rules of the craft, provided that prices were not enhanced, and that no shoemaker should refuse to make shoes for any inhabitant who wished to provide his own leather. The coopers were also honored with the same dignity of incorporation.

More permanent were the regulations for maintaining standards of quality and prevention of deceit. Corn must be weighed before and after grinding. Casks and barrels must be gauged and branded to make sure that they were of full size. Each baker must have a distinct mark for his bread. Bread under legal weight was forfeited for the use of the poor. Malt for beer must be cleansed; and none could undertake the work of brewing beer who did not have sufficient skill. In every hogshead of beer sold for three pence a quart, the brewer must use six bushels of good barley malt, and for cheaper brews proportionately less malt.

Inspectors oversaw the packing of beef, pork, and fish and were authorized to condemn the sale of all sun-burned, salt-burned and dry fish that had been first pickled. To prevent deceit in tanning leather, it was ordered that no butcher, currier, or shoemaker should exercise the "mystery" of a tanner, and to prevent waste every hide must be dried and sent to a

tannery. The size of bricks was carefully prescribed; and the clay, from which bricks were made, must be dug before winter set in, and turned before made up. Because wood and lumber frequently were sold at a shortage of five per cent, official measures were appointed.

Prices and Monopolies

The prices of staple commodities did not escape scrutiny of the General Court. Particularly was this true of bread and beer. The weight of a loaf of bread selling for two pence must not be under twelve ounces, and later the price of a loaf must be proportional to the price of wheat. The price of beer was limited to eight shillings a barrel. In 1633 the Court declared that prices must not "exceed the bounds of moderation," and that the prices of provisions, clothing and tools must not be more than four pence on a shilling more than the cost in England. A profit of 33 per cent was thus legally recognized. This, however, was soon repealed, but extortion was forbidden; and, if practised, the offender was to be brought before the General Court. Inn keepers were forbidden to charge more than sixpence for a meal.

Monopolies had been condemned in England in the early part of the century; and the colonists were heartily in sympathy with this prohibition. They enacted, 1641, a law that "there shall be no monopolies granted or allowed among us, but of such new inventions as are profitable to the country, and that for a short time." A few patents were granted, as one for "improved sawmills and scythes," and one for the making of salt by a new method. Salt was greatly needed for the fishing industry; and the General Court made frequent efforts to encourage its supply. Samuel Winslow in 1641 was given an exclusive privilege to set up salt works, good for ten years, provided he produced within one year; and John Winthrop was granted the same privilege in 1656, to manufacture "after his new way," the right being extended to 26 years.

A monopolistic right was granted in 1643 to a builder of a tide mill in Boston, to grind corn; and later in 1671 an exclusive right to a company of Boston merchants to make tar, and sell pitch, rosin, and oil of turpentine. Grants of this

nature, however, were few; competition, provided that there was not extortion, and subject to the regulatory supervision of the Court as to prices and wages, was the rule of industrial life.

Sawmills and gristmills were regarded as quasi-public utilities. Water power was not recognized as subject to absolute private ownership. The construction of mill-dams was regulated, and the erection of a mill frequently required the permission of town authorities. Millstones, screens, and fans were inspected; the rates which millers could charge were fixed; one-sixteenth for wheat, and one-twelfth for corn.

Supervision of Private Expenditure

Not only did the colonial government regulate the economic occupations of the inhabitants; it also supervised their expenditures. Indulgence in luxuries, particularly by those who had not adequate means, was regarded as an economic waste, inconsistent with the development of a sound and stable community. Moreover, such indulgence ran counter to the religious ideals which inspired the leaders of the settlement. Early ordinances forbade the making or selling of lace which tended "to the nourishing of pride and exhausting of men's estates." Churches were to reform their members against the use of immoderate great sleeves, knots of ribbon, broad shoulder bands and other like superfluities.

This condemnation proved too sweeping, for many of the settlers had been accustomed to such finery in England, and were not disposed to lower their standard of living, if they had the means to support it.

The act was repealed; but the General Court directed its attention more particularly to "persons of inferior position and education" who sought to "take upon the garb of gentlemen" by the wearing of gold or silver lace, point at the knees, or walking in great boots. It was also held "intolerable" that women of lower rank should wear silk hoods or scarfs. It was therefore ordered that the wearing of costly apparel be restricted to those who had an estate of £200. This law was by no means a dead letter, especially in its application to women; for town records contain entries of presentments to the Court for transgressing the order. The defense generally

rested upon proof that the husband was worth £200. As the colony grew in numbers and in wealth, regulation by law was less resorted to; but throughout the century, public sentiment frowned upon waste in personal adornment.

Respect for Property Rights

The colonists were mindful of the rights of property, and by early legislation laid the foundations of a stable economic system. Here were thousands of settlers taking possession of a new territory, affording abundant opportunity for disputes over property rights. They therefore promptly established courts and legal forms of procedure. To avoid controversies over the ownership of land, the General Court ordered that mortgages, conveyances and deeds of land be recorded with public officials; and for the protection of private credit, land and houses, as well as personal property, were made liable to the payment of debts. Conveyances which defrauded creditors were void.

The principle of democracy governed the law of inheritance when there was no will. One-third of the personal estate went to the widow, besides her dowry in house and land; the remainder was divided in equal portions, except that the eldest son had a double portion. This is an echo of the English principle of primogeniture, but the law gave recognition to younger children. The preamble of the statute states that inasmuch as estates consisted chiefly of lands, subdued and improved by proprietors, with assistance of children, and the younger children generally have "been longest and most serviceable unto their parents," and had no personal estates of their own, it was fitting that they receive their reward.

Wages

Prices and wages during the Colonial period were quoted in terms of English money; but the few following quotations to illustrate the cost and standard of living in the colony are converted into current equivalents for the sake of greater clearness. Corn during the first ten years of the Bay Colony stood at about the equivalent of $1.25 a bushel. After that, for the remainder of the century it fluctuated around $.75.

Wheat, with the exception of a few years, was $1.25 a bushel. These prices compare favorably with those prevailing in more recent times.

Wages, however, were on a much lower plane. In 1640 laborers received the equivalent of about $.37 per day; and in 1666 $.50 per day; or $50 a year when hired by the year. At the earlier date, therefore, three days' labor was roughly needed to purchase a bushel of corn; and twenty-five years later the labor of a day and a half would buy an equivalent amount. Today the labor of an hour or two would purchase the same commodity.

At the middle of the seventeenth century sugar was at the equivalent of $.15 a pound; beef $.06, and pork $.08. Later, beef was as cheap as $.04; and pork $.06. In 1670 butter was priced at $.12 a pound. A quotation for tea appears as early as 1666 at $15 per pound; and candy in the same year was $1.50 per pound. A little earlier, broadcloth was $3 a yard and linen $.60 a yard.

Between 1640 and 1650 a cow sold for the equivalent of $25. The price then fell to $15 and in some years less. For many years the standard quoted price for a horse was $50; and the cost of shoeing $.25.

As a measure of the cost of living for a family of the professional class, the salaries of ministers provide interesting evidence. In 1659, according to the church records of Dorchester, Hingham, which had 100 families, allowed its minister £90 per annum; Weymouth, with 60 families, £100. Hull, the smallest enumerated, with only 20 families, paid £40. Ministers, as a rule, provided a part of their income by cultivating their land; and frequently received donations from their parishioners. But frequently the towns were lax in paying the full amount of salary; and town church records are filled with complaints of these shortcomings. Nevertheless, the ministers were far the most highly paid of all professional men, and much above the average of comfortable farmers or business men.

Roads and Travel

Roads were poor, and, until the towns were sufficiently organized to supervise them, were under the watchful eye of

the General Court. There were constant complaints of defective highways. Towns were fined for bad roads. Between 1638 and 1640 one town was fined three times; and at a single session in 1641 eight towns, including Boston, were enjoined to "mend their ways" upon pain of fine. Not only were roads in bad repair, but they were inconveniently laid out, frequently following narrow Indian trails which were circuitous to avoid crossing broad streams or rivers.

In 1639 the Court took summary measures: because in some places the roads were "too straight" and in other places travellers were forced "to go too far about," it was ordered that they be laid anew by special town commissioners. These were given full power as to location, provided they did not "pull down any man's house," or lay open any garden or orchard. By the middle of the century the administration of the roads was turned over to the towns.

Transportation across rivers, if fords were not available, was generally by ferry. Permits with rights to charge tolls were granted by the General Court. A few bridges were constructed, but these gave more trouble than the roads. Towns were reluctant to bear the expense; and whenever the river was the dividing line between two townships there was ground for bitter dispute as to the distribution of the costs. A bridge was built in 1638 at Medford across the Mystic River, wide enough to permit the passage of ox-teams and carts. Its maintenance was met by toll charges, ranging from a penny for a single person to a shilling for a cart. To aid travellers between Boston and Salem, the Court gave Lynn £50 for constructing a thirty-foot bridge over the Saugus River, and for its maintenance an annual subsidy.

The colonists were, however, unskilled in the art of bridge-building; accidents occurred and finally the General Court ordered that if a traveller lost his life because of a defective bridge, the county or town should pay £100; and if either he or his property were injured, double damages be levied. Finally it was ordered that the counties and town defray the cost of building, and the Court advised that only a few be constructed.

For the convenience of travellers, the Court also saw to it that taverns be provided. Towns were enjoined to supply

them under penalty of a fine for non-compliance and the inns were carefully regulated; licenses were required; the prices of meals fixed by statute; and landlords forbidden to give credit under penalty of forfeiture of the debt. From the earliest times complaints were made of the uproariousness and evil influence of drinking places. Drunkards were numerous. Regulations of the sale of spirituous liquors are among the earliest and most persistent acts of colonial and local authorities.

Circulating Medium

The colonists were greatly handicapped both in their individual activities and in their governmental operations by the lack of money. The balance of trade with England was continuously adverse; however prosperous the settlers might be in the building up of substantial homes and farms, this lack could not be supplied until there was a surplus of goods for export. Although a brisk trade was carried on, the bulk of the community devoted itself chiefly to the production of wealth in forms which were not exportable. Moreover, the settlers were in constant need of products from Europe, a demand which could not be satisfied otherwise than by imports until domestic manufactures were established. This demand drained the colony of the scanty coin which trickled in from the West Indies, due to an excess of exports over imports in the trade with these islands.

The colonists had to resort to primitive tools of exchange. In 1631, the General Court ordered that corn be received in payment for debts, unless money or beaver was specifically named in a previous agreement. Even for small transactions, corn was tendered by the "quart, bottle, and peck." As corn fluctuated in value, the Court from year to year fixed the rate at which it should be received both for public dues and private debts. The rate varied from five to six shillings a bushel.

Beaver skins served as currency, for they were highly prized as exchange to send to London. Bullets were used as farthings and were recognized as legal tender.

More common than any commodity was wampum, the Indian bead money. The Pilgrims were introduced to this medium by trading with Indians to the south of them. The

beads were of two colors, white and black; the latter worth twice the value of the white. The white beads were made from the inner whorls of a shell, known as the *pyrula carica,* found south of Cape Cod; the black beads, from the quahog or common clamshell. The inner whorl of the shell was about one-eighth of an inch in diameter and a quarter of an inch in length. In order that the beads might be strung—and it was this which gave them their value to the Indians — the shell was bored with a stone drill, an operation which required considerable labor. The Indians prized them for decoration on strips of deerskin, and more than 10,000 might be embroidered on a chieftain's belt, four or five inches wide.

At first a fathom of wampum was equivalent to 60 pence; but the value, like that of corn, fluctuated. In 1637, the Court fixed the rate at six beads for a penny, for amounts under a shilling; in 1641, it legalized their tender for amounts under ten pounds. This, however, proved unsatisfactory; and two years later, its legal tender quality was reduced to two pounds. In 1648, the Court ordered that wampum be strung in different denominations; white beads in denominations of one, three and twelve pence; black beads in denominations of two, two and one-half, six and ten shillings. Not until 1661 did the colonists cease to accept it as a legal currency.

Other staple commodities were used as a medium of exchange. Flax, hemp, tar, turpentine, leather and oil were made receivable for taxes. In 1662, the General Court ordered that the inhabitants of Hampshire County should pay their taxes to the county treasurer in fat or young cattle, as well as in corn, at current prices in that vicinity. Students at Harvard College availed themselves of a wide range of commodities in meeting their charges; in the college accounts for the years 1650–59, mention is made not only of silver, but wheat, sugar, malt, parsnips, butter, apples, nails, satin, and a sheep weighing 67 pounds. An early entry on the college books is, "A goat of the Watertown rate. And he dyed."

Articles produced on the farm used for exchange were familiarly known as "country pay," and even Governor Dudley discharged his indebtedness to the college in this form of payment. The practice of using country pay extended well through the seventeenth century and in places during the eigh-

teenth. Tax bills were discounted when paid in specie, and as late as 1684 the Court ordered that the town of Cambridge be allowed £10 in country pay for maintaining a bridge.

About the middle of the century (1651), owing to a greater inflow of foreign currency, particularly from the Dutch West Indies, and Spanish settlements, the establishment of a colonial mint was authorized, though coinage was an act of sovereignty not conferred to the colonies. John Hull was given the right to mint silver coins from bullion plate, a Spanish coin. Three coins were authorized: shilling, sixpence and threepenny pieces. In the hope of preventing exportation, the coins contained only three-fourths as much silver as English coins of the same denomination; and they were given full legal tender power. On one side of the coin a tree was stamped which later gave rise to the term pine-tree shilling. Hull, as compensation for operating the mint, received one shilling in every twenty, a commission which gave him an ample fortune.

The coin, however, did not stay in the country; and within two years, the Court forbade the exportation of more than 20 shillings by any one person. Even this prohibition did not check the course of trade. Although the coinage continued for thirty years, there was always a scarcity of metallic money; and the foreign coins which did circulate were likely to be over-alloyed or below weight. No satisfactory solution of this difficulty in the circulating medium was reached. In 1690 the colony turned to paper issues of promissory notes, and entered upon a policy which drove out all metallic currency. This experience will be described in a subsequent chapter.

Public Revenue

The system of taxation was simple. It was inevitable that real estate, land and houses, should bear the principal part of the burden, but both the Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay colonists early supplemented the property taxes with an income tax, according to "faculties and personal abilities." In the earlier years of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a lump assessment was ordered by the General Court, arbitrarily apportioned between the different towns according to their estimated wealth. For example, in 1633, £400 was levied, of which £48 was imposed upon Boston, and an equal sum upon Roxbury,

New-Town, Watertown, and Charlestown. Dorchester, at that date the most well-to-do settlement, paid £80; Saugus (Lynn) £36; and Salem £38. In 1640, a total assessment of £1200 was raised; Boston then paid the largest amount, £179; followed by Ipswich, £120; and Salem, £115.

In 1646, the colony assessment was made more uniform. For every 20 shillings value of estate, including land and goods, a tax of one penny was imposed. In order to avoid disputes as to assessment and to secure greater exactness and uniformity, the valuation of cattle and horses was fixed at stated amounts, varying according to the age of the animals. A poll tax of 20 pence was paid by every male sixteen years of age or over; laborers and craftsmen who earned more than 18 pence a day paid, in addition to the poll tax, 3 shillings and 4 pence; tradesmen, as butchers, bakers, and victuallers, were rated proportionable "to the produce of estates of other men," and paid according to their "returns and incomings."

The poor and infirm were exempt from taxes, and frequently partial exemptions were made in favor of public officials of the colony, and also to those who rendered some common service, as in building a sawmill or gristmill. Entire towns were granted generous abatements after the Indian war of 1675. The town of Springfield, which suffered great loss, received an abatement of £150, with the promise, however, that those who "deserted the town" and did not "run the hazard with their neighbors" be not allowed any share in the abatement.

The total yield of all these taxes constituted a rate, like the tenth or fifteenth in England; and as a rule a single rate was levied each year. In times of emergency, however, the rate was increased by a fourth, half, or doubled; and later, during the years of King Philip's war, multiplied several fold.

Owing to the lack of a sufficient monetary medium, rates were frequently paid in country produce, known as a country rate. For example, in 1675, seven country rates were levied; and the prices of produce accepted were fixed as follows per bushel: "wheat 6 sh., rye 4 sh. 6 d., barley and peas, 4 sh., Indian corn, 3 sh. 6 d., oats 2 sh. 6 d." A discount of 25 per cent was allowed if the tax was paid in money. There was naturally much loss to the public treasury, in the collection and

shipment of the produce; and it was necessary to provide public warehouses to care for this form of revenue. The historian of the town of Woburn writes that the first inhabitants of that town were accustomed to pay only a certain part of their taxes in money, the rest in cattle, grain or other fruits of the soil, or articles of home manufacture, as shoes. Only a quarter part of the annual salary raised by taxes, of their first and second ministers was paid in coin, the remainder being made up of corn or articles of family consumption. Cattle and horses were sometimes included in country pay; but if so it was ordered that no "lean cattle or horses" be accepted.

In the earlier years of the colony a considerable amount of revenue—significant at least when compared with the slender sum collected by taxes—was obtained from fines. These were imposed with the greatest freedom by the General Court, not only as penalties for minor misdemeanors, but also for negligence of duties. Fines were imposed for abusing servants by their masters, for buying land of Indians without leave of the government, for taking too much toll, extortion, for threatening marshalls, for selling strong waters and drunkenness.

No partiality was shown; magistrates as well as humble citizens paid the penalty for transgression. Deputies of the General Court who on other occasions were honored with high responsibilities, were fined for being absent at "nine of the clock," and one was fined in 1636, three days in succession. Towns were fined for defective highways, bridges, and fences; as well as for not providing watchhouses, pounds, and stocks for the punishment of offenders.

Import Duties

Import duties played a minor part in the revenue system, and the duties which were imposed were designed to restrict expenditure for luxuries rather than to provide revenues. The colonists faced the possible displeasure of the mother country, if they attempted too boldly to restrict trade; particularly was this true after the passage of the Navigation Acts, from 1651 on as will be shown in the last two chapters of this volume.

In 1636 in order to prevent "the inordinate expense of pro-

visions brought from beyond the seas," it was ordered that an importer of fruit, spice, sugar, wine, strong water, or tobacco should pay a duty of one-sixth of the value, and that a retailer of such commodities should pay one-third the value. Such drastic regulation, however, did not last long; and within a year the duties on sugar, spice, and fruit were repealed; and in another year the import on wine and strong water was discarded.

A few years later (1645) wines were again singled out for duties and for a time collection of this tax was farmed out for a stated sum. In 1649, owing to disputes with the neighboring colonies of Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut, export and import duties were levied on certain staple commodities traded with those colonies. These, however, did not continue long, for the dispute was quickly adjusted. Nevertheless, jealous watchfulness against the encroachments of traders from the neighboring colonies did not cease, for in 1680 imposts were placed upon the importation of cattle from other plantations; and protective duties were levied to prevent the "filling up our market and incapacitating our inhabitants to sell what they breed and raise."

About the same time a small colonial impost of a penny per pound on goods imported was levied. This aroused criticism in England, but was defended on the ground that it was simply a tax on property, similar in its effect to the tax on other domestic property and was not designed to restrict trade. At one time there was an impost of 5 sh. per hogshead on all molasses and 60 sh. per hogshead on all rum imported into Massachusetts by foreigners. This obviously would be in keeping with the policy of the English government to monopolize trade for her own shipping, the proceeds being especially devoted to harbor fortifications at the port of Boston.

Public Expenditures

The expenditures of the colonial government were largely devoted to military protection. Fear of the Indians was constantly before them and there was the possibility of conflict with France. Although each inhabitant was enjoined to provide himself with a musket and powder, it was necessary to supplement this by governmental aid. Liberal allowances were

continually made for the maintenance of the Castle Island Fort in Boston harbor.

The salaries of the governor and higher officials absorbed no small portion of the tax levy. For example, at the middle of the century the governor of Massachusetts Bay received £120; the clerk of the deputies £16; the secretary of the colony £45; each of the magistrates £35; and the prison keeper £20. The deputies were paid a small sum per diem; at first the towns attempted to throw the cost upon the colony, but this was resisted, and the salary became a local charge. The treasurer was generally paid a certain percentage of receipts.

In the Plymouth colony, the salaries of the magistrates were, during the early years, less. The "old" magistrates received £20 and their "table" expenses; the newly elected, only the latter. In 1667 all were paid £50 per annum.

Wealth and Prosperity

Judged by all economic tests, Massachusetts colony by the close of the seventeenth century was prosperous. Natural conditions coupled with ideals of self-government, prevented any wide differences in the possession of wealth, except on a minor scale. The conquest of the soil, in which most of the settlers were engaged, was an arduous task, and the scanty returns did not justify the use of many hired laborers. Some comfortable fortunes were gained by the advance in large bodies of land. Otherwise only by trade and commerce could a large fortune be accumulated.

There was a small servile population. Both Indian and Negro, besides white servants were bound out to a master for a term of years and received no wages. Of these there were a few in the Pilgrim group of 1620; and in Winthrop's company of 1630 they numbered about 180. In the early struggle for maintaining existence, many of these quickly obtained an independent position in the social organization. Later Edward Randolph, reporting upon the condition of the colony, wrote that there were no hired servants in Boston but upon paid wages, except a few who served four years in return for the cost of transportation.

Slavery, except as a punishment for crime, was frowned upon. In 1646, the Court ordered that a negro interpreter who had been unlawfully taken in Guinea should be sent back

at the expense of the colony. There were, however, when Randolph made his report in 1681, about 200 slaves in the colony—a number far too small to make a distinct social class.

As far as can be determined from the inventories of estates after death, the property valuation of a considerable number of the farmers ranged from £100 to £1000. The following summary of an estate is typical of the economic status of a pioneer farmer in the Connecticut valley in 1690. This settler was a leader in the opening up of new plantations, and besides farming had a sawmill and a cornmill.

The total value of his property was £793. Of this two houses and the homestead were valued at nearly one-third of the total, £250; other lands at £213; the two mills, £90; cattle, horses, sheep, and swine £89; arms and ammunition £11; trooping furniture, including pillion and bridle, £9; wearing apparel £8; ten pairs of sheets £10; and beds £11. The remaining £100 included farming tools, cooking utensils, linen, crockery, furniture, spinning wheel and reels, Bibles and other books, and part of a barrel of rum. The usual inventory showed a smaller estate; but as a whole these recorded many evidences of success and economic independence.

In Boston, there were larger fortunes; about thirty merchants were rated as worth from ten to twenty thousand pounds. Hezekiah Usher, the first bookseller and publisher in the colony who died in 1676, left an estate of £16,000, and John Usher, his son, was reported as "very rich," worth £20,000. The observer of the growing prosperity of Boston at that period noted that the merchant, Robert Gibbs, built a house at a cost of nearly £3,000.

Proof of the growing welfare of the colony was seen in the efforts of the English government to exercise greater supervision over its affairs. The colony was no longer simply a refuge for discontents who might make trouble if forced to remain in England; it was increasing in wealth. This stimulated the home government to take measures towards gaining a greater share for itself in this prosperity, by regulating the trade of Massachusetts, by collecting small duties in imports, and especially by bringing the whole colonial system into accord with the general policy embodied in the Navigation Acts.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies following Chapters ii (Geography); iv (Plymouth); vi (Indian); viii (Sister Settlements); xvi (Trade and Shipping); xx (Crises); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

BIDWELL, Percy W. and FALCONER, John I.—*History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620–1860* (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1925).—A thoroughly scholarly work, carefully annotated and based upon documentary material and special monographs.

CLARK, Victor S.—*History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607–1860* (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1916).—Careful and painstaking research with references to original source material.

DAVIS, Andrew McFarland.—*Currency and Banking in the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (American Economic Association, *Publications,* third series, Vol. I, No. 4, 1900).—Chapter ii of this exhaustive monograph deals with the early coinage and the valuation of foreign coins.

DOUGLAS, C. H. J.—*The Financial History of Massachusetts* (New York, 1892).—A monographic study based upon original records. First part deals with the colonial history.

DOYLE, J. A.—*The English in America* (London, 1887).—Vol. II, Chap. 1, pp. 1–125. Written from the English standpoint.

EGLESTON, Melville.—*The Land System of the New England Colonies* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Univ., 1886).—Especially pp. 545–600.

FELT, J. B.—*Statistics of Taxation in Massachusetts, including Valuation and Population in Collections of the American Statistical Association* (Boston, 1847).—Vol. I, Part 3. Contains detailed data compiled from original records.

PALFREY, John G.—*History of New England* (Boston, 1865).—Especially Vol. I, II.—A detailed history, covering all branches of contemporary history, with scattered chapters dealing with social and economic characteristics of the period.

RECORDS OF NEW PLYMOUTH COLONY (12 vols., Boston, 1855–1861).—Covers the period 1620–1692. An original, basic authority.

RECORDS OF THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND, *1628—1641.* [Edited by Shurtleff, Nathaniel].—(5 vols., Boston, 1853).—Covers the period 1628–1686. Of first importance in illustrating public opinion as expressed in laws.

WEEDEN, W. B.—*Economic and Social History of New England, 1620–1789* (2 vols., Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1891).—A wealth of data collected from a wide range of sources, but not conveniently arranged in topics. See Vol. I, Chaps. iii, v, vi, vii.

WINSOR, Justin.—*Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols., Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1855–1889).—Vol. III, Chap. ix, on the New England Colonies, by Charles Deane. See especially pp. 310–321, and for bibliographical material pp. 342–363.

CHAPTER XVI

TRADE AND SHIPPING

(1630–1689)

By Halford Lancaster Hoskins

Dickson Professor of English and American History
Tufts College

The Commercial Urge in Massachusetts (1630–1689)

All of the circumstances under which the Massachusetts Bay colony was founded augured a future success in commerce. The first charter for the colony was obtained by those who belonged to England's mercantile classes; and the original settlers were careful to attract to the colony as immigrants only those of their own kind. This was undoubtedly an important matter in the founding of the colony; for aside from the difficulty of supplementing the food supplied by the sea with the products of a rocky and sterile soil, the newcomers to New England had relatively little difficulty in becoming adapted to their new environment. Their propensity for a seafaring life was anticipated even in the first charter, which provided that "this . . . shall not be taken to abridge, barr, or hinder any of our loving subjects whatsoever to use and exercise the trade of fishing upon that coast of New England in America by their presents mentioned to be graunted . . ." The entire subsequent history of the Massachusetts Bay region gives testimony to the seafaring industry and commercial acumen of those who were influenced by matters of conscience to leave the mother country, but who selected their future place of abode more with an eye to its marine resources than to the character of climate and soil. Nature herself was prepared for commerce. The land as it stood

offered little more than the sinews of a merchant marine. Trees were plenty, supplying ship timbers and masts, and pitch and tar for caulking. Aside from the animal and plant resources of the forest, the land was decidedly inhospitable, as were most of the aboriginal inhabitants. Long winters and deep snows discouraged any purely agricultural community. Corresponding to the difficulties in a colonial economy which faced inland, were equally great opportunities toward the sea. There nature was lavish in her gifts. Shores that were "stern and rockbound" opened into numerous landlocked harbors hardly to be equalled in the world. Most of the rivers failed to provide good highways into the interior; but they teemed with fish, their tidal flats produced inexhaustible quantities of shellfish, and they provided ideal basins for the building and launching of vessels of all sorts, with building materials ready at hand.

The sea itself was the embodiment of opportunity. The cold streams of the Labrador current, while bringing fog and rain, bred in the shoal waters off the coast illimitable quantities of fish of every marketable variety—herring, mackerel, halibut, haddock, sturgeon, and the sacred cod. Great whales were numerous. So vast were the schools of fish that sea captains from the time of John Cabot onward not infrequently reported that their vessels made headway with difficulty through the dense masses. Considering that dried and salted fish was a staple article of diet on both sides of the Atlantic, the environment of the sea laid hold of the people from the first. Early Massachusetts produced no mines of the precious metals such as those of Mexico and Peru; but in the furs of the forest and the fish of the sea were found comparable and abundant sources of wealth, the exploitation of which required no toil of parasitic slaves.

Even before the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was drafted, fishing communities were scattered along the coast north of Cape Cod. Of these early settlements we know little; but their fish products were undoubtedly known in England as were those of their Newfoundland contemporaries. The charter took particular pains to specify that "they (the Company) shall have full and free power and liberty to continue and use their said trade of fishing upon the said coast

in any the seas thereunto adjoyning, or any armes of the seas or saltwater rivers, where they have byn wont to fishe, and to build and sett up upon the landes by theis presents . . . such wharfes, stages and worke-houses as shalbe necessarie for the salting, drying, keeping and packing up of their fish . . . and to cut downe and take such trees and other materialls . . . [as] shalbe needfull for that purpose, and for all other necessarie easements, helpes, and advantage concerning their said trade of fishing there, in such manner and forme as they have byn heretofore at any time accustomed to doe . . ." The earliest industry to develop after the foundation of the colony was shipbuilding in conjunction with the fishing trade. In the North Atlantic, the continents of America and Europe approach each other, to an extent which made possible fairly regular and profitable commercial contacts between them. A month's voyage would usually suffice to bring the produce of the northern parts of the New World to the marts of the old. It required articles of great value for their bulk and weight to support the East Indian trade, in which long voyages of nine or twelve months were required in the seventeenth century. The relatively short time-distance from Massachusetts Bay to the British Isles, northern Europe, the Peninsula, or the West Indies made possible a profitable exchange of cheaper, bulkier commodities; hence an economic basis for the survival and growth of the New England settlements.

The Beginnings of Trade (1630–1650)

The Massachusetts colony was established not far from the sources of furs. Furs did become one of the articles of export from Massachusetts towns at an early date, and continued as a profitable article of trade throughout the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the colony was in possession of a considerable part of this trade, although from the beginning most of the natural channels leading into the fur country were in other hands. The Dutch for a time controlled the Connecticut River valley trade. The Hudson was closed to Massachusetts traders. The Kennebec was preëmpted by Plymouth. John Mason and his associates controlled the lower part of the Piscataqua. Hence the supply of pelts coming out to Massachusetts was never very large or dependable.

The fishing trade, on the other hand, caught hold from the beginning. Disputes over fishing rights in the waters of Massachusetts Bay were abundant from the chartering of the original London and Plymouth Companies. Early litigation elicited an important order from the Privy Council in 1620 based on the theory that waters adjacent to the coasts of a chartered corporation came under the jurisdiction of such a company. This order, amended and reissued by James I in 1623, furnished ground for a petition from the Massachusetts Bay colony in September, 1630, almost at the beginning of its history, "for the preventing of disorderly trade, of fishermen and other interlopers."

The first fishing ventures from the towns of Massachusetts were made as much with the object of obtaining a supply of food for the colonists as with a view to export trade. However, some fish appear to have been sent to England from the first year of the colony's life. The original group of settlers transported to Salem, with Endecott at their head, were requested to send back to England in the vessels bringing out supplies, cargoes of "staves, sarsaparilla, sumach, two or three hundred firkins of sturgeon and other fish . . .", a request which seems to have been honored.

For some years after the founding of Massachusetts towns, the trade to Europe in dried and salted fish relied on the sailing of such English and other European ships as came to colonial ports at rather infrequent intervals. In these early days, developed a three-cornered traffic. Vessels loaded with fish and perhaps small quantities of furs cleared frequently for southern France or the ports of the Iberian peninsula. There they sold or exchanged their colonial wares for wines and olive oil, which were carried to England. From England the vessels returned across the North Atlantic, bearing, along with some numbers of emigrants as passengers, such a variety of goods as early life in Massachusetts demanded. This included staple foods, such as oatmeal and peas, butter and cheese, vinegar, wines and spirits; wearing apparel, such as shoes, kerseys, and woolens; and miscellaneous other articles, including guns, powder and shot, candles, soap, nails, knives, and tools and utensils of all kinds. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the balance at least of legitimate foreign trade, was in

favor of England. The enterprise of the entire colonial population aided the imperial system, and it was certainly a spur to the rise of the colonial shipbuilding industry.

As the colony became established and the population, owing to Laudian persecution and the "Great Migration" from England, became sufficiently numerous to support a mercantile as well as a fishing population, colonial vessels began to appear in distant ports in competition with English and other European shipping. The first mercantile ventures of Massachusetts shippers appear to have been confined very largely to the coastwise trade to the other mainland plantations and to a more ambitious and likewise more profitable intercolonial trade with the West India plantations. Within fifteen years after the founding of the colony, the merchants of Salem, if not those of Boston, were trading with Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands of the West Indies. Within another ten years, began to develop the second triangular trade so akin to the rum and slave trade of the next century. Vessels from Salem and Boston plied to Virginia and the West Indies with marine products, reloaded with tobacco and other sub-tropical articles of trade, and then set sail for European markets, following the example already set by English merchants. The return trade was various, depending upon the European country visited, whether Spain, France, Holland or England.

The astonishing fact concerning this early trans-Atlantic trade is that men could be found with courage to undertake the hazards of a trade so distant in small ships, chiefly ketches of from twenty to fifty tons burden, carrying crews of only four to six men. It was this rapid growth of Massachusetts trade, curtailing, as it did, the profits of the English shippers, which suggested to Cromwell the expediency of placing some restrictions on the colonial trade in the interest of the mother country, and so led to the first Navigation Act of 1651.

The Rise of a Merchant Marine (1630–1675)

Generosity in supplying Massachusetts with the essentials for trade — excellent harbors, merchantable products, and materials for shipbuilding, was reflected in the speedy contruction of ships. Shipbuilding began almost with the laying out of

town sites. For the encouraging of the industry, the colony in 1637 excused all those so engaged from compulsory military training, and indirectly contributed to the same end by exempting from taxation all property of men employed in fishing.

Among the first colonists sent out to Salem in 1629 were three shipwrights. The first vessel to be launched in the colony, however was the *Blessing of the Bay,* built at the expense of Governor Winthrop in a hastily contructed shipyard at Ten Hills Farm on the Mystic River. This bark of 30 tons was completed at a cost of £165 before Boston was yet one year old.

In 1633 another vessel of the same size was launched on the Mystic. In 1636 a ship of 120 tons was built at Marblehead. Meanwhile several small vessels had been built at Salem. In 1640 a ship was completed there by the builder Tar Peter, of the relatively huge size of 300 tons.

In 1641 the first Boston-built vessel, the *Trial,* of 160 tons burden, was launched. "The work was hard to accomplish," said Governor Winthrop, "for want of money, etc., but our shipwrights were content to take such pay as the country could make." She immediately loaded with fish and despatched to Spain, returned in January 1643, laden with wine, fruit, oil, linen and wool, "which was a great advantage, and gave encouragement to trade." In 1642 three more ships were built in Boston, and it was said that "besides many boats, shallops, hoys, lighters, pinnaces, we are in a way of building ships of two, three, and four hundred tons. We being much encouraged therein by reason of the plenty and excellence of our timber for that purpose and seeing all materials will be had there in short order."

For a considerable time Salem excelled in shipping. In 1641 a certain Richard Hollingsworth built a vessel of 300 tons. Throughout the remainder of the century Salem ranked high among the ports of the colony in the tonnage of vessels built. By 1675 good, staunch ships of 200 tons or more could be turned out at the uniform and reasonable rate of £4 per ton. At that time the town boasted a considerable number of expert builders, most of whom had come out at one time or another from England, and whose technic was probably equal to the best in Europe. As practically all iron and metal work

at first had to be imported and was very costly, these ships were fabricated with a surprising economy of nails, bolts and metal fittings.

By the time of the Restoration and the first Navigation Act of the Stuarts in 1660, Massachusetts could point with pride to a fleet of more than a hundred sailing vessels built within the colony, of which a dozen measured above 200 tons each. Considerable numbers of vessels were being turned out at Marblehead, Cambridge, Dorchester, New Bedford and Lynn. Many of these, having been built of the finest pine and fir and more cheaply than they could be constructed elsewhere, were sold at good prices in the other American colonies and in England; thus making shipbuilding a considerable export industry.

The passage of the more drastic Navigation Acts in 1660 and the years following placed no great damper on shipping or shipbuilding, considering the lack of enforcement of the Acts. A half dozen years later, Edward Randolph, English Customs Officer, credited the colony with thirty vessels measuring above 100 tons, besides 700 vessels of smaller size. Before the end of the century, according to a contemporary writer, several hundred ships of all sizes were annually built within the colony, though not all of these were employed in trading from Massachusetts ports. The greater number of these were fitted out in the port of Boston. As this is a fair index to the commercial activities of the colony, it will be readily understood why, within a generation after the launching of the *Blessing of the Bay,* the attitude of the English government altered from one of neglect to one of active interest in attempting to regulate the colonial trade, which was to a large degree the trade of Massachusetts.

Early Growth and Regulation of Commerce (1630–1670)

Although the maritime activity of Massachusetts was founded on the export of fish, other articles of trade gained. This was due partly to the fact that Massachusetts could not, like Virginia for instance, profitably carry on a system of direct exchange of goods with England. Virginia's tobacco was in greatest demand only in England, while all necessary

supplies came from thence. But England required only small quantities of fish from across the Atlantic because her market was largely supplied by her own fisheries. Fish from colonial waters were practically excluded after 1660 because of the imposition of new and prohibitive tariffs. From about the time of the English Restoration, the best fish of the seasonal catch were exported to Spain and Portugal, whence New England vessels carried cargoes of wines and oils to north European ports in competition with European carriers and with fine oblivion of the Navigation Acts. The "middlings" or second grade fish were, at the same time, sent to the Canary and Azores Islands, where there was a steady demand for the cheaper grades. The fish of poorest size and quality were transported to the West Indies, where the colonists found their most reliable markets through the whole of the colonial period. The West Indies, with their extensive forest producing timber of all kinds, had no use for Massachusetts lumber products, and these, with furs and colonial ships were sold almost exclusively in England. Such exports to England at their best fell far short of equalling in value the amount of goods purchased in England for the colony; and this considerable balance of trade in favor of the mother country was made possible only by the extensive trade from colonial ports to the West Indies and southern Europe. England thus continued from the first to furnish a large portion of the imports into all of the American colonies on the mainland including Massachusetts but only by means of a trade system which deprived one group of English merchants of any profit.

What did the ships carry? In 1630 and for a number of years thereafter petitions reached the Privy Council from the colony praying that ships might be sent out with such supplies as the colony urgently needed. Yet English vessels found little profit in trading with Massachusetts. English goods were in great demand, but return cargoes yielding any profit on the voyage were scarce. Hence people of Massachusetts undertook to carry their own goods to market. The colonists were never averse from also carrying the goods of others, whether from one colony to another, from the West Indies to Europe, or from the Iberian Peninsula to North Europe and the British Isles. After the middle of the seventeenth century, Massachu-

setts vessels were to be found in almost all the seas where the English flag was known, and the spirit of enterprise and self reliance engendered by this successful competition had much to do with the restiveness displayed when legal barriers were erected to this exercise of free trade.

The trade of Massachusetts was early subject to local regulation. In 1632 a duty of twelve pence per pound was levied on beaver pelts purchased from the Indians. Four years later duties were placed on imports of fruits, spices, sugar, wines, liquors and tobacco, for those who purchased such goods for the purpose of retailing them, the rate was doubled. For a brief period (in or about 1645) a tonnage duty was levied; and in 1667 and 1679 this was revived for vessels not owned in the colony.

In 1678 no export duties were levied in the colony, but goods imported paid one penny in the pound, except salt, wool, fish, etc., which entered free. The duties were higher on wines and spirits, extending from 2s.6d. a hogshead to 10s. a pipe. Moreover, each vessel entering a colonial port paid a small duty towards the maintenance of fortifications. These duties appear to have been collected rather consistently while the royal customs were almost ignored; although Edward Randolph, royal Collector of Customs, in 1676 stated that "there is not any form of a Custom House" at Boston. The Massachusetts Government reported to the Lords of Trade in 1680 that the colonial customs revenue amounted to about £1500 a year — not a large sum, considering the known trade of the province. The local rates were raised afterward, and in 1688 the list of dutiable goods was extended to include money, plate, bullion, salt, provisions and merchandise, all to be taxed at 2% ad valorem.

The Plymouth colony in this period followed a similar course. The principal difference in procedure here lay in the levying of export duties on the products of the colony, such as boards and planks, barrels and hogsheads, staves and beading, tar, oysters and iron, as well as on the usual imports. The revenue thus gained was used principally in strengthening the fortifications of the colony. Neither the Massachusetts nor the Plymouth tariffs were heavy, and they exerted a very slight influence, if any, on the volume of trade. Nevertheless,

even before the passage of the English navigation laws, the inhabitants of New England were familiar with both the theory and practice of tariff for revenue purposes. In view of the rapid growth of the New England trade, in native vessels, of the expense of administering colonial affairs, and of the prevailing mercantile theory of colonial relations in 1651 and again in 1660, Parliamentary enactments undertook to regulate the colonial trade in the interest of the mother country.

The English Navigation System (1660–1675)

An account of the Navigation Acts is necessary only so far as relates to effects on the trade of Massachusetts. It was the complaints, by English mercantile interests, of the competition and great profits of Massachusetts shippers which first suggested the expediency of undertaking to regulate the colonial trade by legislative means. The Act of 1660, "for the encouraging and Increasing of Shipping and Navigation," may be taken as the basis of a long list of similar enactments. It undertook, in brief, to put an end to the era of free trade long enjoyed by English merchants, and particularly by New Englanders. In place of this, certain small rates were to be collected for the benefit of His Majesty on practically all commodities of trade; and vessels engaging in the English and colonial trade were to be bound to declare their goods and pay duties in English and colonial ports. The reciprocal carrying trade was particularly hard hit.

Nothing indicates that the Act of 1660 was received in the towns of Massachusetts as anything more than a statement of theory. It was found to contain so many doubtful and inconsistent provisions that it was almost immediately amended. Much of the difficulty in enforcing this and later laws came from doubt as to the relation to other parts of the realm and to England of Ireland, Scotland, the Channel Islands, and Dunkirk. Hence a number of other enactments "for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in His Majesty's Customes" were passed in the period between 1660 and 1675, amplified and altered by a host of Orders in Council, which, in theory, had all of the authority of law in the colonies.

Owing to the fact that no adequate machinery of enforcement was provided, and that the Crown was almost constantly embarrassed by domestic and foreign difficulties, the colonists were suffered to trade practically unmolested, as before. The colonial governors, who were empowered to grant licenses and collect duties uniformly found it to their advantage to take no action. In 1672 complaint was made to the Privy Council that the traders of Massachusetts "boldly employ two or three hundred Sail of Ships yearly, trading to and fro from several plantations and most parts of Europe, . . . and this without being under the Restrictions of such Laws, as put our Merchants to vast charges, either by customs, or otherwise, which enabled them to undersell our English Merchants 50 percent at least, to the unspeakable prejudice of the King's customes, and the decay of our Manufactures, as well as an Infallible Bait to all our Manufacturers to remove thither, where People trade with such advantage over their fellow Subjects."

In the meantime, the various committees and commissions appointed by the Privy Council to oversee colonial and mercantile affairs were trying to make the Acts of Trade effective. Governors were required to take oath to enforce the Acts. Owners and captains of ships were also required to attest under oath to the ownership of vessels, ports of registry and destination, kinds and amounts of goods carried. Spies were placed in the leading European ports to detect vessels trading illegally. Special passes were devised without which no ship might load, unload, or sail in any English or colonial port.

During these years the Home Government was most patient and exceedingly lenient with offenders. At last disillusioned of the idea that under favorable circumstances colonial traders would be willing to cooperate, the Privy Council gave up its policy of persuasion and determined to take more vigorous steps to secure enforcement of the law. An Order in Council was issued, therefore, in May, 1674, cancelling concessions which had been made to colonial shippers thirteen years before, and requiring all vessels engaged in the European trade to touch in England in sailing in either direction. This marks the end of easy going regulation and the beginning of a compulsive system. It is hardly too much to say that essentially

all of the Massachusetts trade between 1660 and 1675 was illegal. The habit had become firmly fixed.

This period is characterized by attempts to regulate a profitable and growing trade over a wide portion of the earth's surface merely by documentary authority. No fewer than six Acts of Parliament and a host of Orders in Council were published in the ports of New England during this period. With the establishment in 1676 of a new, permanent and aggressive Board of the Privy Council, under the style of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, endowed with wide powers and considerable discretion, the way of the transgressor became decidedly less easy.

Before this time the English authorities had little definite knowledge of the extent of the American trade or the evasion of the Navigation Acts. Therefore, in 1675, the English Commissioners of the Customs were instructed to investigate trading conditions in Massachusetts. Their findings, supplemented by the voluntary reports of English merchants, astonished the members of the Privy Council; and after the creation of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, three new means of enforcement were determined upon. (1) A commission was to be sent to all colonial governors, authorizing them to enforce the Acts of Trade. (2) Special customs officers were to be established in Massachusetts, and the ports of the colony were to be blockaded in case of any resistance. (3) The captains of royal frigates were to be empowered to stop suspected vessels, seize offenders, and bring them to trial.

These provisions were more easily framed than carried out. If the commission was sent out, the records of the Privy Council are silent as to its work. Captains of such royal frigates as came to American waters were instructed "to apprehend and take vessels trading illegally"; but several years passed before this means of enforcing the Acts could be relied upon. It was necessary, however, that some measures be take to reduce an illegal trade so open and so extensive that it could scarcely be termed smuggling. Current reports on this trade recommended that the action be prompt. In the same year, therefore, the Lords of Trade commissioned Edward Randolph to come to Boston, the center of New England ship-

ping, to investigate the trade of Massachusetts and to report on the enforcement of the Acts of Trade.

Attempts to Enforce the Acts of Trade

Randolph's detailed reports to the Lords of Trade, together with the complaints lodged by English traders about the same time, give insight into the extent to which the trade of the colony had grown. In January, 1676, a group of 28 English merchants protested at the custom of Massachusetts merchants in trading direct to Europe and selling European goods in the American colonies at prices with which the English were unable to compete. To this complaint the silk weavers of London appended the statement that they were being ruined by the Massachusetts traders, who, not paying any duties, were depriving the English customs of at least £60,000 per annum. In April, 1676, several English merchants acquainted with the New England trade testified before the Lords of Trade that there was much direct trade between Massachusetts and the continent of Europe on which no customs duties were paid, enabling the colonial merchants to undersell English traders by 20%.

Edward Randolph went into greater detail. The Massachusetts towns, he said, traded extensively with most parts of the western world and to a large extent. "They violate all the Acts of Trade and Navigation," he continued, "by which they have engrossed the greatest part of the West India trade, whereby your Majesty is damnified in the customs £100,000 yearly, and the Kingdom much more." In June, 1676, he wrote that within the space of one week there had arrived in Boston without paying customs, "a Bostoner from Nantes, 100 tons . . . , laden with 50 butts brandy and French commodities; a pink of Boston from France, of 70 tons, with 12 tun of wine, brandy, etc., a Scotsman, 130 tons, from the Canaries, with 80 pipes of Canary, a Bostoner, 80 tons, from the Canaries with 50 pipes of Canary, this day a ketch of Southampton from Canary, the contents and burthen I do not know." What cargoes had meanwhile come into the Piscataqua river he could not say.

Randolph's investigations also disclosed the fact that not all of the Massachusetts trade was overseas. "The Boston

people," he said, in a report in 1676, "continue a private trade with the French and Indians and openly keep on their fishing on the coast of Arcadia, though forbidden by the French King's Lieutenant." "The Boston Government," Randolph continues, "impose on the French and encourage an interloping trade, causing to the inhabitant dread of a French invasion, and they look at the French with an evil eye, believing they had a hand in the Indian wars." As a corrective for all of these flagrant violations, Randolph "was assured by those that well understood the affairs of the country that 3 frigates of 40 guns, with 3 ketches well manned, lying a league or two below Boston, with express orders to seize all shipping and perform other acts of hostility against these revolters, would bring them to the King's terms, and do more in a week than all the orders of King and Council in seven years."

In consequence of these and other disclosures, the Lords of Trade found it advisable to take more drastic action than before. In July, 1678, at his own request, Randolph was given a commission under the Lord Treasurer's seal as Collector and Surveyor of the Customs in New England. The powers given him were extensive. He was to reside in Boston and appoint deputies in the other ports of New England as need arose. He was to enforce the Acts of Trade, collect duties, receive oaths and bonds, inspect ships and seize those smuggling, put an end to smuggling, keep accounts of money received and spent, and give an account of his work at least twice per year. At the same time the Massachusetts government received a notification of the appointment, together with the command to assist him in any way possible.

In his capacity as Collector, Randolph arrived in Boston in 1679, and immediately set about stopping illegal trade, while gathering evidence to be used in attacking the colony's charter. During his residence of nearly two years Randolph tried in every way to execute his commission. In almost every instance he was balked. For example, in attempting to seize the pink *Expectation,* of Boston, its master had Randolph arrested for the action, and Governor Bradstreet caused his personal bond to be taken for £800. He was denied an attorney, and was admitted to the colonial courts only in the capacity of a private individual and an informer, and was unable

to bring any real evidence against offenders, "everyone appearing for me being accounted an enemy to this countrey." Although he had three clear counts against the *Expectation,* the case was lost because the passengers on the vessel gave perjured testimony, and the jury consisted either of Boston merchants or masters of ships.

Positive as well as negative methods interfered with convictions. His servant, who was guarding a warehouse on one occasion, was severely beaten. One of his deputies was chased from his home, "not from any averseness or dislike to me," he said, "but only because I am come upon such an unwelcome errand so destructive to their privilege and interest." He himself was threatened with bodily injury on several occasions; and in one instance, the master of a vessel he was undertaking to seize fired on the royal flag he bore. Several vessels against which he tried to take action were removed before the seizure was complete. Even the Governor, he averred, coöperated with the illegal traders by granting them false passes. The ships themselves, he said, "change names and masters as often as they please."

In December, 1680, Randolph despatched to the Lords of Trade a "List of Ships and Goods seized in His Majesty's name by E. Randolph in Boston, Salem, Piscataqua, and Province of Maine" in the period since March of that year. This recounted the seizure of or action against eight ships and their masters, on good grounds of violation. Of these, five were cleared by jury, one was given a rehearing, one master of a vessel was fined £40 for opposing a royal officer (though the fine was retained by the colonial government), and one master was fined £10 for firing on the royal flag. Both of these last cases were dismissed so far as respected charges of illegal trading. In three instances, damages were awarded against the crown, *i.e.,* against Randolph, who appears to have been held personally responsible for sums varying from 13s. to £800. Two cases of seizure of goods from ships and warehouses were decided by colonial juries against the Collector.

Such resistance furnished ample basis for long lists of charges against the colony on grounds of illegal trading and defeating justice, in which the town of Boston figured most prominently. The Massachusetts government was presently

requested to answer these charges. Governor Bradstreet, who felt compelled to aid Randolph slightly on a few occasions, still denied the charges vigorously. "On the strictest inquiry," he said, "it is found that there has never been £5000 irregularly traded, and then the damage is inconsiderable." He blamed Randolph for having been inactive and troublesome, and added justly, "The people here show him little respect, as they look upon him as one that has sought the ruin of the colony by incensing His Majesty and Their Honours against it."

In 1681 Randolph again went to England and preferred twelve charges against Massachusetts, the basis of which was the non-enforcement of the navigation laws. One of the results was the issuance on August 11, 1681, of an Order in Council containing the names of fifteen individuals, representing fourteen vessels against which Randolph unsuccessfully undertook legal action, summoning these to appear before the Privy Council within four months to answer the charges lodged against them. The records are silent as to whether any of them made an appearance. Meanwhile, Randolph was commissioned Surveyor of Customs under the royal sign manual, and he returned to Boston in October, 1681, better fortified and prepared to continue his activities against the colony. As before, he was unable to make headway in the checking of the illegal trade. The principal reason in this case lay in the appointment, during his absence, of two naval officers by the colonial government for the ports of Salem and Boston. Ostensibly these men were to enforce the navigation laws themselves. Their real purpose, however, was to prevent a too strict enforcement, and in this they succeeded well.

Character of the Illegal Trade

Randolph was thus continually foiled in his attacks on the illegal trade. He was more successful, however, in taking action against the colony's charter, and in October, 1684, the charter was quashed through his efforts. Thus Massachusetts, principally because of insistence on a policy of free trade, and on remaining oblivious to Parliamentary enactments relating to trade, lost the documentary basis of her cherished political institutions and became a royal colony. Still, it is doubtful

whether the colony's interests were seriously injured by these developments.

One of the bitterest invectives against Randolph came from the pen of Increase Mather, who, in *A Vindication of New England,* said: "This forces us to mention another matter in which that people has been sadly wronged; that is *their breaking the Acts of Navigation.* We do then affirm that the Government there (in Massachusetts) and the whole body of the people, would rejoyce in the severest execution of those Acts, and lend their utmost help thereunto. There are but a few particular persons that have transgressed in the *forbidden Trade,* and they mostly such persons, too (if we are not misinform'd) as have been at the same time the greatest *Accusers* of the Country. The Country generally declare they never found any benefit by that *Smugling;* unless it have been a benefit that *the man,* whom they always accounted their most Implacable Enemy, might get a living by the *Bribes* of that *unlawful trade.* . . ."

The agents of the colony, in answer to some of Randolph's charges, maintained (in 1690) that "The Government and people in general have no advantage from irregular trade, but only the offenders, whom they have always been ready to detect and punish. . . . It is true that he (Randolph) persecuted several vessels for irregular trading, but juries would not convict, owing to the defectiveness of the proof. And it is generally understood in the Colony that he did it purposely to bring Odium upon the Government, the better to effect the design in which he was engaged of destroying the Charter. . . . And divers credible persons of New England have affirmed they knew Mr. Randolph notoriously guilty of Bribery and Corruption. And that upon that account he lett several Offenders go unpunished, which we do not doubt but they will be ready to prove if competent time for such purpose be allowed."

While there must always be some doubt as to the real character of Edward Randolph, there probably was a large amount of smuggling and other illicit trade; nor is it likely that Randolph derived any personal profit from connivance in it. The very protestations of innocence on the part of representatives of the colony contain unconscious admissions of numerous vio-

lations of the Act. Governor Cranfield of New Hampshire gave to the Lords of Trade in August, 1684, a graphic account of how the citizens of Boston gave aid to French pirates and shared in the spoil. In September of the same year, William Dyre, who was temporarily in Boston as royal customs inspector, recounted his seizure of one large privateer, but in attempting to prosecute the vessel his life was jeopardized.

In 1689 a memorial submitted by Governor Sir Edmund Andros to Parliament gave details painstakingly collected bearing on the trade of Massachusetts with the European continent direct, " . . . not only for their own consumption, but also supplying therewith most parts of the world, particularly the English Plantations, which according to the Acts of Navigation ought to be supplied from Old England, . . . whereby they are enabled to bring those goods fifty percent cheaper to their market there than our Merchants could, which Trade incourages their building some hundreds of ships which are employed in those illegal trades, to the ruin of English Navigation. . . ."

Numbers of other contemporary writers, not all of whom had axes to grind, give good reason for believing that, even during the period from 1675 to 1689, when considerable efforts were being made to regularize the New England trade, there was frequent evasion. This violation of the Acts of Trade could not have seemed very iniquitous to the worthy Massachusetts citizens of the time. Certainly it was not in this century due to any refusal to recognize the right of the mother country to regulate trade by means of navigation laws, for such a right was admitted by the heads of the Government, and the General Court took measures designed to aid in the enforcement of the Acts.

The difficulty was that for a generation after the trade of the colony began, no restrictions of any kind were imposed. For half of another generation, after the mercantile theory began to find expression in law, *laisser faire* was largely practiced. It appeared to the colonists, therefore, that not till they by their own diligent exertions succeeded in developing a profitable carrying trade, did the mother country attempt to participate in the profits without contributing to the trade. Besides this, the environment gave every encouragement to a

free trade: first, by developing in the inhabitants a spirit of wilfulness and independence; second, by providing, in a broken coast line, containing numerous coves, harbors, and islands, unlimited opportunities for circumventing the few customs authorities of the time. "When all the Laws of Trade were broken, as they were daily," says a contemporary, "no redress could be had, for the persons offending were those chiefly concerned with the Government. These innumerable complaints put the King to vaste expense to maintain Persons in several places in Europe, as France, Hamborough, Holland, etc., to detect their Illegal Traders, after by long experience found it impracticable in New England by reason of the largeness of the Country and the many navigable rivers there."

The extent of the irregular trade at any given time in the seventeenth century can only be guessed at, but it must have been considerable. Immediately after Randolph's first visit to Massachusetts, the violations of the Acts were somewhat less flagrant; and Boston merchants, at least, were conscious of restraining influences. The death of Charles II and the Monmouth Rebellion, the readjustments in the reign of James II and the Glorious Revolution, the foreign wars of William III and the new charter of 1691, all played into the hands of the colonists. The prosperity of the colony was very little affected by the ephemeral Dominion of New England, though the speed with which this government dissolved seems to suggest less an intolerable hatred of the new political structure itself, than haste to escape from a regime which represented the cause of enforcement of the Navigation Acts.

Trade Expansion After 1675.

The nature of the colonial trade of the latter part of the century was not materially different from that of the reign of Charles I, though there was an increase in the variety of goods imported and exported, and new markets were developing. The most significant change, perhaps, lay in the fact that the trade in fish fell off, to be replaced by other products of the colony, together with articles produced in other mainland colonies in America. The colonial government itself, in answering in 1680 the queries of the Lords of Trade respecting trade, said, "They (the people of Massachusetts) have

few manufactures vendible in foreign parts; the linen and woollen cloths, hats, etc., made there being chiefly used in the country; their staple commodities are fish, peltry, horses, provisions, cider, boards, timber, pipestaves; fish formerly more beneficial for trade with the plantations in America [the southern colonies and the West Indies] than now, wherewith their merchants produce sugar, rum, indigo, cotton wool, tobacco, which they transport usually in their own vessels to England; some pipe-staves and fish to Madeira for wine. There is good timber, tar, pitch, and iron made in the country, though of no great quantity; hemp and flax grow well, but labour is so dear that it cannot be made a commodity to send to other parts; their rigging is sent from England much cheaper than it can be made there."

This account corresponds well with others from very different sources. Randolph, in one of his numerous reports, pointed out that, "The commodities of growth, production and manufacture of New England are all the things necessary for shipping and naval furniture in great abundance, as excellent oak, elm, beech, fir, pine for masts the best in the world, pitch, tar, hemp, and iron not inferior to that of Bilboa, clapboards, pipestaves, planks and deal boards, so that his Majesty need not be beholding to other nations for naval stores. . . . Some vessels had been sent as far as to Guinea, Madagascar, . . . and some to Scanderoon, laden with masts and yards for ships."

Other products of the colony included pork and corn, sent principally to Virginia, and wool, marketed largely in France. Such furs as were secured for market usually went to England, where the market was good and constant; and aided in keeping down the balance against the colony. Among the furs and pelts, beaver, bear, moose and deer skins figured most prominently. Still another group of exports were sent to the West Indies: horses, beef, pork, butter, cheese, flour, oatmeal, peas, and biscuit.

As for imports Massachusetts was no longer dependent on the mother country for supplies of staple foods. Trade with the Canary Islands, Spanish peninsula and southern France included wines of various sorts, brandy, fruits, oils, silks, laces, and linens. From England, Scotland, Ireland, and

northern Europe came linens, serges, bays, kerseys, and stockings: largely a trade in fabrics. Trade in iron products appears to have fallen off since the establishment of various iron works within the colony. Edward Randolph was rather impressed with this iron manufacture, and spoke of it in more than one of his reports, though he took pains to add that no guns were cast within the colony. Practically the whole supply of salt, as of other condiments, was imported. Salt came principally from the Dry Tortugas; this was "clear and white as alum, very sharp and much stronger than ordinary bay salt." The price, moreover, was reasonable, 10s the hogshead at Boston. The West Indies continued to supply sugar, molasses, indigo, cotton-wool, logwood and Brazil-wood;" and when they traded with Jamaica, as they do sometimes, they bring home pieces of eight, plate, and pigs of silver." Much of the latter, incidentally, was for a time made into the famous pine tree shillings. This expedient was resorted to because of the exceeding scarcity of coin in the colony during the latter part of the century, due to the unfavorable balance of trade with England.

The trade in human beings within the province of Massachusetts was small, and the shippers of the colony in the seventeenth century appear to have had little or nothing to do at this period with the importation of negroes into the southern colonies. In 1638, the *Desire,* of Salem, brought back from this first trading voyage from Massachusetts to the West Indies, a cargo of cotton, tobacco, salt, and the first negro slaves to be imported into New England. For nearly fifty years thereafter no considerable number of slaves were imported. In 1678 "one small vessel arrived . . . after twenty months' voyage from Madagascar with 40 or 50 negroes, mostly women and children, who were sold for 10 l., 15 l., 20 l. . . . Now and then 2 or 3 negroes are brought from Barbadoes and other English plantations and sold for about 20 l. apiece, so that there may be in their government [Massachusetts] about 120, and, it may be, as many Scots bought and sold for servants in the time of the war with Scotland." The demand for such human labor was small except for household purposes, hence the traffic either in negro

slaves, paupers, prisoners of war or redemptioners, failed to catch hold till the eighteenth century.

The Ports and Prosperity of the Colony

As the colony of Massachusetts owed its first prosperity to maritime enterprises, so the sea engaged much of the activities of the colony. Of the twenty-two towns in the commonwealth in 1685, well over half were located on tide water; others which had no shipping of their own shared directly in the returns from commercial employment. This salt water naturally reflected the employment of the inhabitants and the demands of utility. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century all of them presented scenes of bustle and activity along the water front such as would have been found in many a thriving English port. The characteristic structures forming the sky-line were eloquent at once of the nature and the volume of trade. In any typical seaport, stood rows of warehouses, large, unpainted structures, fully enclosed which housed and protected the more valuable articles of commerce. Interspersed with these were open sheds for the temporary housing of cargoes, or for facilitating loading and unloading operations. Elsewhere were counting houses, fish drying sheds, and even residences, arranged with little reference to probable future growth of the port. In the more convenient and sheltered coves were shipyards, engaged in the construction of new vessels or the cleaning and repairing of those in service. Everywhere were wharves and docks, some obviously designed for local use, and others connected with the trade to distant ports. Here lay piles of lumber of all descriptions; long masts destined for the use of the King's navy; boards and planks of all sizes; heavy beams; barrels and staves for many destinations. On neighboring wharves were piles of kegs, boxes and bales of all descriptions, the labels of which bespoke their foreign origins. The harbors themselves displayed scenes of animation and interest. Anchored here and there were vessels newly-arrived from distant ports, with sails furled and crews awaiting opportunity to discharge their cargoes. Other vessels, towed by longboats containing several rowers would be taking advantage of favorable wind and tide

to depart on their voyages which would take them out of sight of land for weeks or months.

Of the several ports, Boston easily took the lead. "Invironed it is with the brinish floods," said a contemporary, "saving one small isthmus, which gives free access to the neighbor towns by land on the southside; on the northwest and northeast, two constant fairies are kept for daily traffique thereunto. . . . The chief edifice of this city-like towne is crowded on the sea-banks and wharfed out with great industry and cost, the buildings beautiful and large, . . . whose continuall inlargement presages some sumptuous city. The wonder of this moderne age, that a few years should bring forth such a great matters by so meane a handfull!" "Three miles from Boston," wrote Edward Randolph to the Lords of Trade, "on an island is a castle with 38 guns and a battery of six, commanding the entrance to the channel; none can sail out of Boston without sending the Governor's pass to the Captain for which 10s. is paid, or 14s. if it is a Bill of Health."

Besides Boston, "the mart town of the West Indies," the principal commercial towns of the colony at this period were Charlestown and Salem, with "a little trade for country people at Newbury and Ipswich." Salem was in most respects a smaller replica of Boston. In 1683 the towns of Marblehead, Beverly, Gloucester, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, and Salisbury were annexed to the port of Salem by the colonial government, and it was decreed that this port and Boston should be the two lawful ports of the colony, where "all ships shall lade or unlade any of the plantation enumerated goods, or other goods from foreign ports, and nowhere else, on penalty of confiscation of such ship with her goods and tackle as shall lade or unlade elsewhere." Partly on this account, Salem became the second most important town in the colony, in size, in shipbuilding, and in trade of all kinds.

No reliable statistics exist to enlighten the student as to the quantity of the import and export trade of the colony toward the close of the first half century of growth. A partial gauge is furnished by one John Hull, of Boston, who records in his diary that in the year 1664 one hundred ships came into Boston harbor, "our own and strangers, and all loaded home."

From a print in the Bostonian Society by K. G. Rea

PROBABLE APPEARANCE OF THE FIRST TOWN HOUSE

From a series of maps compiled by George Lamb (1903) in the Bostonian Society

PLAN OF BOSTON AS IT WAS IN 1630

This gives some basis for evaluating one of Randolph's custom-house returns to the Lords of Trade in 1688. This statement, which is perhaps the best index to volume of trade, records that within the period from March 25 to September 29, 1688, there cleared from the port of Boston 7 ships bound for London, 1 for Fayal, 2 for Madeira, 1 for Holland, 11 for Bilboa, 1 for the Canaries, 1 for Portugal, 1 for Cadiz, 84 for Barbadoes, Jamaica and the other West India Islands, and 32 for other North American colonies. Almost all of these vessels had been built within the colony. The number of vessels trading to the other English colonies on the mainland would make this coastal trade appear out of proportion to the other, were it not for the statement that most of these were small craft, of 30, 20, 10, and one even of 7 tons measurement.

Vessels entering the port of Boston during the same period numbered 37 from the American mainland colonies, 89 from the West Indies, 21 from England, 2 from Madeira, 4 from Fayal, and 1 from Ireland; a total of 154. The number of arrivals and departures thus roughly balanced each other, and the destinations in the one case, and the ports of sailing in the other, furnish a fair idea of the character of the trade as a whole and the approximate importance of the various articles of trade.

These and other fragmentary records, make it clear that the colony's trade was large almost from the beginning, and that it grew rapidly during the century, not excepting the period of attempted enforcement of the navigation laws. This activity contributed largely to the prosperity of Boston and Salem, a prosperity reflected not only in an ever-growing merchant marine but in the growth of the towns themselves. Boston, toward the end of the century, is described as having cobbled streets and many fine residences, a third of which were of brick, the rest of stone and timber. Among other evidences of wealth, is a statement of the officers of the colonial government to the Lords of Trade in 1680. "There are two or three merchants," says this account, "worth 18,000 l. apiece; he is counted a rich man who is worth 1000 l."

Here, at least, was accumulated enough capital and wealth to breed a strong spirit of self-reliance and independence.

Here were enough vested interests to brave the King's wrath and to neutralize the effectiveness of his cherished Navigation System. In all of these respects, Massachusetts was well fitted to play a leading part in the affairs of the mainland colonies in the next century, and, in order to escape the tightening coils of the English mercantile system, was prepared to sever the political ties with the mother country.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Books

[See also bibliographies following Chapters i (England); viii (Sister Settlements); x (Social); xv (Economic Organization); xvii (Controversies with England); xviii (External); xx (Crises); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.

ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND, *Colonial Series.*—Vols. I, 1613-1680, and II, 1680-1720 (London, 1908). One of the basic documentary sources for the history of English attempts to regulate the colonial trade.

ANDREWS, Charles McLean.—*Colonial Self-Government,* 1652–1689 (*American Nation Series,* Vol. V; N. Y., Harpers, 1904).—A scholarly treatment of the period, with considerable attention to trade and the Navigation Acts, and well documented.

BEER, George Louis.—*Commercial Policy of England towards the American Colonies* (Columbia University Studies, Vol. III, No. 2; N. Y., 1893).—An excellent study of the English mercantile system.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, *Colonial Series, America and West Indies.*—(Edited by W. Noël Sainsbury; Vols. V, 1661–1668, VII, 1669–1674, IX, 1675–1676, X, 1677–1680, XI, 1681–1685, XII, 1685–1688, XIII, 1689–1692; London, 1860–1895).—The most fruitful source for the commercial history of the period.

CHANNING, Edward.—*A History of the United States* (6 vols., to 1926, New York, Macmillan, 1905–1926).—Volume II, Chapters ii, iii, and vi contain interesting, though brief, comments on the effects of the New England smuggling trade.

COFFIN, Joshua.—*A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury from 1635 to 1845* (Boston, Drake, 1845).—Largely in the form of annals, based on town and county records, containing frequent allusions to trade and shipping.

DOYLE, J. A.—*English Colonies in America* (5 vols., N. Y., Holt, 1889–1907).—Volume III deals with the trade of Massachusetts and its relation to the annuling of the charter. A scholarly work.

DRAKE, Samuel G.—*History and Antiquities of Boston, 1630–1670* (Boston, Luther Stevens, 1856).—Contains interesting extracts from seventeenth century writings.

ENGLISH, Philip.—*Manuscripts* (As yet unprinted letters and financial accounts preserved in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass).—The private papers of a Salem merchant at the close of the seventeenth century.

HEWINS, William A. S.—*English Trade and Finance chiefly in the Seventeenth Century* (London, Methuen, 1892).—A fair survey of the period, with considerable attention to the colonial trade.

HILL, Andrew Hamilton.—*The Trade and Commerce of Boston,* 1630–1890 (Boston, 1895).—Contains pertinent quotations from early diaries and printed historical accounts.

HURD, D. Hamilton.—*History of Essex County, Massachusetts* (2 vols., Phila., Lewis, 1888).—A thorough piece of work from authentic contemporary sources, throwing much light on the seventeenth century trade of Salem.

HUTCHINSON, Thomas.—*History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay from . . . 1628, until . . . 1774* (3 vols., 4th ed., London, 1778).—An intimate account of the colony by a sometime Lieutenant-Governor of the province; illustrated with documents.

LETCHFORD, Thomas.—*Notebook kept from 1638–1641* (Cambridge, Wilson & Son, 1885).—A valuable source for the very early Massachusetts trade.

OSGOOD, Herbert L.—*The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (3 vols., New York, Macmillan, 1907).—Volume III, chapter vii, "The Acts of Trade", is particularly enlightening on the consequences of the New England trade.

PALFREY, John Gorham.—*History of New England under the Stuart Dynasty* (5 vols., Boston, Little, Brown, 1858–1890).—Contains scattered references to conditions of trade and trade regulations.

SNOW, Caleb H.—*A History of Boston . . . from Its Origin to the Present Period . . .* (Boston, Abel Bowen, 1825).—An interesting narrative, based on contemporary and other early accounts, including the records of several early Massachusetts towns.

STATUTES OF THE REALM (Vol. 246. Printed by command of His Majesty George III.).—Contains the texts of the Navigation Laws, the preambles of which are of considerable value for the purpose in hand.

WINSOR, Justin, editor.—*The Memorial History of Boston . . . , 1630–1880* (4 vols., Boston, Osgood, 1880).—A good collection of materials on trade in volume I, chapter xviii, "The Colonial Period", by Horace E. Scudder.

WINTHROP, John.—*Journal of Transactions and Occurrences in the Settlement of Massachusetts and Other New England Colonies from the years 1630 to 1644* (Hartford, Babcock, 1790).—A fairly complete set of annals of the early years, including scattered references to shipbuilding and trade, by the first governor of the colony.

B. Periodical References

CHANNING, Edward.—"The Navigation Laws." (American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings,* 1889-1890, pp. 165 ff. Worcester, 1890).—On the commercial policy so far as it affected the English colonies in North America before 1760.

EDMONDS, John Henry.—"Burgis View of Boston" (Bostonian Society, *Proceedings,* vol. vii, 1913–1917; Boston, 1917).—A paper read before the Society, in 1914; a vivid account of Boston at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

THE HIGGINSON LETTERS (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections,* Third Series, vol. VIII, pp. 196–222; Boston, Little, Brown, 1838).—Letters, principally of John Higginson, a merchant of Salem, during the later years of the seventeenth century.

HULL, John.—"Diaries" (American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings,* Worcester, 1857).—Interesting and authoritative statements on trade and finance by the mint master of Massachusetts in the middle of the seventeenth century.

TOPPAN, Robert Noxon, editor.—*Edward Randolph; including his letters and official papers from the New England, Middle, and Southern Colonies in America . . . , 1676–1703* (*Prince Society Publications,* 7 vols., 1898–1909).—A very valuable source for the commercial history of Massachusetts after 1675, containing many reports and detailed accounts not accessible elsewhere.

WHITMORE, William Henry, editor.—*The Andros Tracts* (3 vols., Prince Society Publications, Boston, 1869).—One of the most important collections of papers and documents relating to the trade of Massachusetts during the latter part of the period.

CHAPTER XVII

CONTROVERSIES WITH ENGLAND

(1640–1664)

By J. Hunter Sedgwick

Forerunners of the Conflict (1640–1660)

Among the anomolies of Massachusetts history is the small degree of attention apparently given by the colonies to the parliamentary and military struggles in England from 1640 to 1648. A few leaders, notably Sir Harry Vane, returned eastward and joined in the conflict. No body of colonials, however, went to the support of their brethren of the Purtain faith and their kindred and friends among the middle class of the parliamentary group.

The home and the Massachusetts authorities understood each other's religious and political convictions; but that understanding carried no feeling of responsibility on either side. The records show that in the parliamentary period, as in the later royal period, Massachusetts men were thinking of independence, although almost every man, woman and child in New England was of direct descent from English stock, and as yet there was no conception of an American race.

They maintained friendly relations with England; but always with an eye to their liberty of action, and the best way to ensure it in future dealings with whatever government might prevail in England. The Commonwealth was friendly to Massachusetts; but had it lasted long enough would have lost patience with the General Court as quickly as did the Crown after the restoration. The Long Parliament, the Protectorate and the restored royal power in

succession, held off from a contest for authority in New England, till after 1670, because they were too busy with other things to skirmish effectively with a community whose habitual political and diplomatic procedure rested on legalism based on theocracy.

In 1651, Parliament proclaimed Virginia for that colony's contumacy. Winslow, the Massachusetts agent, warned the Massachusetts Court that a new patent might perhaps be secured. The court at once sent over a petition against such a step. The prayer was heeded, notwithstanding it contained an objection on the Massachusetts part to "finding ourselves wrapped upon in one bundle with all the other colonies; our case being different from all other English colonies in America for ought we know or have heard." This definition of the assumed special standing of Massachusetts accents itself the more in comparison with the Navigation Act passed in 1661, one of a long series of statutes framed to secure colonial and foreign trade in the first place for England; and as a piece of empire legislation, in days when the Mercantile Theory had still a long life before it, it was well enough.

The serious difficulty, emphasized as time went on, was that Massachusetts and most of New England did not fit into the scheme of commercial legislation, the misfit becoming more and more pronounced as time went on. The Mercantile Theory, which regarded colonies as suppliers of raw material to the mother country and buyers of its manufactures, was not unreasonable if it conceived of an empire as governed entirely by bookkeeping. What its exponents overlooked was that while colonies are commercial parts of imperial commerce as a whole, they are quite as much political entities; this fact recognized, bookkeeping must have less voice and men would have more. As opinions went at that time, a Puritian government in England would have been as insistent as a royal government on maintaining control of the empire.

It is reckoned that by 1640, when the first great impulse of emigration came to a stop, some 16,000 English had betaken themselves to Massachusetts. Probably this is an underestimate; whatever the figures, the population in

1646 and thereafter was distinctly conscious of two facts: that it had a commercial charter upon which could be based a political system; and that three thousand miles of green water lay between it and whatever government might exist in the old country. The civil troubles in England and the war with the Dutch under the Protectorate made an England too distracted and too busy at home to do much towards regulating the colonies. These, especially Massachusetts and the rest of New England were left to do much as they pleased, an opportunity which all improved.

Intercolonial Relations (1643–1660)

All the relations of Massachusetts with England and with its two international neighbors, France and the Netherlands, were affected by the New England Confederation which is the subject of an earlier chapter in this series. The services of the Confederation to its constituent members, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven and Plymouth, were undeniable. The union greatly contributed to the sense of common origin, common interests, and of common destiny which has continued down to the twentieth century. During its active years from 1643 to 1676 it also accustomed those colonies to some degree of cooperation in international relations, for the Confederation hardly took notice of the supreme authority of England in such matters.

When the Confederation's Commissioners forbade enrollment of volunteers from Massachusetts, to intervene in the quarrel between De La Tour and D'Aulnay in Canada, Richard Saltonstall and others warned the General Court that "D'Aulnay nor France are not so feeble in their intellectuals as to deem it no act of state." In the same letter, addressed to the Governor, Deputy Governor and "Assistants and the Reverend Elders at or near the Bay," they ask pertinently, "for who knows not this to be a rule of state, that not to forbid, when there is notice and power, is to bid?"

Conversely, in 1651, Massachusetts, though a Confeder-

ate, declined to join in the contest between the Dutch and Connecticut, New Haven and Rhode Island. Connecticut's action was marked by the illegal seizure of the Dutch fort at Hartford; and in so far forth Massachusetts was right. When the General Court declared in 1651 that the Commissioners had power only to declare defensive war, it for the first time stated the doctrine of nullification in American federal government. The habitual boundary controversies reappeared, and Massachusetts gained advantages in the Saybrook dispute, in that about Springfield, in the Lygonia controversy, in the Mason and Gorges claims; for the possession of preponderant weight and strength is a temptation to states as it is to individuals and the Massachusetts controlling group were no better and no worse than their century.

Again and again one feels the indefinable self consciousness of Massachusetts or at least of those who moved the levers of its government. At the Restoration in 1660 Edward Godfrey wrote the Council at London about "the consequence of the Province and the usurpation of the Bostoners." Whatever they did was, by a wonder working Providence, always headed towards their own profit, security and enlargement.

Protectorate and Restoration (1650–1661)

In general Massachusetts kept on good terms with the Commonwealth and Protectorate from 1648 to 1660. Doubtless if Oliver Cromwell had lived, with all the good will in the world for a Puritan colony, he would have brushed aside any serious attempt on the part of Massachusetts to act as an independent and sovereign community. It would have been a wild enterprise to attempt independence in the fact of France and Dutch hostility; Massachusetts no more than the rest of New England could do without England whether Puritan or Cavalier, however much that consideration was in theory disregarded by some of the greater zealots.

August 7, 1661, the General Court of Massachusetts caused Charles II to be proclaimed king. Oliver and his

pale shadow son, Richard, were gone; the Stuart was come in; the Colony approached a day that must be different from that of great migration.

At the time of the Restoration the question of religious toleration bulked larger, the issue became clearer. Charles cared as little for religious toleration, or freedom, as he did about Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress;* but in his way, he was a good-natured man, and if his friends were to be protected in England and in the empire, his policy must make in the direction of toleration.

In addition, the elements of constitutional experience in Massachusetts were gradually altering. The leaders and population were changing. John Winthrop died in 1649; Thomas Hooker two years before that; John Cotton some months after the adoption of the Cambridge platform in 1651. All these men, when left to themselves, were inclined to a milder rule than such extremists as the political chieftain, John Endecott, and the military parson, Norton; but Endecott passed off the stage in 1665. Reverend Increase Mather who now loomed on the horizon, whatever his opinions and influence in other matters, had no thought of separation from England.

However ruthless Endecott and Norton might be, a popular party was forming, not very articulate as yet, but with a general consciousness that its numbers gave it claim to more rights than it possessed. Farmers and merchants were gradually becoming more prosperous and included many voteless and taxed individuals. Add to all these changes the question of the English colonial system which called for specific laws and a much more careful administration in New England.

During this period of rapid self-development Massachusetts did little theorizing concerning the nature of her relationship to England, and took care to keep out of the constitutional struggle which was dragging on in England. When other colonies stood out for the king, Massachusetts shrewdly maintained a position of neutrality until it should be evident which side would win. After the establishment of the commonwealth an appeal was made to Cromwell to recognize the colony as a sister state, but

though the petition was not granted, Massachusetts did not consider herself under the jurisdiction of Parliament. Winthrop had pointed out in 1644 that if Parliament should later assume unwelcome prerogatives, then such action could be taken as would best serve the interests of the colony. From the very start, then, the colony's relations with the mother country were based not on any theories of government but on a policy of expediency.

Commercial Policy (1650–1660)

Cromwell had a sense of the colonies' importance. It was he who directed the expedition to Hispaniola; he wrested Jamaica from the Spaniards and thus began the long process of attraction which lasted to the cession of Cuba in 1898. Barbadoes and the Bermudas, as well as the southern and middle colonies on the continent, all played a part in England's well-being that the Protector well understood. The colonies, as James Truslow Adams observes, were by-products of English commercial activity. Now a change had come; henceforth it was commerce that was to determine the imperial policy of England. Under the Long Parliament and the Protectorate, there had been too much administrative confusion to get the results necessary for a working colonial system.

The history of the Colonial Commonwealth and the Protectorate period reveals a maze of Councils, Committees and Boards trying to care for an infant that daily grew out of control. The "Overture" of Nowell and Povey bore some fruit; and these two very able men had more influence when Charles came to the throne. The now familiar Mercantile Theory was becoming a principle of government. It was still believed that gold and silver were wealth, but it was now understood that colonial commerce and government must be conducted as a business matter, as a means of acquiring gold and silver.

From the moment of the revival of a royal government we clearly perceive what was to be the future commercial attitude of the colonies, especially in New England. They were not saddled with tariffs, and under the Protectorate, enjoyed marked privileges; but whatever the law

they would, so far as they could, trade when, where and as they wished, irrespective of the home government's policy. Still less would they regard specific rules of trade laid down by England. England had a policy that was an immovable body; the colonies had one that was a body moving with the irresistible force of progress.

For all that the colonies would claim the protection of England's navy and indirectly of its army; in especial, Massachusetts with the thoughtlessness of a young community at stated intervals forgot that without the moral and physical background of England's strength the colonies would be left to fall into the hands of other powers whose principles religious and political were utterly opposed to what the colony chiefly prized and what it never tired of averring to be the reason of its founding. Not long after the Restoration, Colbert's agent wrote home to France that the Boston people worried very little about the king's prohibitions, "because they hardly recognize his authority."

Clarendon, as the official head of the English executive, had a concrete colonial policy; he would take New Netherland from the Dutch; secure the Mohawk-Hudson route; gain control of Lake Champlain, and dissipate Dutch influence in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. He would extend the English settlements southward. To hamstring Holland's carrying trade was his prime object, for unless this were accomplished, the Navigation Acts and Ordinances would be so much printed paper and the English navy must go unprovided with the necessary naval stores.

Navigation Acts (1650–1663)

Four of these Navigation Acts were passed in 1650, 1651, 1660 and 1663, respectively. Roughly described, their object was to compel the carrying in English or Colonial ships of all goods in the trade between England and the colonies; to insist on their being manned by British and colonial crews; to apply the same rules "to all goods imported into either from any foreign country or colony in America, Asia or Africa." The Act of 1663

went further, by forbidding the shipment of any manufactured European goods to the colonies, unless first landed in "England, Berwick or Wales." A system of drawbacks was included that often favored the colonies, New England receiving particularly considerate treatment. Thereafter many complaints were to be made by British merchants of the favors granted Massachusetts.

As an imperial measure, the Navigation Acts were excellent provisions. As the measure of a home government, three thousand miles away from a lusty and opinionated colony that must largely live by the sea, they acted as a political and commercial irritant. In 1665, Massachusetts made answer to questions of the royal commissioners to the effect that the number of their ships and vessels was about eighty of twenty to forty tons, about forty of forty to an hundred tons and about a dozen ships above an hundred tons.

Massachusetts had carried on much as it liked; after the Restoration it was excepted from the Act of Uniformity in religion applying to the other colonies; and it is evident that the English government was prepared to treat New England well. Nevertheless, the colony could not withdraw itself from some important questions of imperial interest, of religious toleration and of internal struggles due to the changing population. As theories then went, England was justified in the course she had chosen; she must live by the sea, and so must Massachusetts as the bulk of settlement was then disposed.

As far back as the middle of the fifteenth century the *Libelle of Englysche Polycye had* urged the Council to "Cherish marchandyse, kepe thamyraltie That we may maysters of the narrow sea." The discovery of America simply widened this policy. It was to break down in America's case, but not for many years. The marrow of the dispute between England and Massachusetts was the conflict between the concept of imperial sovereignty, imperfect though it may have been, and the determination of an English colony to resist that sovereignity so far as safely might be. Massachusetts, though many of its actions were indefensible and factitious, was right in con-

tending, as the leaders did, that its circumstances were peculiar. It is impossible to treat what was a political entity from the moment the settlers landed, and was soon recognized as such, in the same way as a commercial corporation, whatever the technicalities.

All the New England colonies had been made the balkier by remaining so long undisturbed; and what is of great moment, their trade had increased not only with England's sugar-colonies, but with Europe. In 1656 Rhode Island proclaimed free-trade with the Dutch, and in 1660 Connecticut had no laws against such trade. As New England production rose, the surplus was sold to the sugar islands, foreign as well as English; and the proceeds paid New England's commercial bills drawn on the mother country. This free trading with other colonies, both English and foreign, became one of the prime causes of the smuggling which became a regular element of Massachusetts and New England commerce.

Massachusetts Theory of Government (1660–1670)

In 1660 there was appointed a Council for Trade and one for Plantations, the membership of either being made up of privy councellors, that is, of country gentlemen, customers, merchants, traders, naval officers, men versed in affairs and doctors of civil law. Wide powers were needed to deal with the petitions, claims and complaints that soon poured in copiously. Though many of the complaints against Massachusetts were obviously untrustworthy, the behaviour of its General Court was more thoroughly ventilated than hitherto.

John Leverett, the colony's agent in London, wrote that complaints against the Colonial Government were many, whereupon Richard Saltonstall and William Ashurst were joined with him to present to the King a letter from the General Court defending it from the Quaker scandal. Charles answered temperately enough; but the General Court, doubtless feeling the shift in the breeze, drew up a Declaration of Rights under date of June, 1661. The Declaration simply reaffirmed its stand in the contro-

versies, in the very respects which a home government was sure to question. The "rights" seemed to come very near those of independence; and their expression, although coupled with the promise to apprehend the regicides Whalley and Goffe, did not mend matters between Massachusetts and a home government that had it in its power to give the colony a bad quarter of an hour.

The familiar tactics of "avoid and protract," though still useful, had become much riskier. Aware of this, the General Court sent over Simon Bradstreet and the Reverend John Norton as their agents with another address. This also the King answered mildly, but he touched on the matter of the franchise, the oath of allegiance and the administration of justice. The Massachusetts colony and its polity had become conspicuous, its contacts had grown wider and this letter of Charles directly concerned the theocratic system. The powers in Massachusetts became more and more uneasy.

The elders and magistrates had their peculiar line of reasoning on colonial government. "This was what they called voluntary civil subjection, arising merely from compact; and from thence it followed, that whatsoever could be brought into question relative to their subjection must be determined by their charter." The charter was granted primarily to a land and commercial company, with about thirty freemen. It was hard to deduce from it a frame of liberties for 20,000 people. In application to circumstances never foreseen when it was granted, it was an instrument through which any self respecting corporation lawyer of today could drive an automobile. Many subtleties were possible.

If the powers in Massachusetts did solve all such efforts in their own favor, it was only what any men in their circumstances would have done. They had no right to erect a theocracy, but they had a good right to protect the visibly growing state, though they sometimes hurt it. For the home government to accept the contentions of the elders and magistrates would be to abdicate England's imperial sovereignity.

From the portrait in the Essex Institute, Salem

SIR JOHN LEVERETT

Theocracy and Power (1630–1660)

During this period of the Civil War and the Protectorate, Massachusetts had from time to time assumed authority for which a reckoning must be made. The colony began to mint money in 1652, and continued the process. This was undeniably an act of sovereignity, such as must arouse the champion of prerogative and the mediaevalist. From the beginning Massachusetts restricted the franchise in a manner quite outside the terms of the charter of 1628, by requiring certain religious tests. In many public utterances it assumed the condition of an independent state, though canny in explanations to the home government. It denied Massachusetts litigants any right of appeal to England. Above all, it formed an unacknowledged but effective combination of Church and State, that men have called the Theocracy.

The system was not a purely ecclesiastical government; but it was a system which gave the clergy far too great an influence in purely civil matters. This unauthorized and unchartered power of the clergy continued from decade to decade. The method was simple; in the beginning the charter provided for a certain number of freemen, whom today we should call "shareholders," who were authorized to act through certain officials and a body of their own choosing, the Assistants, corresponding to our modern directors. Provision was made in the charter for admitting more freemen as circumstances required and this seemed to be plain enough sailing.

In 1631, the franchise already limited to freemen was restricted to church members; and until the charter was cancelled by the *Scire facias* proceedings of 1684, that membership must be of what we call the Congregational Church. Unless the minister certified that the candidates for admission to the body of freemen were of orthodox principles and of good lives and conversations, they were shut out. Inasmuch as the recognized ministers and elders were all of the strict Congregational hue, theocracy was thus entrenched, for the General Court, the organ of the movement, was based on election by the freemen.

Outside of this restriction on authority, the Assistants or Magistrates believed that it was their duty to take counsel with the clergy on a variety of legislation and legal technicalities. This fastened on Massachusetts a system of parson government that has always given the same results wherever it has been tried. The ministers and elders were treated with a deference far beyond their virtues to resist. Those virtues were great in many cases, nor did the clergy always have things their own way. Occasionally when they went beyond the proper limits of their calling, the lay good sense of the Assistants and soon of the Deputies objcted or was restive. The clergy held too much power and too firm a standing in matters in no wise touched by their Christian duties. Throughout the seventeenth century the clergy usually stood for the severest punishments, and the strictest restrictions on personal and religious liberty. When they found among the civil authorities such allies as the brutal Endecott, the stage was set for religious persecution and the curtain was soon raised upon a drama of intolerance and cruelty.

Status of Non-Members (1650–1664)

There is no evidence that the action and stand of the Massachusetts General Court was a popular action. It was rather that of a body of men who had the immediate authority and the means for enforcing it. Palfrey seems to think otherwise, but to-day we have a rather more accurate knowledge of the extent of real popular government in the Massachusetts of the seventeenth century. By this time, Massachusetts was become provincial, that is, its population was now composed of those born in the new world; but that population, owing to the restriction of the franchise, lacked a normal or direct influence on the policies and the political actions of the colony. At the same time, Boston had become more "polite" in the eighteenth century meaning of the term, because commerce had brought more acquaintance with the general world and also needs more like those of such a world.

Marked as were the traits of the politico-theocratic ring that engrossed the conduct of affairs, many as were their

activities that shock or irritate the man of the twentieth century nevertheless they had a distinct tradition of what kind of political state must be founded. Had not that tradition satisfied the growing popular element, it would not have survived as it did. Like the first settlers, they wished to govern and live free from English interference; and as the country grew in population and general material comfort that tradition, though persisting, gradually from being a theological purpose became a political tenet. It is reckoned that three-fourths of the adult male population in 1666 were not church members and were therefore voteless. These and many of the freemen must have resented the constant meddling of the clergy. But we can be certain that very few would have changed the General Court for the Restoration gang. In Massachusetts was their soil, their home and their economy, and though at large they may have been but dimly conscious of the nationhood even then ingerminated, nevertheless it was to the government of Massachusetts that they looked first.

Treatment of Heretics (1650–1664)

In 1644 a law had been passed against the Baptist and in 1651 Clark was fined while Holmes was whipped and fined, both for their tenets, Endecott throwing in for good measure the opinion that they ought to be executed. That the great body of the people, even in 1651, approved such things, is hardly believable; for that body was composed of peaceable folk, hard working and most of them carefully disenfranchised, though taxed by those who engineered the fines and whippings in this and like cases. The political ring, however, was vociferous and the people were speechless except when something peculiarly flagrant caused them to give voice.

The general attitude of the authorities a few years before the Protectorate is shown by a law of 1646 to the effect that all heretics, "continuing obstinate therein, after due means of Conviction, shall be sentenced to Banishment." In 1658 the Declaration of Liberties was amended so that no person or member of any church "which shall be gathered without the approbation of the Magistrates

and the said churches, shall be admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealth." This of course included members of that church of England to which all the original settlers had belonged.

Some popular opposition showed itself very early when the Cambridge Platform was drafted by the clergy and magistrates, with its provision that "the Magistrate is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require," in cases of church schism or discipline. The deputies were not at all unanimous in its support, and when it was finally passed in 1651, fourteen of them refused to concur. The towns they represented were Boston, Salem, Braintree, Watertown, Roxbury, Wenham, Reading, Sudbury, Weymouth, Hingham, and Hampton in New Hampshire.

Such occasional opposition of the tougher minded deputies was only a whisper then of that dissent which was later to become much louder; in the meanwhile the clergy were repeatedly called in to steer and control affairs. The treatment of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson in 1635 had shown what the theocracy could do when in good condition. This very likeable woman taught a kindlier creed than the theocracy approved and to this crime she had added that of making Winthrop appear ridiculous. She was banished by the Court, and later disposed of by the Indians.

The Quaker Episode (1656–1665)

An outstanding exhibition of intolerance was in the treatment of certain Friends, or Quakers, who ventured to America in 1656. In that year, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin came to Boston and were examined as to their opinions, Deputy Governor Bellingham being in charge of the proceedings. Their views and their boxes of books proving unsatisfactory, they were stripped, then imprisoned, then shipped back to Barbadoes, whence they had come. The general Court expressed sympathy with this official method of encouraging people to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, by a law fining any ship-master bringing over Quakers, ordaining prison and whipping for such passengers, and fine and banishment for any citizen defending their opinions.

With this start, the Massachusetts authorities presently went further by tightening the legislation against Quakers culminating in the execution three years later of Mary Dyer, William Robertson, Marmaduke Stevenson and a little later of William Leddra. Thereafter there were no more executions of Quakers but these people were none the less treated with severity until 1665. It is hard to say what would have been the further action of the powers in Boston if Edward Burroughs, himself an English Friend, had not gone to Charles II and told him flatly that innocent blood was shedding in New England "which if it were not stopped, would overrun all."

The King sent over a letter by a banished Quaker, one Samuel Shattuck, ordering Massachusetts to give over all proceedings against Quakers. Endecott, then Governor glowered and obeyed. Governor Hutchinson, who is never on the side of intolerance, later made a mild excuse for the Massachusetts government, attributing its actions to "a false zeal and erroneous judgment;" but the answer is that no government or state can afford to have such zeal or make such mistakes. In the same part of his book, he says, "May the time never come again when the government shall think that by killing men for their religion they do God service."

The first Quakers in New England, as they were in Old England, were extremely obstinate and at the same time of blameless lives. If a creed, religious or political, must be judged by its fanatics, then religious and political persecution can plausibly be justified. The Quaker theory of non-resistence, their totally unmilitary position, their inferential questioning the civil authority, all made their irruption into what was then a frontier community like a red rag to a bull for such men as Endecott and many other leaders, lay and clerical.

Yet other colonies treated the newcomers with leniency and survived. The Government of Rhode Island in 1657 wrote the General Court that they had found the Quakers most quickly silenced by being left alone and that "they are like to gain more adherents by the conceit of their patient sufferings, than by consent to their pernicious say-

ings." The King's letter to Endecott was a proof of the practical fact that the Massachusetts Court must face a new condition of things. Moreover, the rulers knew that the execution of these four Quakers would not have been approved by Oliver any more than by Charles.

The Royal Commission of 1664

When the monarchy was restored in 1660, the news was received with very little enthusiasm. The General Court after much heated discussion on the relationship of the colony to the mother country, dispatched Simon Bradstreet and John Norton to England to negotiate. They performed their delicate and thankless task as well as could be expected, but the mild letter of the King which followed their visit, although confirming the charter, failed to define positively the position and obligations of the colony.

He gave instructions to allow liberty of conscience to all except Quakers and to grant the suffrage to propertied men of good reputation whether or not they were Congregationalists. This letter the colony calmly disregarded as she did the new Navigation Acts. Not preconceived theory but practical necessity now made Massachusetts defy the mother country on a constitutional basis. She denied that Parliament had the right to legislate for the colonies, and that the King could supervise legislation or hear appeals from her courts.

Proof that English dominance was not at an end was offered by the sending of four commissioners to the colonies to settle matters in New Netherland and New England in 1664. The Commissioners were Richard Nicolls, Samuel Maverick, Robert Carr and George Cartwright. Nicolls was the first governor of New York under the English rule and an able man. Maverick was an original freeman of the Bay Company, and an Episcopalian who joined Child in his complaint against the theocracy. Carr and Cartwright were by no means men to impress a Calvinist public. On their arrival in Boston in July 1664 the Court passed a law ostensibly widening the franchise, but really the baldest subterfuge. It had the assurance to

GOVERNOR JOHN ENDECOTT

Portrait painted in Boston in 1665, the year of his death,
now in the possession of William Crowninshield
Endicott of Danvers, Massachusetts.

GOVERNOR JOHN ENDECOTT

Portrait painted in Boston in 1665, the year of his death,
now in the possession of William Cowenhoven
Endicott of Danvers, Massachusetts

Jo: Endecott

write Clarendon asking the withdrawal of the commission; to which he answered that the colony's happiness and well being depended on the performance of its duties.

After much coming and going, the General Court in July 1664 met the royal instructions as follows: (1) They framed an oath of allegiance which was made ineffective by its reference to the colony's charter; (2) In ecclesiastical matters, they avoided, but did not confess; they equivocated as to the state of religious freedom; (3) They were not much better in rebutting the charges that the Navigation Acts were being disobeyed; (4) The Court did raise a force against the Dutch which was not needed, inasmuch as New Netherland succumbed without a fight.

The Commissioners had work to do in New Netherland and this took them away from Boston, the storm thereby being by so much postponed. With the Connecticut and Rhode Island colonies they had very little trouble. When they returned to Boston in the spring of 1665 the clouds gathered again. Endecott had died and Richard Bellingham, the Deputy Governor, took his place. Bellingham, after service as Recorder of Boston in Lincolnshire, came over in 1634. He was successful and cunning. He was Governor in 1641, again in 1654, and was to serve from 1665 to 1672.

Two views of the commission have found their way into the histories of the time: One was that the King sent it to find out what he had a right to know, and to see how the imperial mechanism was working. The other was that the commission was a body sent out to bully, enslave and corrupt New England and in especial, Massachusetts. The truth lies between these views. So long as there was a sovereign power that could grant or annul a charter, so long as the headquarters of the empire were an active nation, the colony was under obligation to recognize those facts. Both sides were double faced; for years the Crown gave its commissioners private instructions; but the General Court did the same with its agents in London.

The Massachusetts charter of 1629 was technically that of a commercial company; and the theory that it gave every kind of right not expressly reserved to the Crown,

was hardly likely to be accepted by the Crown's representatives. Instead the King's commissioners had private instructions to attempt a general assembly, to which they could appeal over the heads of the governor and council; to insist on Crown nomination "or approbation" of the governor; to demand that the militia should be commanded by a Crown appointee. They were also to hint that Nichols would make a good governor and Cartwright an excellent major general. The commission were to note all doubtful clauses in the charter and perhaps make the way ready for its alteration.

The Commission itself gave its members the doubtful and dangerous power to hear and determine complaints and appeals in civil, criminal and military cases. In 1632, Thomas Knower had been put in the bilboes for threatening the Court, "if hee should be punisht, hee would have it tryed in England, whither he was lawfully punished or not." Since that day the Court had set its face against such appeals. Yet its judgments were never those of a really judicial body, acting juridically, and in many cases the judgments were those of a knot of laymen subject to overruling by a knot of clergymen. To have those judgments reviewed was the last thing the Massachusetts theocracy could stomach.

Question of Judicial Appeal (1660–1664)

The Charter was a very loosely worded instrument on this point. It was not an act of oppression for the Crown and its commissioners to insist that appeal did lie in some form and in some contingencies. The defect of the King's instructions and of the commissioners' attempted action was that they sought to create a sort of itinerant court of appeal with undefined powers.

For example, one Porter, a good for nothing and apparently a real danger to his parents and the town, had been convicted of blasphemy in public, disobedience to parents and denying the authority of the magistrates. These not desperate crimes earned him commitment to the house of correction, a severe whipping and exposure under the gallows with a halter about his neck. He escaped

to Rhode Island, where he obtained from three of the royal commissioners a warrant of interlocutory protection and notice of appeal before them in Boston. This must have irritated the magistrates for every reason, but the records state that, had not his mother been tender hearted and had she joined her husband in the complaint, the court must necessarily have punished Porter capitally, "according to our law, being grounded and expressed in the word of God, in Deut. 22: 20, 21. See Capital Lawes, p. 9, sec. 14." However brutal the penal laws of England, they derived from Parliament, not Deuteronomy. However the commissioners found they could do nothing against the protest of the General Court in the direction of an intelligent system of review of judicial proceedings by the General Court and magistrates who were not primarily a judicial body. The case of Thomas Deane in 1665 raised a much clearer issue, especially in the matter of jurisdiction, as it involved the Navigation Acts. Deane informed the commission that the Massachusetts court had not proceeded with trial of a case under the Act. The General Court's answer was in the first place to station in front of the house where the commission purposed to hear the appeal a messenger to read a proclamation warning all persons not to attend the hearing. In the second place, it pleaded that the defect was not their fault. Lastly came the entry in the Court's record, (May, 1665) that in regard to the commissioners' complaint that the court had not recognized them as a court of appeals, "we doe freely oune a noncurrance on our part in such wise and on the grounds mentioned in the foregoing narrative."

In the Deane case, the commissioners' warrant called for the appearance of the Governor and Assistants, that is, it attempted to try the judges in their own jurisdiction. These were the last tactics to try with men as stubborn and self-opinionate as the Massachusetts rulers. The court added that it knew no better rule for deciding this controversy than the terms of the charter and Charles's letter of June 28th, 1662.

The Massachusetts had definitely shown that, short of physical force, it would do as it chose, and the com-

missioners understood this perfectly. They knew when they were beaten, but to beat them and to defeat the Crown were quite different things. The commissioners' report to the Council spoke well of Plymouth, Rhode Island and Connecticut. As for Massachusetts, going over the facts, the commissioners held that the King had best take away the charter. As a counterblast the General Court prepared and sent over a "Narrative" in which they answered the commission's charges and defended their own course. The commission was soon after recalled, less in token of defeat of the royal power than of preoccupation with the Dutch war and of the decline of Clarendon's influence. Those whom Nicolls called "the grandees of Boston" treated the recall as their victory.

Effects of the Investigation

This tendency, fostered by the political leaders and by the much greater forces of situation, distance and training, had one more breathing time a decade long. Charles II and his Council were to be busy after 1665 with European affairs and though the victory over the commission had in reality destroyed the underpinning of the charter of 1628-29, Massachusetts was not much disturbed until the King sent over Edward Randolph. After the four commissioners gave in their report to England, commerce was good and so continued. No customhouse was established; the colony governed New Hampshire and Maine without hindrance; the French peril was removed for a time; the Swedes and Dutch could make no more trouble to the south. Nominally the Navigation Acts, especially those of the 12th and 15th Charles II (1660, 1663) were in force, but as Hutchinson expresses it, Governor Bellingham "whose business it was to carry them into execution, was annually elected by the people, whose interest it was that they should not be enforced." Some of the "grandees" were become wealthy. John Josselyn said about this time, "the grose goddons, or great masters, and some of their Merchants, are damnable rich," but in scrutinizing the constitutional and material growth of the colony, one must

remember that there was a frontier class, as contrasted with an urban and farm class. There had always been settlers who would push outward, and their migrations farther and farther away from centers of settlement were to be a continuous feature of New England history. The frontier disliked authority and was radical; the settled urban and farming element was more conservative, though it disliked authority quite as much when it was exercised by the English.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies following Chapters v (Charter and Colony); vii (Winthrop); xiv (Religious Freedom); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

ADAMS, James Truslow.—*The Founding of New England* (Boston, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921, 1926).

ANDREWS, Charles M.—*British Committees, Commissions and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622–1675* (Balto., Johns Hopkins Press, 1908).

ANDREWS, Charles M.—*The Colonial Background of the American Revolution* (New Haven, Yale Press, 1924).

ANDREWS, Charles M.—"Materials in British Archives for American Colonial History" (*Am. Historical Review*, X, No. 2, 1905).

BACKUS, Isaac.—*Church History of New England* (Newton, Backus Hist. Society, 1871).

BARRY, J. S.—*History of Massachusetts* (3 vols. Boston, Philips Lampson, 1855).—Vol. I.

BEER, George Louis.—"Cromwell's Economic Policy" (*Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University).—Vol. XVI.

BODGE, G. M.—*Soldiers in King Philip's War* (Boston, Clapp, 1891; Leominster, 1896).

BOLTON, Charles Knowles.—*The Founders* (3 vols. Boston, Boston Athenaeum, 1919–1926).

CALENDER OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL.—Vol. V. 1661–1668; Vol. VII. 1669–1674; Vol. IX. 1675–1676; Vol. X. 1677–1680.

CHANNING, Edward.—*A History of the United States* (6 vols. N. Y., Macmillan, 1908–1926).—Vol. II.

CHANNING, Edward, HART, A. B., and TURNER, F. J.—*Guide to the Study of American History* (Boston, Ginn, 1912).—See §§ 135,142.

O'CALLAGHAN, E. B.—*Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1853).—Vol. III.

DUMMER, Jeremiah.—*A Defense of the New England Charters* (London, Wilkins, 1721; Boston, Fleet, 1765).

HART, Albert Bushnell, editor.—*American History Told by Contemporaries* (4 vols. N. Y., Macmillan, 1897–1904).—See Vol. I.

HOWE, D. W.—*The Puritan Republic* (Indianapolis, Bowers, Merrill, 1899).

HUTCHINSON, Thomas.—*History of Massachusetts* (3 vols. Boston, Fleet (1764–1828).

HUTCHINSON, Thomas.—*The Hutchinson Papers* (Albany, Prince Society, 1865).

JONES, P. M.—*The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, Macmillan, 1911).

KAYE, F. L.—*The Colonial Executive Prior to the Restoration* (Balto., Johns Hopkins Univ. 1900).

KAYE, F. L.—*English Colonial Administration under Lord Clarendon, 1660–1667* (Balto., Johns Hopkins Press, 1905).

MACDONALD, William.—*Select Charters and other Documents Illustrative of American History* (New York, Macmillan, 1899).

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY *Collections.*—Second Series, Vol. VIII (Danforth Papers); Fourth Series, Vols. II, (1854) VI, VIII.

MATHER, Increase.—"Cases of Conscience"—in Cotton Mather's *Wonders,* (Reprint London, 1862; Boston, Harris, 1693).

MURDOCK, Kenneth B.—*Increase Mather* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1925).

PALFREY, John Gorham.—*History of New England* (5 vols. Boston, Little Brown, 1859–90).—Vol. I.

PARKER, Joel.—"The origin, organization and influence of the towns of New England" (Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings,* 1866–1867).

SEWALL, Samuel.—"Diary, 1674-1729" (Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections.*—Fifth Series, Vols. V-VII, 1878-1882).

SHURTLEFF, N. B., editor.—*Massachusetts Records* (5 vols. Boston, White, Commonwealth, 1753–1754).

WARREN, George, editor.—*The Libelle of Englysche Polycye* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1927).

WINSOR, Justin.—*Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1884–1889). Vols. III and V.

WINSOR, Justin.—*The Memorial History of Boston, 1630–1680* (4 vols., Boston, Osgood, 1880–1881).—See pp. 303–310, by T. W. Higginson.

WINTHROP, John.—*History of New England from 1630–1649* (or the Journal).—[Edited by James Savage]. (Boston, Little Brown, 1853).

CHAPTER XVIII

EXTERNAL RELATIONS
(1640–1689)

By Arthur H. Buffinton,
Assistant Professor of History, Williams College

The problem of external relations was one which the colony of Massachusetts Bay could not escape. As a dependency of one of the great maritime powers which were struggling for a foothold in the New World, it was from the beginning attached by political ties to the Old World. The very soil of the colony was debatable territory, for it was at this precise point of the North American coastline that the territorial claims of England, France, and Holland overlapped. When it was first planted, there already existed, in addition to feeble English settlements along the coast of New England, a Dutch colony on the Hudson, and French settlements in Canada and Acadia. The latter were, it is true, momentarily in the hands of the English, having been seized in 1629 by an English fleet; but in 1632 they were restored to France, enfeebled, but not deprived of the power of future growth. Even had the complications due to its colonial status not existed, the territorial and commercial expansion of the colony would, as in the case of the United States a century and a half later, have rendered a policy of isolation impossible. The story of the foreign policy of Massachusetts from 1640 to 1689 is that of an ineffectual attempt to maintain independence of action.

Early Isolation of Massachusetts (1630-1650)

For the future of the region about Massachusetts Bay the Great Emigration of 1630 was decisive. Massachusetts was

from its birth the strongest European settlement north of Virginia. From the first it was secure from attack except by such an armament as no European power was likely, at this time, to despatch on such an errand. The region which John Smith had named New England was indeed to be New England, although its precise boundaries remained to be determined.

The condition of affairs in Europe added to the security of the colony. Charles I had just dismissed Parliament and was making peace with France and Spain preparatory to embarking on a period of personal rule. The power of Spain was decadent, and although France was rapidly increasing in strength under the rule of Richelieu, the latter was more interested in the continental struggle against the House of Hapsburg than in the affairs of the colonies. The Netherlands were at this time at, or near, the zenith of their power, but here again fortune favored Massachusetts. The Dutch had, since 1621, been engaged in an exhausting struggle with the Spanish monarchy; during which they devoted their attention chiefly to harrying the Spanish-Portuguese colonial empire and commerce in the East and West Indies and Brazil. Their colony on the Hudson was a side issue, left to vegetate. However active commercially, it was too feebly populated even to protect itself from the encroachments of rival colonizing powers.

If security from foreign attack made for a policy of isolation, so also, in a more powerful degree, did the circumstances of settlement. Unlike the neighboring French and Dutch colonies Massachusetts was not established as a military or economic outpost of empire in the New World. In the words of an eminent historian of the colonial movement, it was the result of a political and religious schism in the English state. The Englishmen who migrated to the shores of Massachsetts Bay came doubtless for different reasons, some to enjoy a political and religious liberty denied them in the England of Charles I and Laud, others, like the emigrants of all times, to seek wealth in a New World where custom and tradition had not yet closed the door of economic opportunity. In this they were at one,—their prime object was to get away from the Old World and its untoward conditions, and not to establish

an English empire in the New. If a numerical majority came primarily to better their economic condition, the governing minority had other ends in view. Massachusetts under the first charter was governed by an oligarchy of clergy and magistrates who held office virtually by life tenure. These were the men who removed the charter to America, who established there the Puritan Commonwealth, who were ready to deny that they owed any obligations to the English government aside from those specified in the charter, and who more than once were ready to defy that government to the point of armed resistance.

Aims of the Colonists (1630–1689)

In discussing the policy of the colony, therefore, one must inquire what were the aims of the few who shaped and directed it, and about this there can be little question. They came to found a commonwealth where they might hold such beliefs, and worship according to such forms, as to them seemed right. They came to escape from a Europe where the tide of Protestantism seemed ebbing, and to establish in another continent "a bulwark against the kingdom of Antichrist which the Jesuits labour to rear up in all places of the world." "Other plantations," wrote Increase Mather in 1689, "were built upon Worldly Interests, New England upon that which is purely Religious." They were a chosen remnant saved out of the general destruction, for whom God had providentially reserved this New English Canaan.

Such an attitude of mind added strength to the desire for isolation from Old World affairs. "They look upon themselves," wrote an English naval captain in 1673, "as a free state and not at all to be interested or concerned in the differences or wars which his Majesty may have with other Nations." For thirty years circumstances aided them in the maintenance of this isolation. The more Charles I became embroiled with his subjects at home, the less able was he to interfere with those who had crossed the Atlantic; and after his downfall the victorious Cromwell was little disposed to thwart the desires and ambitions of his co-religionists in New England. For three decades, therefore, the colony was left free to determine the course of its relations with its neighbors.

In fact, down to 1689, although the colony was twice called upon to assist in the conquest of New Netherland and once in that of Canada, Massachusetts expended very little blood or money in the wars of empire.

On the other hand this determination to live its own life and to preserve its peculiar polity did not make for easy relations with the colony's neighbors. In its dealings with them it exhibited a fierce intolerance of opposition to the accomplishment of its objects, whether that opposition came from the natives, from other English colonies, or from neighboring foreign settlements. "These people," wrote the Dutch De Vries of the New Englanders, "give out that they are Israelites, and that we at our colony are Egyptians." Like many another, they confounded their own purposes with the will of God and obscured for themselves, if not for history, the brutality of their methods by invoking for them the divine sanction. As leaders of a new crusade, they adopted the historic battle-cry, "It is the Will of God."

Commercial Interests (1630–1689)

A more potent influence in time moderated this harsh and intolerant temper and brought the colony into closer connection both with Europe and with its American neighbors, and that was the commercial development of the colony. If religion furnished its spiritual atmosphere, trade was its life blood. Massachusetts produced no staple; its economic prosperity depended upon a complicated interchange of products with the West Indies, the other continental colonies, and Europe. Hence that search for foreign markets and that active commercial life which characterized the whole later history of the commonwealth.

Such a commercial development was incompatible with a policy of isolation. Because of it Massachusetts became an integral part of a commercial empire, centering in England, and thereby was involved in the conflicts of rival maritime powers for colonial and commercial supremacy. It is doubtful if from 1689 to 1783 any other of the thirteen colonies spent as much blood and treasure in the wars of empire, and this not because it was compelled to, or because it was more loyal, but because its interests necessitated such a course.

Furthermore, commercial expansion tended to engender economic rivalry with neighboring jurisdictions. Fish, furs, and lumber were the commodities which, aside from the products of the soil, furnished the basis of the colony's commercial life. But the best fishing grounds were on the coasts of Acadia and Newfoundland; the principal routes to the main sources of the fur supply of the continent were controlled by the French and Dutch; the best forests were in Maine and New Hampshire; the most fertile soil about Narragansett Bay and in the Connecticut valley.

The danger that the commercial spirit would defeat the intentions of the founders was early foreseen. Little more than twenty years after the foundation of the colony Edward Johnson uttered a warning against permitting the "men of trade in hope of gaine" to fling open the gates so wide "as to mar the worke of Christ intended." The warning was vain. Long before the end of the seventeenth century the commercial spirit began to triumph, subtly moderating and modifying the attitude of the colony towards its neighbors. One could not both treat them as enemies in the spirit of the Old Testament and trade with them; and on the whole trade was the better policy. By the time the first generation had passed away the theocracy had given place to a plutocracy, and the economic interests of the colony as represented on the Board of Assistants by the merchants, landed proprietors, and representatives of the fishing interest, were fast obscuring the ideals of the founders.

Territorial Interests (1630–1689)

The territorial expansion of the colony also made for closer contacts with its neighbors and often for friction. During the first decade of the colony's existence more than twenty thousand people landed in New England, mostly in Massachusetts. Even if many had not been repelled by the intolerant policy of the colony, there would have been a large emigration for economic reasons. As a result, Massachusetts became the nest from which all New England was peopled. From it very largely the colonies of southern New England were settled, and the weak northern settlements strengthened. While the former established themselves as independent gov-

ernments, the latter were, in course of time, annexed to Massachusetts. The result was to shift the burden of conflict with the Dutch to Connecticut and New Haven, but to bring Massachusetts into direct contact, territorial as well as commercial, with the French.

The Decade of Inaction (1630–1640)

During the first decade of settlement Massachusetts was far more concerned with establishing its internal polity than with external relations. There was a momentary feeling of alarm in 1632 when news came of the restoration of Acadia to France; but it was soon realized that the French were too weak to be dangerous. Although they so far assumed the aggressive as to break up the establishments of the Plymouth traders east of Pemaquid, they took pains to assure Massachusetts that no further aggression was intended. Consequently when Plymouth sought the aid of its stronger neighbor to recover Penobscot, the Bay colony refused assistance except on condition that Plymouth bear the entire expense. Likewise Massachusetts refused to take part in a joint enterprise, suggested by Plymouth, to prevent the Connecticut valley from falling into the hands of the Dutch,—only to permit, two years later, an emigration of its own settlers, which defeated the ambitions of both Plymouth and the Dutch.

Thus from the beginning the policy of the colony was realistic and opportunist. Feeling secure, it was free to choose its action, and its choice would depend largely upon whether or not its interests justified action. Cooperation with weaker neighbors, except where its interests were involved, was a policy which made little appeal, and during this decade all proposals for a Confederation were rejected.

By 1640 Massachusetts was unconsciously ready to begin its career of expansion. The colony was well established, its polity settled, internal dissent silenced. The danger of interference from the King and Laud was remote now that England was fast drifting towards civil war. In the following two decades Massachusetts annexed practically all the English settlements to the northward, extended her jurisdiction southward at one point to Long Island Sound, made a vigorous attempt to secure a foothold on Narragansett Bay, and at-

tempted to establish a settlement on the Hudson. Commercial expansion was equally vigorous. A severe economic crisis in 1640 and following years, consequent upon the cessation of immigration, drove the merchants, fishermen, and fur traders afield, stimulating enterprises in territories occupied or claimed by foreign rivals, and resulting in active relations with foreign jurisdictions. In this way the colony was forced to abandon the purely negative policy of the first decade.

The New England Confederation in External Relations (1643–1650)

But for the outbreak of the Civil War in England it is probable that Massachusetts would have continued to refuse to link its fortunes even with those of its English neighbors, but the consciousness that no aid could be expected from England in case of an Indian uprising, or an attack by some foreign power, won from the colony a reluctant consent to the formation of the New England Confederation in 1643. Nevertheless the Confederation was never popular; and it was the refusal of Massachusetts to subordinate its interests to those of its weaker associates which caused its virtual breakdown within a decade after its formation.

It is probable also that the Bay colony looked to the Confederation to solve the common problem of meeting the competition of the French and Dutch in the fur trade. Their practice of selling arms to the Indians was resented by all the English colonies not only as giving them an unfair trade advantage but also as endangering the safety of the English colonies. Consequently when the United Commissioners, in 1644, proposed the formation of a general company to prosecute the fur trade, Massachusetts accepted; but on this occasion Plymouth, which probably had the largest fur trade of any of the colonies, rejected the proposal, and it was perforce dropped.

Friendly Relations with the Dutch (1635–1664)

Because of the lack of any direct contact with the Dutch, save in a commercial way, the relations of Massachusetts with its western neighbors may be briefly summarized. At a time when the merchants of the colony were seeking every possible

source of profit, it was natural that they should look with envy upon the success of the Dutch in the fur trade. It was known that the great source of the fur supply was somewhere in the interior. Massachusetts had a sea-to-sea charter, but the problem was to get access to the interior where the Dutch held the Hudson and the Delaware. It was decided to try the Delaware route, for here the Dutch were but a handful, and were already meeting with Swedish competition. Consequently a company, composed of prominent men of the colony, was formed in 1644 to develop this route. Misfortune dogged the enterprise from the start. The first ship sent by the company was not permitted by the Swedes and Dutch to ascend the river; and a second venture failed because of an affray with the Indians. With this the attempt of Massachusetts traders to gain access to the interior by the Delaware route ceased.

In 1645 a second company was formed to open the trade of the interior by utilizing the direct overland route, but of its activities we have no record. Fourteen years later, however, certain of the members of these early companies joined with other adventurers in a scheme to establish a plantation and fur-trading post about two-thirds of the way between Springfield and Fort Orange. For this enterprise the support of the General Court and the Confederation was secured, and the General Court asserted its territorial rights upon the Hudson under the sea-to-sea charter of the colony. The enterprise was pushed with great determination against the stubborn opposition of the Dutch, and it was even predicted that there would be war. Before anything could be accomplished, however, the Restoration of 1660 gave Massachusetts other things to think of; and within a brief time the flag of England supplanted that of the Netherlands in the Hudson Valley.

For the rest, Massachusetts was called upon continually to exercise a mediating influence in the incessant conflict of the two southern members of the Confederation with the Dutch. As the most powerful, though least interested, member of the Confederation, it was appealed to by both sides, but more especially by the Dutch. The action of the colony was usually in keeping with its more or less disinterested position. As a

member of the Confederation it supported the English claims; but it opposed drastic action and repeatedly used its influence to bring about an accommodation.

It was two Massachusetts men, Simon Bradstreet and Thomas Prince, who negotiated, in 1650, as representatives of the Confederation, the Treaty of Hartford. By it the Dutch, as the weaker party, sought to appease the hostility of Connecticut and New Haven by yielding their claims to any part of the Connecticut valley and to a considerable portion of Long Island.

Hostile Relations with the Dutch (1652–1664)

Despite this well-meant effort, which is the high-water mark of the diplomatic activity of the Confederation, friction continued. The southern members of the Confederation would be content with nothing but the extinction of Dutch rule on the Hudson. When in 1652 war broke out between the English Commonwealth and the United Provinces their chance seemed to have come. Prompt to scent danger, the governor of New Netherland appealed to Governor Endecott to use his influence for the maintenance of neutrality and the continuance of trade.

Unfortunately for the Dutch the rumor had spread among the English that the Dutch were inciting the Indians to attack them. Connecticut and New Haven were in an uproar and demanded drastic action. A special meeting of the United Commissioners was held in April, 1653, to investigate, and all the old charges against the Dutch were rehearsed. On the flimsy evidence of ex parte witnesses the reality of the plot was asserted, and seven of the eight Commissioners voted for war. The Massachusetts General Court, however, refused to sanction war, acting on the advice of the elders, who drew the somewhat fine distinction that there was evidence enough to prove the reality of a plot, but not enough to justify resort to the sword. As Massachusetts was expected to furnish 333 men out of a projected force of 500, the other colonies were forced to abandon the idea of an immediate attack upon New Amsterdam.

By asserting her right to place her own interpretation upon the Articles of Confederation and to disregard the vote of one

From a copy of the Visscher Map in the Bostonian Society

A Dutch View of Colonial Boundaries in 1659

of her own Commissioners, Massachusetts robbed that document of all meaning. As the colony was never at a loss for extending its boundaries at the expense of weaker neighbors, one is forced to the conclusion that the real reason for the action of Massachusetts was that she felt her interests did not call for war, a war in which the chief cost would fall upon her, but the chief fruits of which would be reaped by others.

Balked in their attempt to use the Confederation to dislodge the Dutch, Connecticut and New Haven appealed to Cromwell in England, who despatched a small force commanded by two Massachusetts men, John Leverett and Robert Sedgwick, to conquer New Netherland. Grudgingly the General Court acceeded to the request of Cromwell for assistance and gave permission for the raising of five hundred volunteers for the expedition. Long before arrangements were completed, however, news arrived of the signing of peace; and the Dutch were left for another decade in possession of the valleys of the Hudson and the Delaware.

Conquest of New Netherland (1664)

Nevertheless the days of Dutch rule were numbered. The English government had never recognized them as anything but interlopers. Charles II was even more ready than Cromwell to listen to complaints against them, either from royal officials or from his subjects in New England. Of these there was no lack; and in 1664 another expedition crossed the Atlantic to conquer New Netherland. Again the aid of the colonies was asked, and again Massachusetts reluctantly granted it. After much debate the General Court voted two hundred men for the expedition, but as this decision was reached less than two weeks before the English fleet appeared before New Amsterdam, it is more than doubtful if any of them saw service. The two agents sent by the colony to bring word to the English commander of its preparations were, however, appointed by him to the commission which arranged the terms of surrender; and thus Massachusetts was made an accomplice in the conquest.

To the Bay colony the passing of the Dutch was a matter of little moment. Its interests were already bound up with the fisheries and trade of the regions to the northward; and the substitution of a Stuart proprietor for the Dutch West

India Company on its western borders seemed likely to prove more of an embarrassment than an advantage. Indeed it set in motion a train of events which involved the colony in the conflict of New York and New France for control of the western fur trade, and thus was one among other factors which brought about the costly conflict of Massachusetts with the French. To the relations of the Bay colony with its northern neighbors we must now direct our attention.

Early French Relations—La Tour and D'Aulnay (1632–1643)

Massachusetts was brought into direct contact with Acadia less by her own remarkable commercial and territorial expansion than by the quarrels of its French inhabitants. Among the few hundred settlers of that region two only had achieved some degree of eminence. They were Charles de Menou d'Aulnay and Charles St. Estienne de La Tour. On the death of the French governor Razilly in 1635 a struggle broke out between them for the mastery.

In a vague way these rivals stood for different principles of colonization. La Tour, who was one of the oldest settlers in Acadia, was a commercial adventurer pure and simple. To him it mattered not whether Acadia was English or French, Protestant or Catholic, so long as he could profit from the exploitation of its resources. No politician bred to the ways of courts could be less troubled by scruples or more dexterous in changing sides. In a period when Acadia passed through many vicissitudes he succeeded, sooner or later, in ingratiating himself with each new master and thus maintained himself, with slight interruptions, where less supple men were broken. His rival D'Aulnay came to Acadia in 1632 at the time of its restoration to the French, served zealously as a subordinate of the French Governor, stood well with the Capuchin missionaries, and in general was loyal to French interests and the Catholic faith.

The quarrel was taken to Court, which not unnaturally decided in favor of D'Aulnay, and even issued an order for the arrest of La Tour. The latter now turned to the only possible source of assistance and despatched an agent, a Protestant merchant of La Rochelle, to Boston, to establish commercial connections and to get aid.

La Tour's emissary appeared at a favorable moment. Suf-

fering as it was from a commercial crisis, the colony was straining every nerve to find new outlets for its activity. It was at this time that Massachusetts fishermen first began to frequent the Acadian banks, and the chance to secure a share in the profits of Acadian trade was not one to be lost. For the time being, however, the Massachusetts government would do no more than sanction trade relations, influenced, it appears, by the fact that La Tour was under the ban of the French government.

Two years later, in the summer of 1643, La Tour himself appeared in Boston harbor, seeking assistance to regain his principal fort on the St. Johns, which was blockaded by D'Aulnay. He brought with him a letter signed by the Vice-Admiral of France, which seemed to show that he was again in favor at Court. Thus one of the principal objections to aiding him was removed. The policy of the colony, however, had been not to intermeddle in the affairs of its foreign neighbors unless its own interests were at stake; and the question now arose whether circumstances demanded a departure from this policy.

In favor of intervention was the fact that D'Aulnay had been a troublesome neighbor who ought not to be allowed to become supreme in Acadia; that if La Tour was overcome, the new Acadian trade was likely to suffer; and,—what appealed strongly to the Puritans,—that La Tour had Protestant connections. The chief arguments against intervention were that D'Aulnay, obviously the stronger, might win and take vengeance on the colony, and that he might bring down upon it the wrath of France. The latter danger seemed to be removed by the letter which La Tour brought, and the strength of the colony seemed a guarantee against attack by D'Aulnay alone. Nevertheless, there was much hesitation among the elders and magistrates whom Winthrop summoned to consider the question.

Ultimately it was decided to permit La Tour to hire ships in Boston to assist in regaining his fort, and two men were found to accept La Tour's offer: one Hawkins, who commanded the small English force; and Edward Gibbons, a leading merchant of the colony, who was later to rise to the rank of magistrate and commander of the colony's militia.

At a later time Winthrop confessed that he acted in this matter with undue haste. Only the magistrates and elders residing in the towns near Boston attended the meeting, and Winthrop admits that the General Court would never have authorized intervention without referring the question to the Confederation, which was then in process of formation. It soon appeared, indeed, that there was a serious difference of opinion even among the magistrates, which veiled a conflict of interest between the towns to the north of Boston and the metropolis. Boston wished to preserve and extend the Acadian trade; the weaker and more exposed settlements to the northward feared the vengeance of D'Aulnay.

The leading men of Salem and Ipswich voiced their disapproval in a spirited letter of protest which has been preserved for us by Hutchinson. While all their arguments may not command our approval, one at least was sound. If D'Aulnay's past record justified intervention in behalf of his adversary, it should have been done, so they argued, "professedly and orderly," and not as "margent notes upon a French text which to us is as yet but Apocrypha." In other words the aid half-heartedly given to La Tour would arouse D'Aulnay's hostility without seriously weakening him.

The event proved the soundness of their contention, for after raising the blockade of La Tour's fort, Hawkins allowed himself to be persuaded to help pursue D'Aulnay home to Port Royal, where English volunteers assisted in the capture of a pinnace and the killing of three of D'Aulnay's men. The latter forthwith undertook reprisals, and Massachusetts found itself at war with the lawful Governor of Acadia.

Furthermore, La Tour proved unable to maintain himself despite the aid thus afforded him. Unable to secure further assistance from the colony, which now centered its efforts upon the restoration of peace with D'Aulnay, he borrowed further sums from Boston merchants, chiefly Gibbons, and as security pledged his Acadian interests and possessions. By a strange turn in the wheel of fortune these private transactions became of more importance than any of the public acts of the colony.

What the real policy of the Bay colony was at this time, it is a little difficult to say. The affair was now referred in

proper fashion to the Confederation, which in 1644 authorized Massachusetts in order to prevent La Tour's fort from falling into the hands of D'Aulnay, to take it by purchase or otherwise, and to undertake reprisals against D'Aulnay if he would not come to terms. At about this time also Hawkins, Gibbons, and the younger Winthrop purchased the rights of the Plymouth traders to Penobscot, and Winthrop wrote to a Scotch nobleman, Lord Forbes, to know if the Scotch had any intention of reviving the schemes of Alexander for the colonization of Nova Scotia. One may say that at the least it was desired to maintain a balance of power in Acadia, and that possibly the more sanguine hoped to dispossess the French altogether.

All these schemes broke down because of the complete victory of D'Aulnay. La Tour's fort was captured and he himself became for a period of years a homeless adventurer. With considerable difficulty Massachusetts made peace with the victor on terms which permitted trade with the French of Acadia, but not with the Indians. Yet so advantageous to the French did this commercial connection with Boston prove that when D'Aulnay died in 1650 his widow promptly wrote to the Massachusetts government desiring the continuance of amicable relations. This, indeed, was the chief result of all the complicated transactions of the decade, that Acadia had become commercially dependent upon Boston. Henceforth, whether Acadia was English or French, whether there was war or peace between the crowns of England and France, this dependence was a primary factor in the relations of the Bay colony with its French neighbors.

Negotiations With New France (1647–1651)

Scarcely had peace been made with D'Aulnay when we find Winthrop making overtures to the government of New France. The precise nature of these overtures has aroused some conjecture, for none of the correspondence has been preserved. New England accounts speak only of a proposal for free trade between Massachusetts and Canada; Charlevoix adds that Winthrop proposed a treaty of perpetual alliance, while John Gilmary Shea, the learned editor of Charlevoix, ascribed to Winthrop a plan for the formation of a general

union of the English, French and Dutch colonies, a sort of seventeenth century Pan-American Union.

There is no evidence to support anything more than a proposal for trade, and in view of Winthrop's recent experience with political intervention in Acadia, it is hard to believe that he can have proposed anything else. In any case, nothing came of the proposals at the time.

Three years later, however, in 1650, the Governor of New France, hard pressed by the Iroquois, recalled Winthrop's advances, and sent the Jesuit Druilletes to Boston to propose a commercial treaty, an alliance against the Iroquois, and a general agreement for the maintenance of neutrality in the event of war between France and England. The reply of the Council was to the effect that trade relations would be welcomed; that, as to neutrality, they were disposed to keep peace with their neighbors unless given cause of offense; but that the question of an alliance was one for the Confederation. Druilletes visited Plymouth and spent some time in Boston sounding out the attitude of leading men toward his proposals. He even wrote to the younger Winthrop, hoping through him to influence the attitude of Connecticut.

Druilletes was in fact so far encouraged by the result of his mission that he was sent back the following year to negotiate with the Commissioners of the Confederation. Here, however, he met with failure. The Commissioners would not entertain the idea of an alliance against the Iroquois, nor would they permit the raising of volunteers or the passage of French troops through New England. They were willing to make a commercial treaty, but found the French offer, even on this score, not satisfactory. In short, what the New Englanders wanted was trade, and what the French wanted was aid against the Iroquois. Neither could be had without the other; consequently no agreement was possible. The decision was eminently wise, for it is very doubtful whether any trade which the New Englanders might have gained with the French colony on the St. Lawrence would have compensated them for the dangers and losses of a war with the Iroquois.

Nevertheless the episode is interesting as showing a tendency for the small European settlements in America to settle their relations upon an amicable basis without regard to the

European situation. Even in its infancy America showed signs of diplomatic independence, and the roots of the Monroe Doctrine may be traced far back of 1776. Yet while America was a dependency of Europe, its intervention in American affairs was a factor of continuous importance in the relations of the colonies to one another; and that intervention became more rather than less frequent as European statesmen began to regard the colonies as useful makeweights in their schemes.

Relations with Acadia During the Period of English Rule (1654–1670)

A quite unexpected instance of European intervention, affecting the relations of Massachusetts and Acadia, occurred in the year 1654. It will be recalled that the fleet despatched by Cromwell for the conquest of New Netherland was still at Boston when news of peace arrived. Sedgwick and Leverett, however, had been instructed, if time permitted, to range the coast against the French. Between England and France there was no open war, but a state of hostility existed which in the seventeenth century might justify almost anything. Whether Cromwell's instructions contemplated an attack upon French colonies is a question to which no definite answer is possible. Sedgwick and Leverett so interpreted them, and in a short time the Acadian forts were in the hands of the English.

Nova Scotia historians have been wont to ascribe this attack to the influence of Massachusetts, but there is conclusive evidence that the Bay colony was not even consulted. As the profits of the fur trade were earmarked by Sedgwick for the support of the garrisons which were left in Acadia, and as he gave orders to Leverett, who was left in command, to exclude Massachusetts vessels from the Acadian trade, it is quite probable that the conquest was not altogether welcome to that colony.

Nevertheless the Bay colony thought it saw a chance to profit, and instructed Leverett, when he went to England in the autumn of 1655, to sound Cromwell about giving Massachusetts a grant of that territory, provided it could be secured "free from charges and other engagements." Most of the Maine settlements had by this time been absorbed, and the annexation of Acadia was the next logical step.

The disposition of Acadia proved to be a perplexing problem. In view of the relations of France and England the very title of the English was perhaps questionable, and besides Massachusetts there were other claimants. Among them was La Tour, ready as ever to accommodate himself to the new regime. After the death of D'Aulnay he had returned to Acadia, persuaded his rival's widow to marry him, and was enjoying the fruits of his audacity when the English fleet dispossessed him. He was not without hope, however, that he could make terms with Cromwell, nor was he altogether disappointed.

Among La Tour's assets was a grant from Sir William Alexander of all southern Acadia, which he had pledged to the Boston merchant Gibbons in return for loans amounting, with interest, to some four thousand pounds. Gibbons was now dead, but his widow presented her claims to Cromwell. As a practicable solution of a difficult problem, the Protector decided to recognize the validity both of Alexander's grant and the mortgage. In the autumn of 1656 Acadia was granted to La Tour, Thomas Temple, and William Crowne on condition that they pay the expenses of the English garrisons and the money due Mrs. Gibbons. Temple, who was the nephew of the influential parliamentarian Lord Say and Sele, was made Governor, and came to America in the spring of 1657 to govern and exploit his new possesion.

There are few more interesting episodes in the early history of Massachusetts, and few so little known, as the relations of Massachusetts and Acadia during the Temple regime. Possessing no aptitude for trade and no inclination to exile himself among the French fur traders and savage Indians of Acadia, Temple settled down at Boston, where he resided for fifteen years. It was undoubtedly his intention to exploit the Acadian fur trade with the financial assistance of English friends and adventurers; but lack of success and the contemporary troubles in England forced him to make terms with the Boston merchants. They it was who furnished him with goods for the trade, who received and disposed of the furs at the end of the trading season, and who, so he complained, insisted upon a profit of one hundred per cent. In consequence he was always in debt to his financial backers, who took as

security a mortgage on his Boston possessions and Acadian interests. Thus the profits of the Acadian trade went into the pockets of Boston merchants, and the economic connection between Boston and Acadia established in the days of D'Aulnay and La Tour was more tightly riveted.

One result of Temple's dependence on the Boston merchants was the absence of friction with the Massachusetts government. The General Court not only recognized his government and trade monopoly, but on occasion aided him in repelling the attacks of certain French traders who still maintained their position in northern Acadia. In return for this assistance Temple on at least one occasion ventured to express to Charles II a favorable opinion of the people among whom he had made his home.

Massachusetts and the Anglo-French War (1666–1667)

The overthrow of the Puritan regime in England proved a severe check to the expansion of Massachusetts. The grant of royal charters to Rhode Island and Connecticut (1662, 1663) put a stop to encroachments on the weaker southern colonies; while the revival of the claims of the Mason heirs to New Hampshire and of the heirs of Gorges to Maine threatened the loss of the northern settlements. The conquest of New Netherland (1664), while very welcome to Connecticut, was a questionable advantage to Massachusetts, and presently European complications resulted in the restoration of Acadia to France.

In 1666 England became involved in a war with France; and for the first time Massachusetts had occasion to realize the dangers and problems caused by its close proximity to the centres of French power in North America. The western frontier of the colony was alarmed by rumors of a French and Indian attack, so that a watch was kept during the whole summer of 1666, and several coasting vessels were taken by French privateers.

Besides this danger from the sea it appeared that the French problem involved relations both with Europe and neighboring colonies. Charles II sent orders for the northern colonies to concert measures for the conquest of Canada, and Gov-

ernor Nicolls of New York seconded the request. A conference at Boston, however, attended by Temple and representatives of Massachusetts and Connecticut, decided that in the absence of English naval assistance an attack was impracticable. To the appeal of Nicolls for aid in repelling a threatened French and Indian attack, Massachusetts and Connecticut replied by despatching a small scouting party in the direction of Canada; and some assistance was given to Temple, who according to his own report cleared Acadia of the French. Thus it appeared that strategically the northern colonies formed a single area, and that no one of them could pursue a policy of complete isolation.

Hostilities were ended by the Peace of Breda (July, 1667), which peace was more damaging to the interests of the colony than the war. In exchange for the English half of the island of St. Kitts, which the French had captured, Charles II restored Acadia to the French. An English historian has conjectured that in so doing English statesmen were consciously attempting to put a curb upon the too independent spirit of Massachusetts. Of this there is no evidence, but the cession was very ill regarded at Boston. Taking advantage of a delay in executing the terms of the treaty, the Massachusetts government sent the King a dignified and strongly worded protest. This protest proved an accurate forecast of the consequence of Charles's action; for the French were able, using Acadia as a base, to obstruct the fur trade and the fishery, to encroach upon the northern frontier, and in time of war to prey upon the commerce of Massachusetts. In one respect only did the situation remain unchanged: the Boston merchants continued their trade with Acadia. The loss of political control did not entail the loss of economic control.

Continued Expansion of Massachusetts (1667–1675)

The Anglo-French war of 1666–1667 was not the result of any deep-seated conflict of interests between the two monarchies either in Europe or America; but the succeeding twenty years witnessed in both continents a rapidly growing antagonism. In this developing conflict no colony had a more vital stake than Massachusetts. None felt more keenly the pressure of the expanding power of France in America. The

war had revealed some of the dangers inherent in the situation; yet so little was Massachusetts actually affected by it, that no sooner was it over than the colony resumed its career of expansion, encouraged thereto also by a slight relaxation in the attitude of the English government. In 1668 it reasserted control over the Maine settlements, which in 1665 had been removed from its jurisdiction by the Royal Commission. In 1671 a resurvey of the northern line was undertaken with the express purpose of finding justification for the extension of control over the settlements between Casco Bay and Pemaquid. Mathematics yielded to politics, and in 1674 the General Court established for these settlements the new county of Devonshire with Pemaquid as its capital.

In extending its jurisdiction beyond the Kennebec, Massachusetts was entering debatable territory. The French claimed everything east of that river as part of Acadia; and in 1665 Charles II had granted the territory between the Kennebec and the St. Croix to his brother James, a grant which he renewed in 1674, despite the fact that by his orders Sir Thomas Temple had, in 1670, surrendered the Acadian forts, including Penobscot, to the French.

To complicate matters still further, in 1674 a Dutch privateer, with the assistance and at the instigation of a Boston sea captain, John Rhoade by name, captured the French forts in southern Acadia, taking prisoner the Governor of Acadia, who was left at Boston. When, however, Rhoade attempted to assert Dutch authority in that region by right of conquest, the authorities of the Bay colony seized him and tried him for piracy. Thus the Dutch failed to profit from their conquest; the French, who were just reestablishing their power, were weakened; and the power of Massachusetts seemed more strongly entrenched.

Plans for westward expansion were also resumed at this time. In 1672 negotiations were begun with New York for the establishment of a Massachusetts plantation on or near the Hudson. In all probability this was in part a revival of the plan of 1659 to secure a share in the fur trade which centered at Albany; but there is some evidence to show that the authorities of the colony hoped, if the scheme proved successful, to use such a trading post to keep a better eye on the French and

to increase the influence of Massachusetts with the Iroquois Confederacy. That Confederacy was already recognized as perhaps the most powerful group of Indians in all northeastern North America. Its war parties occasionally appeared in New England, causing consternation among the Indians and some loss of property to the whites. It was notoriously hostile to the French, and so of possible future use, but among the English it as yet counted only the province of New York as a friend and ally.

Such were the forces which one may discern at work in the years immediately preceding King Philip's War. It is little wonder that Edward Randolph, making his first report concerning Massachusetts, in 1676 writes that the colony was ready to claim "as farre as their convenience and interest directs, never wanting a pretext of right to any place that is commodious for them, declaring they doe not know the boundaries of their commonwealth."

Effect of King Philip's War on External Relations (1675–1684)

King Philip's War caused the abandonment of these schemes of expansion, and at the same time set in motion forces which made the check more or less permanent. It will be recalled that the war involved nearly all New England. It, therefore, brought Massachusetts into relations with New York to the west and with the French to the north.

The extension of the war into western Massachusetts gave rise to the charge that the Indians were being supplied with munitions by the Dutch traders of Albany; while at the same time it suggested the possibility of getting the assistance of the Mohawks, who had long been hostile to the New England tribes. It was at this time that the government of New York took a position of much future consequence for Massachusetts impressed upon its western neighbor, New York colony, that the Iroquois were dependents of that province, and that independent negotiations with them by other governments were not permissible. Ultimately, despite his rage at the charges against the Albany traders, Andros, who was at this time Governor of New York, permitted the Mohawks to go on the warpath; but their assistance was not of great value.

From early eighteenth century histories of New France in the Harvard University Library

FRENCH VIEWS OF THE NORTHERN INDIANS

In fact, it caused further complications because Iroquois raiding parties continued to frequent New England territory after the war was over, causing no little damage to whites and Indians alike, until peace was made with them in 1680.

Even more important were the developments which resulted from the war in Maine. The outbreak of war in this quarter was by many attributed to French intrigues, a fact which tended to increase the feeling of hostility which the New England Puritan normally cherished towards the French Papists. The unprejudiced modern historian will readily accept the statement of the contemporary Hubbard that the French were not to blame; but he will not fail to see also that they profited from it.

During the course of the war some of the Abnaki took refuge in Canada. The Jesuits, who had formerly had a mission among them, seized the opportunity to establish for them a new mission near Quebec, which came to be much frequented by the Abnaki of the Kennebec and the Penobscot, and became a centre of French influence among them. Thus were the foundations laid of the Abnaki-French alliance which for a long period to come checked the northward expansion of Massachusetts.

A further result of the war in Maine was the occupation of Pemaquid by Governor Andros. As the representative of the Duke of York in America his commission included the Duke's province of Cornwall between the Kennebec and the St. Croix. He now seized upon the war as a pretext for occupying Pemaquid, thus effectively asserting the Duke's claims to the region. At the same time he interposed between Massachusetts and the French, at the very point where their territorial claims conflicted, a government over whose policy Massachusetts had no control and for whose acts it had no responsibilty. With a representative of the Duke in control both at Pemaquid and at Albany, the relations of Massachusetts with the French were becoming increasingly dependent upon the policy and acts of others.

Immediately after the close of King Philip's war Massachusetts became involved in the momentous conflict with the home government. Again its jurisdiction over Maine and New Hampshire was challenged. The province of Maine was,

indeed, saved by the purchase of the rights of the heirs of Gorges, but New Hampshire was finally severed, and was set apart in 1679 as a royal province.

Relations with Acadia (1676–1681)

This conflict with England forced Massachusetts to consider more carefully its relations with the French of Acadia. By the French government Acadia had been much neglected. Its sparse population of feudal seigneurs with their dependents lived almost entirely by the fur trade. Intercourse with France was spasmodic; supplies and many of the necessities of life were secured from the Boston traders, who frequented the coast, trading with the French and Indians, taking coal from Cape Breton, and otherwise conducting themselves as if Acadia were still English. The fisheries of the Acadian banks were almost exclusively in the hands of the New England fishermen. French officials were forced to recognize that this economic dependence on an English colony was essential so long as there was no regular commerce between Acadia and France. Even had the government felt otherwise, the lawless seigneurs were hard to control; and many a Governor of Acadia was glad to share in the profits of the trade. On the other hand, such a connection violated every principle of the old colonial system, and the French government was ready to welcome any chance of breaking it.

From the point of view of Massachusetts, relations with Acadia were satisfactory enough. The only complaint Governor Bradstreet had to make of the French in his report to the Lords of Trade in 1680 was that they attempted to collect a license fee for the privilege of fishing on the Acadian coast, a practice which had been originated, so they asserted, by Temple. For the rest, Bradstreet spoke of the French in a tone almost of contempt, reporting that they were few and weak, and that relations with them were generally friendly.

To Frontenac, who was at this time Governor of New France, the situation was by no means satisfactory. From time to time he protested at the activities of the New England traders and fishermen on the coast of Acadia; but his earlier protests were unheeded. As the conflict with the home gov-

ernment became more intense, however, it seems to have occurred to the rulers of the colony that it would be well to establish more friendly relations with the French, and thus at least assure the colony of an uninterrupted enjoyment of the fisheries, which were so essential to its prosperity. Following one of Frontenac's protests, therefore, the government in 1682 sent John Nelson, nephew and heir of Temple, and the leading trader with Acadia, to Quebec to make an agreement with the French governor.

The outcome of these negotiations was that the General Court passed a law discountenancing the irregularities complained of by Frontenac; and that tacit acknowledgment was made of the right of the French to impose a license on Massachusetts fishermen by sanctioning an arrangement whereby the latter could secure a license either from the Governor of Acadia or from Nelson at Boston. It speaks well for both the French and English authorities that they thus recognized that their interests were better served by an accommodation than by a series of protests and reprisals. In fact, the arrangement was so satisfactory to the French that Frontenac's successor, La Barre, continued it, and even sought to turn it into a political entente by inviting the Massachusetts governor to join him in an attack upon the Iroquois.

Revival of Acadian Troubles (1682-1686)

Unfortunately these friendly relations were soon disturbed by the action of the French government, which had never sanctioned this rapprochement. In 1682 it chartered a company, the leading spirit in which was one Bergier, to develop the coast fisheries of Acadia. On his arrival in Acadia Bergier found the local authorities quite uninterested in a scheme which threatened to endanger good relations with Boston; and not until he had secured the removal of the Governor and his own appointment as acting Governor was he able to prosecute his enterprise. Then, in the summer of 1684, he seized eight New England fishing vessels, six of which were found to have no license. Paralyzed by the hopeless imminent struggle to retain the charter, the Massachusetts government did nothing; but the friendly relations thus interrupted were never resumed, and the French government pushed on its schemes of freeing Acadia from its economic dependence upon Boston.

At this same time action taken by the Duke of York's gov-

ernor at Pemaquid gave the French on their side a grievance. More than any other one man Thomas Dongan of New York must be held responsible for the rapid germination of the seeds of conflict between the English and French in America. Appointed Governor in 1683 of the Duke's possessions in place of Andros, he showed from the outset a determination to assert the rights of his master to the full. One of his first acts was to order the French living west of the St. Croix to acknowledge English rule or leave the country; and to stipulate that all the trade of the Duke's Province must enter and clear at the port of Pemaquid.

The principal Frenchman to be affected by these orders was the Baron Vincent de St. Castin. Establishing himself in 1671 at the old trading post of Penobscot, now called by the French Pentagoët, he had speedily acquired a large influence over the Penobscot Abnaki, the daughter of whose war-chief he ultimately married. St. Castin had long traded exclusively with the English, chiefly with Nelson, and paid no attention whatsoever to the French governor of Acadia. These orders of Dongan would disturb his trade with the Boston traders and might drive him into the arms of the French. Nelson, whose commercial interests were threatened, prophecied that Indian disturbances also would result.

For some time Dongan seems not to have followed up his orders, but in 1686 his agents seized near Pentagoët a cargo of wine, oil and brandy, consigned by Nelson and other merchants to St. Castin, on the ground, apparently, that it had not been entered at Pemaquid. Alarmed at this action, President Dudley and the Council, who were in control pending the arrival of Andros, appealed to the home government, suggesting the necessity of an agreement with the French about the right to trade and fish on the coast of Acadia, for they feared French reprisals.

French Relations in Andros Period (1684–1689)

The control of affairs, after the quashing of the charter in 1684, was rapidly passing out of the hands of Massachusetts. It is true that the Council, which ruled under Dudley and Andros, was made up largely of Massachusetts men, many of whom had served on the old Council before the loss of the charter; but more and more the home government was being forced to intervene in American affairs, and its policy was

always faithfully carried out by Andros. Indeed at this very time the English government negotiated with France the Treaty of Neutrality (November 6-16, 1686), which sought to quiet the colonial rivalry of the two nations by forbidding the subjects of either to trade or fish within the territories or waters of the other. Had this been enforced it would have broken up the trade between Boston and Acadia, and would, as Randolph pointed out, have gone far to destroy the New England fishery.

The French government was in fact determined to break the hold of Boston upon Acadia. A new governor, Meneval, was sent to Acadia in 1687 with soldiers and a frigate, and signalized his arrival by seizing two New England fishing vessels.

Andros was now in control of his Dominion of New England. While he protested at the seizure of the fishing vessels, he also continued Dongan's policy toward the French living west of the St. Croix. In 1687 they were warned to submit to English jurisdiction, and in 1688 Andros paid a visit to the region, during which he seized all the movable property of St. Castin, to be held at Pemaquid until the latter should recognize his authority. The result was to drive St. Castin into the arms of the French, and to turn him from a neutral trader into a strong supporter of the anti-English policy of the French court.

The net result of these mutually irritating policies was seriously to damage the interests of Massachusetts, which was forced to stand by helpless while others took action detrimental to it. The trade between Boston and Acadia was broken up. Under the instigation of the Jesuits and St. Castin the Indians were becoming restive; and the fisheries were constantly threatened and annoyed. The fishermen did indeed take matters into their own hands, and by a series of piratical attacks destroyed Bergier's fishing enterprise, but the situation was such that it could be alleviated only by open war or by a change of policy.

Relations with New York and the Iroquois (1680-1689)

At the same time Massachusetts was being drawn into a hostile attitude towards the French by the policy of New York

and the Iroquois. The latter had been practically at war with the French since 1681; and Dongan, after his arrival, supported them vigorously in every way short of giving them actual assistance. Threatened by a French attack the Iroquois sought the friendship of the English, and in 1684, at a great intercolonial congress held at Albany, signed a treaty of alliance with Massachusetts, Maryland and Virginia. Bad as Anglo-French relations were in the region of Acadia, they were much worse on the New York frontier, for the combination of the Iroquois and New York threatened the very existence of New France. The English government took cognizance of the situation by authorizing Dongan to call on other governments for assistance, and by ordering Andros to assist Dongan in case of need. Further to strengthen the northern colonies against the French, James II in the spring of 1688 added New York and the Jerseys to the Dominion of New England.

By this time, despite the signing in December, 1687, of a treaty for the preservation of peace in America, the governments of England and France were not far from war. Indeed war may be said to have begun in America in 1688 by a raid of Canadian Indians upon Northfield, and by the outbreak of some of the Abnaki tribes of Maine.

To the other causes of hostility was added, on the part of Massachusetts, the ever-increasing resentment at the arbitrary government of the Catholic King James, believed to be in league with Louis XIV to destroy Protestantism and free government on both sides of the Atlantic. Thus by 1689 both the commercial interests of the colony and its religious feelings were propelling it towards war with the French. A spectre had already taken shape, which was to haunt New England for three quarters of a century, that of a Catholic power in America dispatching scalping parties against its frontier villages, harassing its fisheries and its commerce, preventing a normal and healthy territorial expansion, and threatening the existence of that religion which was still the inspiration and rallying cry of the great majority of its people.

By 1689 the days of isolation were over. The disappearance of the Dominion of New England in 1689 did not in reality much change the situation. North America was now arrayed in two hostile camps: on the one side the French with their

Abnaki and Algonquin allies; on the other New York, the Iroquois, and New England. Behind each combination, more and more directing its policy, stood the respective home governments. The Puritan Commonwealth had become an imperial province; its policy must conform henceforth more and more to that of the metropolis.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies following Chapters vii (Winthrop); viii (Sister Settlements); xv (Economic); xvi (Trade and Shipping); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

ADAMS, James Truslow.—*The Founding of New England* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1921).—Interesting and unconventional treatment of certain episodes.

ALLABEN, A. E.—"La Tour and Acadia in the Suffolk Deeds" (National *Magazine,* XII, 422–436).—Valuable account of the relations of La Tour with the Boston merchants.

BARNES, Viola Florence.—*The Dominion of New England* (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1923).—The best acount of the external relations of Massachusetts during the Andros period; unduly laudatory of Andros.

BRODHEAD, John Romeyn.—*History of the State of New York* (2 vols. N. Y., 1859, 1871).—The standard history of New York to 1691. Useful for the relations of Massachusetts with that province during the Dutch and early English periods.

BUFFINTON, Arthur H.—"New England and the Western Fur Trade" (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications,* XVIII, 160-192 1916).—An account of the efforts of the Massachusetts merchants to break the Dutch control of the fur trade of the Hudson and Delaware.

HUBBARD, William.—*General History of New England* (2d ed., Boston, 1848).—Good narrative by a contemporary, based largely on Winthrop for the early period.

HUTCHINSON, Thomas.—*History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay From 1628, until 1774* (3 vols. 4th ed., London, 1778).—Best general narrative, based on Hutchinson's well-known collection of documents.

LAUVRIÈRE, Émile.—*La Tragédie d'un Peuple: Histoire du Peuple Acadien de ses Origines à nos Jours* (2 vols. Paris, 1922.—The most recent history of Acadia, written by a French scholar. Marred by a marked anti-English bias.

PALFREY, John Gorham.—*History of New England* (5 vols. Boston, Little Brown, 1858–1890).—Contains an account of the external relations of Massachusetts in Volumes I–III, passim.

PARKMAN, Francis.—*The Jesuits in North America, and the Old Regime in Canada* (Frontenac ed., Boston, Little Brown, 1907).—Vol. I, chapter on negotiations of 1650–1651; Vol. II, three chapters on La Tour and D'Aulnay.

TUTTLE, Charles Wesley.—*Historical Papers* (Boston, University Press, 1889).—Contains a valuable essay, with appended documents, on the Dutch Conquest of Acadia (1674).

WEAVER, S. Roy.—"The First Negotiations for Reciprocity in North America" (*Journal of Political Economy,* XIX 411-415).—A valuable study of the negotiations of 1650-1651.

WILLIAMSON, William D.—*History of the State of Maine* (2 vols. Hallowell, 1832).—Still the most useful account of the history of Maine.

WINSOR, Justin, editor.—*Memorial History of Boston* (4 vols. Boston, 1885-1886).—Vol. I, chapter vii, by Charles C. Smith, is a careful narrative on "Boston and the Neighboring Jurisdictions".

WINTHROP, John.—*Journal* [Edited by James K. Hosmer] (2 vols., N. Y., Scribners, 1908).—Valuable for the external relations of Massachusettss from 1630 to 1649, especially La Tour—D'Aulnay episode.

CHAPTER XIX

EXPANSION AND KING PHILIP'S WAR (1630–1689)

By John Gould Curtis

Fellow of the American Geographical Society

Interior Development

A large proportion of the shore towns of New England were settled directly from England, and became in turn the "mother towns" of the younger settlements which pushed the frontier into the forest and gradually westward. Like stones cast into a pond, each of these original settlements sent out its waves of venturesome pioneers who sought the virgin acres of the upland. As with skipping stones, the force and travel of those waves depended not alone on the size of their originating source, but also in the vigor of the initiative force.

At the outset it must be remembered that the frontier was not sharply defined at any time after the growth of settlements began. It was not a thing to be described with the definiteness of a battle line or a surveyable boundary. The English settlements penetrated far into unquestionably Indian territory, or were sometimes wholly surrounded by Indian lands. Some Indian communities lived entirely within the white settlements.

This state of affairs was an expression of the spirit of the colonists, by which they were led to seek out promising agricultural regions to which men might move who valued the speculative chance of self-advancement above the risks and hardships of wilderness life. The common procedure was for a group to organize themselves with the purpose of setting up a new "plantation," and then to

obtain the land they had selected by the dual formality of purchase from the Indians who ranged the district, and grant from the General Court. The Court denied recognition to titles with respect to which Indian claims had not been satisfied, and intended that expansion of this sort should be of a pacific and neighborly sort.

We can best picture the situation by examining its growth, tracing the development of secondary and tertiary towns that were settled out of the original ones, and appreciating thus the interpenetration of English and Indian lands, and the systematic but irregular westward march of the colonist families.

Earliest Mother Towns (1620–1628)

By mother towns are meant those settlements which were made by emigrants from the Old World, and from which, after they had grown a little, eager pioneers went out to claim additional lands from the aborigines or reclaim them from the forest. Excluding Dover and Portsmouth in what is now New Hampshire, in 1628 eight plantations were in existence along the New England coast.

(1) Of these the first to be established and the one to enjoy the widest fame in history was of course Plymouth, whither the Pilgrims came in 1620. (2) This earliest of the permanent colonies was quickly followed by a temporary neighbor. Thomas Weston, a London merchant, was impressed with the possibility of turning his business abilities to profit through colonial enterprise, and sent over in 1622 a party to settle a plantation at Wessagusset, near the present Wollaston. Mismanagement resulted in failure. (3) Two years later emigrants from Weymouth, England, led by Rev. William Morrill and Capt. Robert Gorges, made a settlement north of Plymouth to which they gave the name of their English home; and it remains Weymouth to this day. (4) Likewise, in 1624, the Dorchester (England) Company commenced a fishing and planting station on the present site of Gloucester. In 1626 most of the people moved to Salem, but a few years afterward an ejected Welsh minister named Blynman led some 50 emigrants in the estab-

lishment of a permanent settlement. (5) Gloucester was incorporated as a "fishing plantation" in 1639, and the General Court made it a town in 1642. (6) The year 1625 saw the commencement of the present city of Quincy to whose site came a party under one Capt. Wollaston, for whom the settlement was named Mount Wollaston. The captain went the next year to Virginia, and his agent in charge was unable to keep the men from falling into disreputable habits under the leadership of Thomas Morton, once "a kind of petti-fogger" at a London inn. May-pole dancing and the selling of arms to the Indians excited Morton's neighbors at Plymouth, who sent over Capt. Standish to disperse the rioters and make secure their leader for deportation to England. In 1640 the town was incorporated under the name of Braintree, but it is now a part of Quincy.

(7) Roger Conant and some associates, who had not made out very well in their attempt to set up a fishing plantation at Cape Ann (now Gloucester), moved in the fall of 1625 to Naumkeag. In 1628 a patent was obtained and Capt. John Endecott came over with about 100 persons to carry on the plantation. Additional colonists arrived the next year, including four ministers and, piously enough, the name Salem—a Hebrew word meaning peace—was adopted "to signify freedom from civil and religious oppression." (8) Charlestown, first called Mishawum, was settled in 1628, the oldest town in Middlesex County. A few founders came from Salem in that year, and in 1629 a number of new emigrants came over, having landed first at Salem.

The Great Emigration (1630–1633)

Earlier chapters have described in detail the largest, most complete and most immediately successful colony up to that time, despatched to New England in 1630. The eleven ships reached Salem June 12, 1630. Some 200 of the newcomers found the prospects so unattractive that they returned to England by the same ships; but the rest at once began to set up a group of villages which quickly developed into permanent towns.

Lynn had been settled in 1629 by Francis and Edmund Ingalls, who came from Lincolnshire. It went first by the Indian name of Saugust, but the pastor installed in 1636 came from Lynn Regis, England, and a record of the General Court in 1637 reads "Saugust is called Lin." Later on an offshoot from the town again received the name of Saugus.

Winthrop's party of about 1,500 persons repaired from their first landing at Salem to the shore of Boston harbor where they experienced a devastating winter. This group was responsible for the permanent settling of Charlestown, Boston, Watertown, Dorchester, Roxbury and New-Town, later called Cambridge. Medford was also settled the same year, a few months before Winthrop's arrival, by another party from England, and was selected by Winthrop for his great farm of Ten Hills.

The rigors of climate, the strictness and the hard conditions of life, as reported by the first settlers, for a time slowed up emigration; but after 1632 ten or a dozen ships came in every month during the summer; and over a period of twelve years, from 1630 to 1642, nearly 200 vessels brought emigrants to New England. Winthrop estimated the population of Massachusetts in May, 1634, at 4,000.

Other Direct Settlements (1634–1644)

Early conceptions of limitations of land holdings, coupled with the importance of keeping the settlements fairly compact, tended to limit the population that could be accommodated with convenience in a given town. If the settlers were too many, the outlying lots of some of them must be laid off too far from the village itself to be easily attended. Furthermore, the "old planters" were likely to be reluctant to share their rights of commonage and other public property with newcomers. These, with other considerations, probably helped to influence the colonists who came over in the decade following the Great Emigration, to establish new towns rather than seek places for themselves in the older ones. Of course as the coast towns became trading centers, some of the

objections to new settlers that arose in agricultural communities lost their force.

John Winthrop, Jr., with twelve others made in 1633 the first permanent settlement at Agawam, and the next year it was incorporated as Ipswich. There were evidently settlers the same year at Hingham, though the earliest records of the town date from 1635. The pastor and most of the people came from Hingham, County of Norfolk, England.

In 1635 Musketaquid was bought from the Indians and called Concord on account of the peaceable way in which it was obtained. The town was settled mainly by emigrants direct from England and was incorporated the same year. It was the first town back of tide water and was entirely surrounded by Indian lands.

Taunton and Yarmouth were established in 1637, the first by men from Somersetshire and Devonshire, and mainly from Taunton in England, the second by emigrants from both England and Wales. At the head of a company from Yorkshire came one Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, who had been a minister at Rowley, England, and settled the town which bears that same name in 1638. Edgartown, now a part of Massachusetts, was incorporated in 1671 under the government of New York. It was supposed to have been settled in 1642 by a company under Thomas Mayhew, but it appears that a dozen English families were already there, having been shipwrecked on their way from England to Virginia. In 1640 was begun the settlement of Reading, then called Lynn Village. Most of the settlers came from England and stopped only briefly in Lynn before moving to this new grant on its outskirts. Settlers from Andover, Hampshire County, England, established a town of the same name in Massachusetts, probably in 1643 or 1644.

This seems to be the last town that was founded by emigrants fresh from England. In the years that followed, the newcomers tended more and more to disperse themselves among the old towns. If the conflct between a growing population and the desire for accessible lands grew strong enough, those people who were most ven-

turesome, or most desirous of bettering their condition, or most inconveniently furnished with outlying lots, would join with others in petitioning for a grant at some attractive place where they would set up a new plantation. On these lines followed the thrusting outward of the frontier, which was not completely within the corporate area of Massachusetts till after the end of the American Revolution.

The location of desirable tracts not yet occupied by white settlers; the negotiations with Indians for cessions; the application for a grant of the coveted land by the General Court; the transportation of families, stock, and household goods; the forming of a town government; the laying out of communities; the distribution of land among the inhabitants—that process went on decade after decade.

Growth of Offshoots (1620–1675)

Without going into too great detail, an attempt will be made to show something of the contribution of each of the principal mother towns to the setting up of other communities. It would make the picture clearer if it were possible to mark the contemporaneous radiations of each of the older communities on a single chart, which would show the scions of the old roots. A graphic representation might indicate also how in some instances several of the mother towns combined to the outfit of a common daughter community. Such a new shoot, unregulated and often incompletely recorded, is too complicated for complete presentation in words. A further handicap is the want of exact information about many of the new plantations. The more desirable date for the present purposes, is that of the first permanent settlement; but available records do not always fix this, or supply conflicting information. The time of incorporation is usually well established; but after the very earliest years this is a doubtful index, because many towns were not incorporated until long after their founding. With the limitations thus imposed, we may consider the offspring of the more prolific mothers.

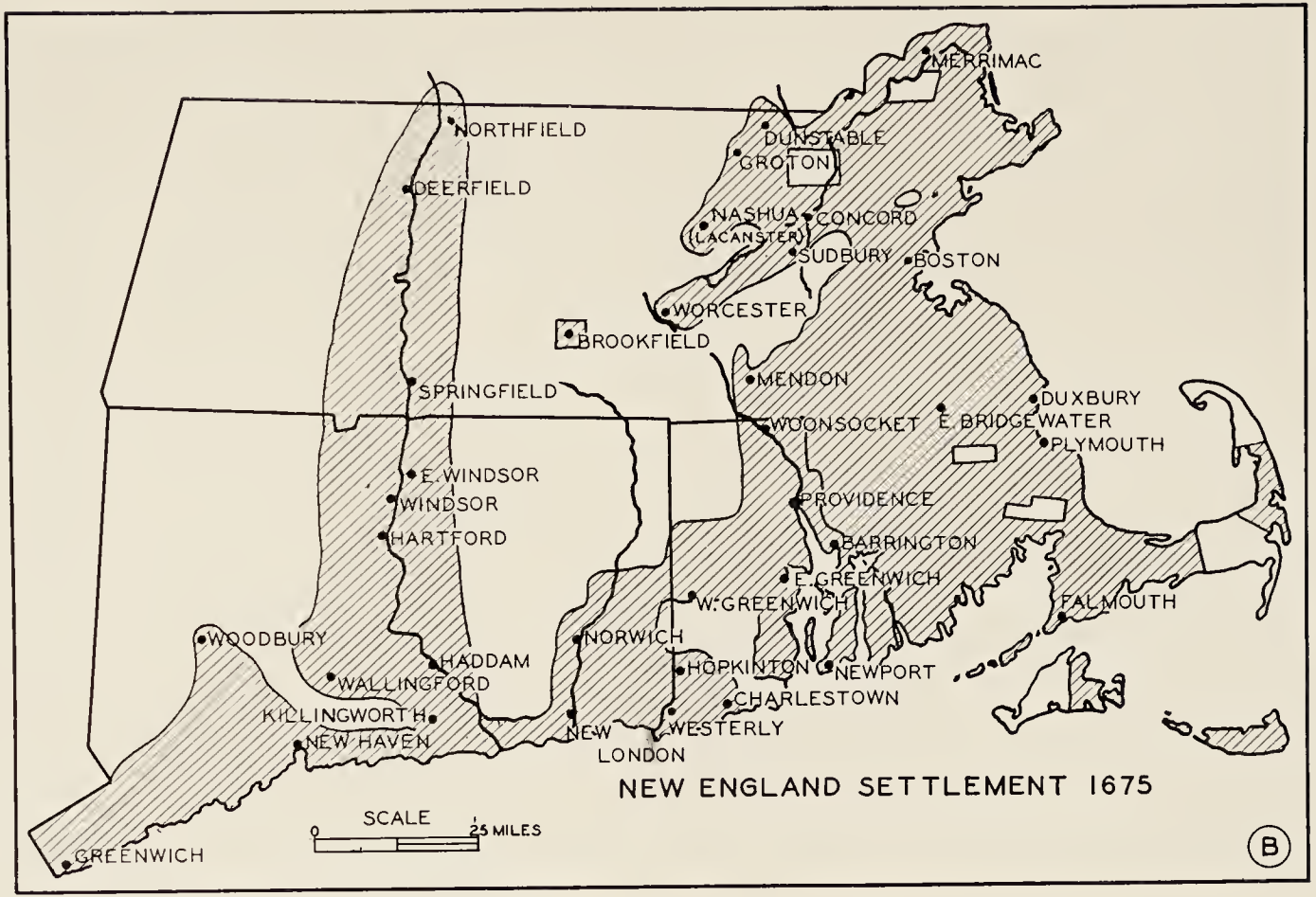
Plymouth is outstanding among the New England

towns for its offshoots. From it Scituate was settled in 1633 or 1634, the name presumably derived from the Indian Satuit, meaning a cold brook. From Scituate sprang Barnstable (1639), and from Barnstable, Falmouth, (1660). Duxbury, early called Duxburrow, was incorporated in 1637, and named from one of the Standish family estates in England. A writer with more inventiveness than knowledge of etymology has suggested that the town was named from the Latin *dux* or military leader, honoring Standish. Men of Plymouth also erected the first building at Hull, as a trading post (1624); the town was not incorporated until 1644 and had long been a part of Massachusetts.

Eastham was granted (1644) to settlers at Plymouth, after purchase from the Indians, and settlement commenced the same year. Emigrants from Eastham and Plymouth settled Harwich in 1647, the site, according to Mather, being that of a considerable Indian town.

Plymouth also played a part in settling Bridgewater, purchased from the Indians in 1649 and incorporated in 1656. Middleborough, midway between Plymouth and the headquarters of Massasoit, was settled by Plymouth men and known by its Indian name of Namasket until its incorporation, 1660. Dartmouth, said to have been the scene visited by Gosnold in 1602, was incorporated in 1664. Emigrants from Plymouth, with others from Marshfield and Scituate, settled Freetown in 1659; this was the beginning of the modern Fall River. Abington was settled out of Plymouth in 1668. Wareham, having been sold by the Indians to the town of Plymouth in 1655, was by it sold in six shares (1682) to men from Plymouth, Marshfield and Dartmouth, and settlements commenced soon afterward, attracting people from Plymouth, Sandwich and Hingham.

Weymouth, second of the mother towns, was responsible for the founding of Rehoboth (1644) whither Rev. Samuel Newman moved with a part of his church. There had been at least one earlier settler, and the land, a tract ten miles square, had been bought from Massasoit in 1641. To Weymouth, indirectly, credit must be given



Adapted from Lois Mathews and from A. B. Hart

THE FRONTIER AT THE OUTBREAK OF KING PHILIP'S WAR

for Swanzey and Attleborough, both of which were settled out of Rehoboth. Obadiah Holmes and other Baptists of Rehoboth withdrew and set up their own church in 1649 at Swansea, which they named for a town in Wales. Capt. Thomas Willett of Rehoboth purchased land from the Indians in 1661; eight years later it was divided and 72 proprietors commenced the settlement of Attleborough.

In answer to the "Braintry Petition" a grant was made (1660) and put in the hands of "the committee for Nipmug." The settlement, accomplished by people from Weymouth and Braintree, was incorporated in 1667 as Mendon, probably after Menham, Suffolk, England.

The new town offspring of Salem were mostly close at hand; five of them were contiguous to the original town. Salem Village, settled by Governor Endecott and his associates in 1628, was later named Danvers, presumably "for Earl D'Anvers, a nobleman in the north of England." From Salem in 1630 removed John and William Woodbury with other companions of Roger Conant, to the north side of Bass river, where a branch of the Salem meeting house was set up, 1656, and the place named Beverly. Enon was settled, 1639, within the limits of Salem, and later became Wenham at its incorporation in 1643. Manchester was incorporated in 1645, having originally formed a part of Salem known as Jeffrey's Creek. Marblehead was also originally a part of Salem, separately incorporated in 1649 when it contained 44 families.

The only Salem offshoot that seems not to have been a part of the original town was Topsfield. Land was granted to inhabitants of Ipswich and Salem, and a settlement made in 1639, then called New Meadows. At its incorporation it was named for Topsfield, Essex, England.

Charlestown was the progenitor of three towns. The first was settled (1641) on land adjoining the original grant, and known as Charlestown Village until its incorporation as Woburn in 1642. Malden, presumed to have been incorporated in 1649, was called Mystic Side and was also originally a part of Charlestown. Stow was first set-

tled, (1650), by men named Kettle and Boon, who purchased land from the natives and removed with their families from Charlestown.

Lynn was exceedingly active in mothering new towns; from it were settled, in part at least, Saugus, Lynnfield, Reading, and Sandwich and Yarmouth on Cape Cod. The two towns last named were founded in 1637, and most of the settlers of the neighborhood of Chatham, 1672, were from Yarmouth.

A considerable group of new towns were founded by the generation of the Great Emigration first settled in Boston. The first grant of land in a part of Boston called Romney Marsh was made in 1631 and the community which grew up there was later incorporated as Chelsea. Boston men were the proprietors of Dunstable, incorporated 1673, and of Oxford, granted in 1682 to Governor Joseph Dudley and Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton, with their associates. Here in 1686 the proprietors received thirty families of French Protestants but a disastrous Indian attack ten years afterward caused the survivors to retire to Boston; among them was Benjamin Faneuil, first to bear that historic name in this country. The town was resettled in 1713 by English colonists.

Men from Watertown had a part in settling Dedham, where land was granted by the General Court in 1635; this was, like its contemporary Concord, an inland town. From Dedham sprang Medfield (1650) Wrentham (1661) and Deerfield, granted to proprietors at Dedham in 1669. Sudbury was founded in 1638 by men of Watertown and others who came direct from England; and petitioners from Sudbury were granted in 1656 a tract which they settled as Marlborough. Sholan, sachem of the Nashaways, pointed out to Thomas King of Watertown what he conceived to be a good place for a settlement, and King with others purchased a tract of land in 1643 and had Lancaster incorporated, 1653, though it was not permanently settled until later. Weston, first settled in 1673, was a part of Watertown.

Unquety was set off from Dorchester in 1662, incor-

porated, and subsequently called by the name of Milton. Roxbury furthered settlements in the western part of the colony most notably Springfield, settled in 1635 as Agawam by William Pynchon and others who were given by the General Court the privilege of chosing land in the Connecticut valley. Springfield men settled Longmeadow (1644); helped in the founding of Northampton, where John Pynchon purchased land from the Indians in 1653 on behalf of a group of planters; and obtained a grant to William Pynchon and others (1661) which was incorporated in 1669 as Westfield because it was then the westernmost settlement in the colony.

Paul and William Dudley of Roxbury were among the first proprietors of the town of Dudley (1660) and in 1686 a group of Roxbury men purchased land where Lambstown was settled, subsequently granted by the General Court and incorporated in 1738 as Hardwick. Billericay, England, gave its name to Billerica, where land was granted (1637) to Cambridge "provided they would make it a village to have ten families settled there within ten years." Settlement actually commenced in 1653.

The mother towns founded after the Great Emigration were less prolific. People of Ipswich were permitted to remove in 1635 to Quafcacanquen, and the place was later incorporated as Newbury; and the General Court in 1640 granted land to men of Newbury, where Haverhill was settled. Inhabitants of Ipswich were also the grantess (1660) of Brookfield, then far to the west.

About twenty persons from Woburn and Concord petitioned the General Court (1652) for land where they founded Chelmsford. Raynham was settled out of Taunton. A settlement within the town of Rowley, commenced in 1669, was called New Rowley until its incorporation as Georgetown in 1838. Roxford was also a part of Rowley, but was separately incorporated in 1685.

A few other towns, settled prior to 1689, are not traceable to particular older communities within the colony. Among these is Hadley, founded in 1659 by sixty persons from Wethersfield, Connecticut. From Hadley, Hatfield

was set off and incorporated (1670); and Hadley and Hatfield, with Northampton, contributed the first settlers of Northfield (1672). Also in the group of towns of mixed ancestry are Worcester and Rutland, commenced respectively in 1684 and 1686, each drawing its founders from six or eight other towns, and neither of them successfully established until after 1720.

State of the Frontier (1675)

This steady and systematic setting out of civic plants which grew to be great trees was not a simple matter. It was almost everywhere conditioned on Indian rights and wrongs. Before we consider the relations between the colonists and their Indian neighbors, a summary view must be had of the arrangement of settlements as they appeared at the most critical time within the years covered by this chapter. First came the original English settlements along the shore, only two of them away from tidewater. Each of these was circumscribed by fixed boundaries; each of them within a few years of its founding, began to extend itself by successive grants of adjacent land, until it might be said that the nominal boundaries of the towns included the greater portion of a strip extending very irregularly about 25 miles inland from the seacoast. Each of them earlier or later consented to the setting up of new lines in the old areas; and to moving of inhabitants beyond the settlements. Thus Concord was entirely surrounded by Indian lands at the time of its granting. Other purchases and grants were for a time in like case, though for the most part the incursion of settlers into the wilderness was not so rapid or so extended that the gaps behind them were long in filling. The frontier of actual settlement was ragged, communication was difficult, and there was little cohesion among the towns. The early settlements in the Connecticut valley were dangerously isolated, and paid dearly for the difficulty of transit to the military establishments maintained by the capital towns in the East.

This frontier was not so conceived that, under any circumstances, it could present a solid front. It was a struc-

ture of straggling villages, in a country not too hospitable. Its defenses were negligible. Repeated urging was often necessary to persuade communities of the importance of building a blockhouse or stockade, or at least taking precautions to make some one house in the village a more than normally secure place of refuge in event of hostilities. Military matters were not in the minds of those who built this frontier. The settlers were men who wanted to own land, till it and build homes upon it. If they had to fight in defense of those homes they would do so, but it was an unpleasant, vexatious business, to be avoided rather than anticipated, if possible, but prosecuted with vigor, if essential.

Early Encounters with Indians (1614–1635)

The first Indian experience with Englishmen was not calculated to inspire the confidence of the aborigines. One Thomas Hunt, in command of one of a group of ships employed by Capt. John Smith in explorations along the shore of New England in 1614, was left by Smith to complete the loading of a cargo of furs and follow him home. Hunt enticed 24 Indians aboard his ship on the representation that he desired to trade with them, then confined them below decks and carried them to Spain where they were sold for slaves.

This conduct seems to have been bruited about among the natives, and to have given rise to some feeling of unfairness, which expressed itself in unpleasant yells and several volleys of arrows during the night which followed the landing of the Pilgrims. One of Hunt's victims in some way reached England, where he is supposed to have been well treated by a merchant and finally enabled to return to his home. This was Squanto, who instructed the colonists in Indian methods of agriculture and was otherwise valuable to them. Another Indian friend, the first interpreter, was Samoset who had had some contact with English fishermen along the coast, and who greeted the Plymouth colonists about three months after their arrival, with "Welcome, Englishmen!"

The first relations of the Plymouth men with their immediate neighbors were friendly enough. Presently, however, there came rumors of a hostile design among the Narragansets, and early in 1622 a palisade and other improvements were added to the defensive works about the settlement. Later in the same year some settlers at Weymouth took corn by force from Indians who declined to sell it; and when the Indians threatened retaliation, Capt. Standish came over and dealt so fatally with some of them that the survivors remained pleasantly tractable for a considerable time.

Meanwhile, Squanto had been the go-between in initiating diplomatic relations between the English and Massasoit, the principal Indian chief of the region. With him the colonists made a treaty providing for a defensive military alliance, somewhat presumptuously represented to be on behalf of King James; and providing also for the punishment by each party of any of its men who should do harm to the other. This was the beginning of a friendly relationship that remained undisturbed for more than forty years, and expressed itself in many gracious acts such as crude medical attention by some of the English when Massasoit was ill, and warnings by the Indian chief when he learned that plotting was afoot against the settlements. Aside from occasional thievery and violence by some of the less honorable members of both races, there was no serious Indian trouble until 1636.

The Pequod War (1636–1637)

In 1634, one Captain Stone, trading on the Connecticut river, was killed by Indians, and the authorities at Boston demanded the surrender of the guilty parties. Negotiations followed with Sassacus, head of the Pequods, and chief over some 26 lesser sachems, and led finally to a treaty with him and an explanation by the alleged murderers that they acted to rescue two of their fellows whom Stone had manacled and apparently treated as prisoners. This story was accepted at first, but later a different report gained currency. In 1636 another trader named John Oldham was very certainly and most indecently

murdered near Long Island by some Indians subsidiary to the Narragansets, who were not friendly to the Pequods. A punitive expedition went out under John Endecott, helped themselves to some Pequod corn which they wanted for provisioning and hurried away.

Pequod depredations followed at Saybrook and Weathersfield, Connecticut, the latter planted by the Hooker Company of Massachusetts men. A messenger came to Boston for help in the spring of 1637, and a month later an English force surprised the Indian village, near Long Island Sound at Mystic, fired it, and massacred about 600 persons with a loss of two white men killed and about 20 wounded. The Narraganset allies of the English surrounded and held "some hundreds" of the Pequods until the English force could give them attention, and afterward about 30 Indians were taken off shore on a boat and rather indecently disposed of overboard. Some 50 other seem to have been held for disposal as slaves, being women and children. The operation ended only when the tribe had been substantially exterminated.

The whole affair reflects anything but credit on English honor, and is to be explained only by extreme bloodthirstiness among the colonial military, or by a panicky terror among the settlers of the new colony on the Connecticut that convinced them that they must utterly destroy the Indian power or risk destruction for themselves. It is hard to believe that the English were in serious danger from a savage and little organized foe, armed only with primitive weapons—except so far as European traders, French, Dutch, Plymouth and Massachusetts men—may have begun the insane practice of selling firearms and powder which could be used to destroy the whites.

The Apostle John Eliot (1646–1675)

Another more pleasant side of Indian relationships is the persistent attempts to save the Indian souls and gentle their lives by Christian teachings. The chief and tireless leader in this process was that splendid, kindly, intelligent, earnest gentleman who has been called the Apostle

of the Indians. Born in Nasing, Essex, in 1604, he came to Boston in the *Lyon* in 1631, and was shortly afterward settled in Roxbury.

He early interested himself in spreading the gospel among the Indians, and promptly saw that he could not get far unless he could present his teachings in the Indian language. Hence he brought an old Indian named Job Nesutan to live in his family, and within a few months he contrived to master the essentials of the language. October 28, 1646, Eliot first addressed the Indians with prayers and an explanation of the ten commandments in their own tongue, followed by a session of questions that, to the modern mind seem most amusingly pointed.

His contemporary, Daniel Gookin, wrote: "The truth is, Mr. Eliot engaged in this great work of preaching unto the Indians upon a very pure and sincere account: for I being his neighbor and intimate friend, at the time when he first attempted this enterprise, he was pleased to communicate unto me his design, and the motives that induced him thereunto; which, as I remember, were principally these three.

"First, the glory of God, in the conversion of some of these poor, desolate souls.

"Secondly, his compassion and ardent affection to them as of mankind in their great blindness and ignorance.

"Thirdly, and not the least, to endeavor, so far is in him lay, the accomplishment and fulfilling the covenant and promise, that New England people had made unto their king, when he granted them their patent or charter, viz. that one principal end of their going to plant these countries, was, to communicate the gospel unto the Native Indians; which in truth is a clause in the charter."

Some other missionaries reflected credit on their calling. Mr. Bourne at Plymouth addressed the Indians in their language, as did John Cotton, sometime at Martha's Vineyard where also the Mayhews, father and son, devoted themselves to Christianizing the natives. Yet none of these men perceived, as did Eliot that if the Indians were to be brought to an allegiance of complete

conviction rather than that of mere compliance they must be reached by missionaries of their own race.

With this idea firmly fixed, he undertook two staggering tasks: the translation of the Bible into the Indian tongue, and the teaching of Indians to read in order that they, in turn, might become the teachers of their people. The translation required some years to complete, and was materially aided in its publication by an Indian known as James-the-printer, who was able to act as compositor and to correct the proofs. Several other volumes were later translated, but before the Bible was published in its entirety, Eliot had taught a hundred Indians to read, and to spread the word. The first edition was no sooner completed then he commenced a second, for his knowledge of the language had grown materially and he had discovered some amusing errors in the original translation. For example, at the passage in Judges where "The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried through the lattice," Eliot had difficulty in asking the Indian word for lattice, and learned afterward that his careful explanation of the nature of the thing had got him a word meaning eelpot. The typographical result may be seen from the following passage in the Indian Bible, which is in fact the Lord's Prayer:

Noo-shun kes-uk-qut, qut-tian-at-am-unch koo-we-su-onk, kut-ket-as-soo-tam-oonk pey-au-moo-utch, kut-te-nan-tam-oo-onk ne nai, ne-ya-ne ke-suk-qut kah oh-ke-it. As-sa-mai-i-in-ne-an ko-ko-ke-suk-o-da-e nut-as-e-suk-ok-ke pe-tuk-qun-neg. Kah ah-quo-an-tam-a-i-in-ne-an num-match-e-se-ong-an-on-ash, ne-wutch-e ne-na-wun wonk nut-ah-quo-an-tam-au-o-un-non-og nish-noh pasuk noo-na-mon-tuk-quoh-who-nan, kah ahque sag-kom-pa-gin-ne-an en qutch-e-het-tu-ong-a-nit, qut poh-qua-wus-sin-ne-an wutch match-i-tut. [Eliot's *Indian Bible,* Luke XI, 2–4.]

In addition to his zeal in Christianizing the Indians, Eliot thought that some education was necessary to their being truly civilized. To this end he arranged to establish a colony at Natick where instruction might be given and an experiment in democratic government carried on. A short and simple code of laws was adopted:

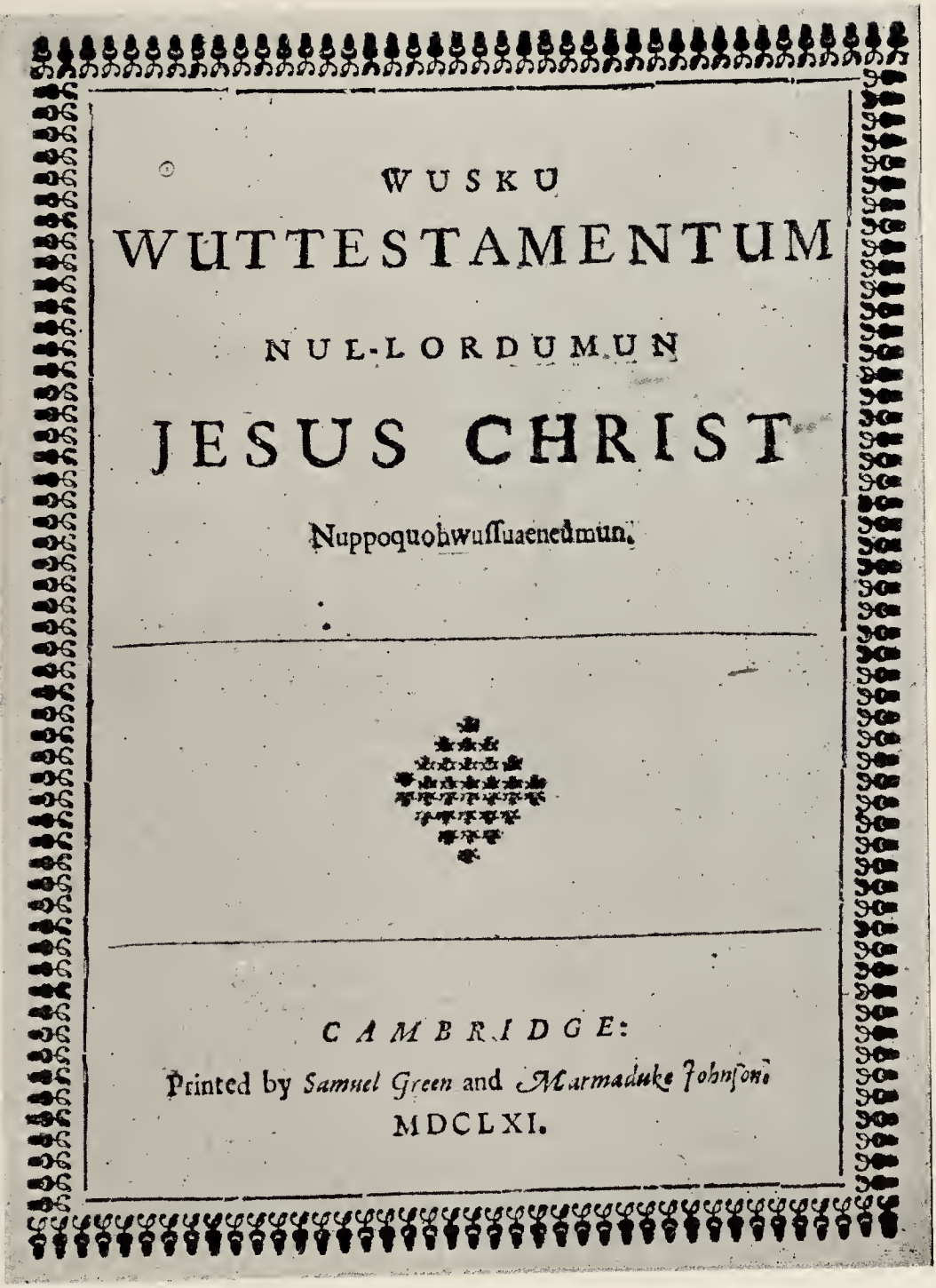
"1. If any man be idle a week, or at most a fortnight, he shall pay five shillings. II. If any unmarried man shall lie with a young woman unmarried, he shall pay twenty shillings. III. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall be tied behind him, and he shall be carried to the place of justice to be severely punished. IV. Every young man, if not another's servant, and if unmarried, shall be compelled to set up a wigwam, and plant for himself, and not shift up and down in other wigwams. V. If any young woman shall not have her hair tied up, but hang loose, or be cut as men's hair, she shall pay five shillings. VI. If any woman shall go with naked breasts, she shall pay two shillings. VII. All men that wear long locks shall pay five shillings. VIII. If any shall kill their lice between their teeth, they shall pay five shillings."

The first four of these laws relate to matters covered by modern statutes, and the remainder seem to be matters of scriptural legislation that have found their way into American codes ever since Eliot's day. Administration was untrammeled by formality, if one may believe the report of the advice of Wauban, a "ruler of fifty" at Natick, in reply to a young Indian justice who asked how to deal with drunken quarrels: "Tie um all up, and whip um plaintiff, and whip um defendent, and whip um witness."

It would be hard to overpraise the work that Eliot did in spite of its loss with the dying out of the Indians. It was thoroughly constructive and intelligent, not merely pious and categorical. It involved the expending of tremendous energy in unremitting labor. And it resulted in love and complete trust of the teacher by his followers. It earned him, justly, his title.

Praying Indians (1670–1674)

Apparently there was a suspicion that a confession of faith did not as readily make a true Christian of an Indian as it did of white man. In any event, the not very committal term of "praying Indians" was adopted for


WUSKU

WUTTESTAMENTUM

NUL-LORDUMUN

JESUS CHRIST

Nuppoquohwuſſuaenedmun.

CAMBRIDGE:

Printed by *Samuel Green* and *Marmaduke Johnſon*

MDCLXI.

From the Harvard University Library

INDIAN TITLE PAGE OF JOHN ELIOT'S NEW TESTAMENT

those who professed to worship in the English fashion, to distinguish them from their heathen brethren who either had conscientious scruples against christianity or failed to perceive the advantages of at least formal compliance.

No very certain figures are to be had; but several careful estimators conclude that earnest missionary work, which affected only the small tribes along the shore and never reached the larger, more powerful ones inland, had by 1674 accomplished some four thousand converts within the limits of Massachusetts and Plymouth and the islands to the south. These seem to be divided, about 1,100 in Massachusetts, 1,500 or more in Plymouth, and the remainder in Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and the smaller adjacent islands.

Whatever the uncertainty as to just what advantages the Indians enjoyed in the hereafter, as a result, the evidence is abundant that the English more than once reaped the immediate, very practical advantage of staunch and fierce military allies who knew the ropes. More than once the "fidelity and courage" of such forces "was testified by their captains." Their use was handicapped, however, by a general distrust of all Indians when trouble was brewing. Even Eliot's orderly colony of praying Indians at Natick was deported to Deer Island, in Boston Harbor, when the war broke out with Philip. The enemy considered that their religious professions made them allies of the English, and the colonists, on the other hand, viewed them with distrust because they were Indians.

Some hostile Indians burned a barn in Chelmsford (1675) and the inhabitants promptly visited the nearest settlement of praying Indians, at Wamesit, called them out, and killed a boy and wounded five women and children. "The murderers were arrested and tried, but under the influence of popular exasperation they were acquitted." The Indians fled their settlement, and to urgings that they return replied, "We are not sorry for what we leave behind; but we are sorry, that the English have driven us from our praying to God, and from our

teacher. We did begin to understand a little of praying to God."

It is altogether probable that the apparent success in teaching the praying Indians was due, not so much to religious conviction that they ought to love their neighbors, as the friendship resulting from the work of gentle, kindly, sincere teachers. It was a political and religious error that the colonists failed to sustain and justify, as a body, the faith which the work of the best of their members had kindled among their native neighbors.

Mutual Failure of Faith (1665–1674)

Massasoit, faithful friend of the colonists of Plymouth, at length died (1661), and was succeeded by his elder son, known to the English as Alexander. The gradual extension of the colonies had led to increased friction where Indian and white claims conflicted. Irresponsible and avaricious individuals of both races were guilty of misconduct which was charged up to the general account and distrust grew. Unprincipled white men cheated and mistreated the Indians. "A hungry savage was as ready to shoot a heifer in the pasture as a deer in the forest, if he could do so and escape detection." Either event was likely to stir a spirit of retaliation.

Finally a report came from individuals who had been called to the Narraganset country on business, that Alexander was making ready for war and was trying to get the Narragansets to join him in destroying the English settlements. Governor Prince of Plymouth asked Alexander to come to the next court at Plymouth and explain the situation and the chief replied that he would do so, adding that the hateful Narragansets were evidently telling stories again. Then he failed to turn up as he had promised, and it was reported that he was conferring with his supposed enemies. Major Winslow went out to bring him in, met him on a hunting excursion, surprised the party, delivered his ultimatum to Alexander and led him off to Plymouth in great excitement. At Duxbury they rested for a few days. Alex-

ander was taken ill and, with a promise of sending his son as a hostage, his retinue was allowed to start home with him to Mount Hope. He died on the way, and some of the Indians at least were convinced that he had been poisoned. Distrust was still further fomented.

Alexander was succeeded by his brother Philip, a man of unusual intelligence and ability. Philip saw that continued encroachment of the white settlements must spell eventual disaster for the Indians and there is reason to believe that he reconciled himself to the eventuality of war long before particular circumstances forced its beginning.

Probably no better view of the Indian attitude is recorded than that of John Easton, a Rhode Island Quaker, who had a part in several negotiations with the Indians, and thus reported an interview with Philip:

"We said we knew the English said the Indians ronged them, and the Indians said the English ronged them, but our Desier was the Quarrell might be rightly desided, in the best Way, and not as Dogs desided their Quarrels. The Indians owned yt fighting was the worst Way; then they propounded how Right might take Place. We said, by Arbitration. They said that all English agreed against them, and so by Arbitration they had had much Rong; mani Miles square of Land so taken from them, for English would have English Arbitrators; and once they were persuaded to give in their Armes, yt thereby Jealousy might be removed, and the English having their Arms wold not deliver them as they had promised, untill they consented to pay a 100 pound, and now they had not so much Sum or Muny; yt thay wear as good be kiled as leave all their Liueflyhode." Further discussion followed, and the English assured the Indians of the justice of English courts.

"But Philip charged it to be dishonestly in us to put of the Hering to iust Complaints, therefore we consented to hear them. Thay said thay had bine the first in doing Good to the English, and the English the first in doing Rong; said when the English first came, their King's Father was as a great Man, and the English as

a littell Child; he constrained other Indians from ronging the English, and gave them Corn and shewed them how to plant, and was free to do them ani Good, and had let them have a 100 Times more land than now the King had for his own Peopell. . . . And another Greavance was, if 20 of there onest Indians testified that a English man had dun them Rong, it was as nothing; and if but one of their worst Indians testified against any Indian or ther King, when it pleased the English it was sufitiant. Another Grievance was, when their King sold Land, the English wold say, it was more than they agreed to, and a Writing must be prove against them all, and sum of their Kings had dun Rong to sell so much. He left his Peopell none, and sum being given to Drunknes the English made them drunk and then cheated them in Bargains. . . ."

Probably all of these grievances were substantially genuine. The English came with their own system of laws respecting the sale of goods and the transfer of land, and since high ethics were not at that time a part of trade, any English conscience was satisfied by compliance with the letter, without regard to the spirit. The natives, of course, had no conception of the Common Law, much less of its mystery and majesty. When they made their marks or otherwise indicated assent to a written proposition, they assumed that they were confirming what they had agreed to in speech; and the English assumed that, the matter having been reduced to writing, that writing controlled all statements of spoken decisions. In a word, the English took advantage of the fact that, in dealings with the natives, their collective conscience permitted them to assume that all such games were played according to heriditary English rules; but that if the other party was ignorant of this detail, there was no obligation to explain.

King Philip's Policy (1675)

There are writers who credit King Philip, otherwise Pometacom, chief of the Wampanoags, with a lifetime of sinister plotting against the English invaders, and a

Machiavellian ingenuity in organizing his designs. This is only a partial truth. Philip possessed outstanding ability among his race: he perceived if any of them did, the eventual prospect of the gradual encroachment of the colonies on the Indian lands. He could anticipate with alarm the prospect of the conversion of his people from the traditions of their fathers to the teachings of Christianity. He opposed the efforts of missionaries as his father, Massasoit, had done. John Eliot describes Philip as grasping a button on his coat and saying, "Mr. Eliot, I care no more for the Gospel of Jesus Christ than I do for that button."

Aside from a disposition and capacity to think in terms of the future of his race, Philip had immediate grievances against the English. At first sustained by the friendship of Massasoit, the colonists had established themselves, gained confidence with strength, and at length presumption with power. The Pequods had been wiped out in retaliation for the supposed outrages of individuals. Indian captives had been sold into slavery. The English, possessing very superior weapons were showing the natives the advantages of firearms, but arbitrarily refused to sell powder to them, beyond specified minute quantities; and this refusal more than once exposed friendly tribes to loss and even starvation when they were unable to defend their lands and crops against native enemies.

Another thorn in Philip's flesh was the English disposition to insist on administering English justice, not only in all cases involving white men and Indians, but even in many where the only parties were natives. This expressed the ideal that there could be but one standard of justice, and that where Englishmen lived, their system must prevail. To the Indians it seemed an unwarrantable interference, with their rights and customs, as indeed it was.

If, therefore, Philip did not from his coming into power attempt to execute a widespread project for the extermination of the English, it is at least evident that they had given him abundant ground of resentment, such as would

excite even a patient man to self defense or retaliation.

In the words of Easton: "The English wear iealous that there was a generall Plot of all the Indians against English; and the Indians wear in like Manner iealous of the English. I think it was generall, yt they wear unwilling to be ronged, and yt the Indians did iudg the English partiall against them, and among all a philthy Crue did desire and endever for War; and those of any Solidety wear against it, and indevered to prevent the War."

The atmosphere grew so tense that every rumour was a cause of renewed warlike preparation. Plymouth, being nearest to Phillip, was in intermittent excitement for years. When reports came in 1671 that the Wampanoags were making ready for hostilities, the English sent to Philip "an imperious command . . to come to Taunton and explain his conduct." Made wary by growing experience of English dealings, Philip came cautiously and with a considerable retinue, detained English emmisaries as hostages at his camp outside of Taunton, and then advanced with his advisers to the meeting house.

Three commissioners from Massachusetts were waiting there to try to promote conciliation between Philip and Plymouth. Perhaps because more remote from the scene of possible carnage they were disposed to believe Philip's protestations that his preparations were against the Narragansets, and to give weight to his counter charges against his English neighbors; but there was no evidence that he was not then on very friendly terms with the Narragansets. The contemporary chronicles do not present the Indian side of this conference in as favorable a light as it probably deserved, but say merely that Philip was at last confounded, admitted his unworthy designs, protested a change of heart, apologized, and signed this statement, the purport of which he may or may not have understood:

"*Taunton, Apr. 10th,* 1671.

Whereas my Father, my Brother and my self have formerly *submitted our selves and our people unto the Kings Majesty of England, and to this Colony of New-Plymouth,* by solemn Covenant under our Hand, but I having of late through my

indiscretion, and the naughtiness of my heart violated and broken this my Covenant with my friends by *taking up Armes,* with evill intent against them, and that *groundlessly;* I being now deeply sensible of my unfaithfulness and folly, do desire at this time solemnly to renew my Covenant with my ancient Friends, and my Fathers friends above mentioned; and doe desire this may testifie to the world against me, *if ever I shall again fail* in my faithfulness towards them (*that I have now and at all times found so kind to me*) *or any other of the English Colonyes;* and as a reall Pledge of my true Intentions for the future to be faithfull and friendly, I doe freely ingage to resign up unto the Government of *New Plymouth,* all my English Armes to be kept by them for their security, so long as they shall see reason. For true performance of the Premises I have hereunto set my hand together with the rest of my Council."

Mere words! Both parties protesting high ideals and friendship. Complete trust, only the English must take charge of any weapons the Wampanoags might have, other than bows and arrows and tomahawks. Philip ready to sign anything to get out of a most unpleasant situation. His immediate party turned over their guns, and he promised to send in those of the rest of his people Of course they never came. Inevitably there was fresh smarting in the Indian camps.

Philip went home and continued preparations for any war that might come. Failure of the promised guns to arrive worried the Plymouth people, and they sent a new summons to Philip in September, 1671 threatening to bring him in if he failed to come. Communications to Rhode Island and Massachusetts at the same time asked help in the hostilities that were feared. Philip went at once to Boston and appeared before the authorities who were, by the terms of his understanding with Plymouth, to arbitrate any difficulties. This rather made him the "law and order" party, and gained the following letter to Plymouth from the Massachusetts umpires:

"We do not understand how Philip hath subjected himself to you. But the treatment you have given him, and your proceedings toward him, do not render him

such a subject as that, if there be not a present answering to summons, there should presently be a proceeding to hostilities. The sword once drawn and dipped in blood, may make him as independent upon you as you are upon him."

By the end of 1674, however, even the Massachusetts colony had begun to worry, and sent a representative to Philip to ask what he was doing and to get a fresh treaty. Philip said he would treat with King Charles but not with his subjects.

Time to Strike (1675)

The colonists of course did not desire war; they merely wanted the Indians to accept them as natural superiors. They were troubled by reports of Philip's designs, but were unable to verify them and unwilling to risk acting on the interpretation which they suspected.

Then one John Sassamon, an educated and Christian Indian who had done missionary service and had also been a kind of secretary for Philip, came to Plymouth with a confidential report of Philip's concealed plan in all its detail. Sassamon was subsequently found murdered, as he was said to have feared, and three Indians of Philip's council were arrested, tried and found guilty at Plymouth with the circumstantial evidence, reported by Cotton Mather, who seems to have expected such supernatural signs, "that one *Tobias*.....*approaching to the dead* it would still fall *a bleeding afresh,* as if it had newly been slain; . . . albeit he had been deceased and interred for a considerable while before." Indians had some part in the jury, but reports differ as to their number.

The Wampanoags resented this summary execution, especially as it concerned a matter which they considered did not touch the English at all. The young men became increasingly difficult to control, and depredations grew general. It is presumed that Philip did not intend to strike until the spring of 1676, but that his hand was forced by the insistence of his people and he at last consented to their provoking the English to the shedding of

the first blood, in the belief that the party which did this would be the eventual losers.

On June 20, 1675 most provocative assaults were made at Swanzey, and a colonist wounded one of the Indians who attempted to plunder his house. Four days later, ten of the English were shot by an Indian raiding party, and the war was on.

Both sides sought allies at once. Messengers went to Plymouth and Boston for aid, and within three hours after their arrival Boston started a force of 120 men to attack Philip's headquarters at Mount Hope. Philip sent "embassadors" to enlist the aid of Awashonks, squaw-sachem of the Soykonates, but Captain Benjamin Church prevailed on her to cast her lot with the English. He made a similar arrangement with Wetamoo, widow of Alexander, who had returned to and ruled her father's tribe, the Pocassets. However, when Philip's men seemed to have thrown the settlements into complete terror, and burning and pillage were going on both Awashonks and Wetamoo proved unable to restrain their people from following what seemed to be the tide of victory.

Philip had sent his women and children to neighboring tribes and abandoned his home, which was located on a peninsula where he might easily be cut off from retreat. The force from Boston consequently did not find him at Mount Hope, but established a garrison there, whence Capt. Church went out to see what he could do to Wetamoo. Learning that the town of Dartmouth was beset, he hurried there and pursued the Indians into the forset where 160 of them presently surrendered under a promise of amnesty. The Plymouth authorities later sold them into slavery in Spain, again staining English honor.

The English, having learned by bitter experience the risk of encountering hidden enemies in the forest, a force of several hundred men from Plymouth and Taunton cautiously surrounded the swamp where Philip was hiding and under took to starve him out. He contrived to build canoes and rafts enough to move some 200 warriors across the river, however, and fled westward with a small party, late in July.

Frontier Outrages and Resistance (1675–1676)

An attempt was made to assure the continuation of friendly relations between the Nipmucks and the colonists, by a conference agreed to be held near Brookfield, August 2, 1675. The small English party that appeared for this purpose was ambushed, and fled to Brookfield where with some 80 inhabitants they resisted a siege of two days, in which fire-arrows and a flaming cart of hay and pitch-pine were some of the Indian weapons. Another military party from Boston was near Lancaster, about 40 miles from Brookfield; when their commander learned of the attack he marched 30 miles through the forest in a single day, and arrived just as the fort burst into flames. A rescue of the survivors was effected but the town had been destroyed.

Deerfield, Northfield and Hadley were subjected to terrifying attacks in the autumn. On October 19, Philip himself led about 800 warriors in an attack on Hatfield, where they were repulsed after effecting considerable damage. His next course is uncertain. He is presumed to have spent some time in an effort to arouse the Western Indians, including those along the Hudson, to attack not only the English but the Dutch settlements. In any event, he found time to establish winter quarters among the Naragansets on an island in the midst of a great swamp near what is now South Kensington, Rhode Island. Substantial buildings were erected, and a palisade. Help was had from the Narragansets, on whom another meaningless treaty had been forced by the English but a short time before.

The English forces thus far had been such as the imperiled towns could raise for their own defense, and the thousand men called in September, 1675, under the authority of the New England Confederation [See Chapter IX]. There was an utter want of organization in military control and the men of each colony's contingent fought under their own officers, supposedly subject to direction by the military head of the colony where the fighting took place. In November a second force of a

thousand men was raised, also in the proportion previously agreed upon: 527 from Massachusetts, 158 from Plymouth, and 315 from Connecticut. For a few months until his illness, Josiah Winslow acted as commander-in-chief of this force under direction of the Council of the Confederation. The Council struggled with the problem of seeing that casualties were replaced and the forces kept up to strength, and that essential equipment was supplied. Within the respective colonies, quotas of men and arms were apportioned to the various towns. What mechanism of enforcement existed does not appear, but the system was effective where the pay and bonuses to volunteers were insufficient to induce enlistment.

The second "presse"—in modern terms, a "draft"—was intended to destroy the power of the Narragansets by an attack on the fortified island where Philip was passing the winter. On December 19, 1675, an Indian deserter guided this force to their objective, where about 3,000 Indians were encamped. In the fierce battle that followed, Philip's fort was fired; the Indian casualties are said to have exceeded a thousand, and 80 colonial soldiers were killed and 150 wounded. An unknown number of non-combatants of Philip's party were shot down or destroyed in the burning of the village—women children and old men—the slaughter recalling the massacre of the Pequods in 1637. The leader himself escaped with a few companions.

The next frontier attack was at Lancaster, February 10, 1676. A force of about 1,500 Indians attacked the village at dawn, fired most of the buildings, and had a glorious slaughter with a barbecue afterward. It was on this occasion that Mrs. Rowlandson was taken whose captivity has provided such an interesting chapter of frontier history. Although the Indians went in for murder, arson, pillage and a variety of brutal torture, it is worth observing that in only two or three isolated and unauthenticated instances were they charged in contemporary accounts with having "defiled women." Their women prisoners seem always to have been treated with

respect, beyond the fact that they were considered prisoners, and were expected to work for their captors.

At dawn on February 21, 1676 a similar bloodthirsty attack was made on Medfield, only 17 miles from Boston but most of the inhabitants were in the garrisoned post which resisted successfully; half the town was burnt. On March 13, Groton was destroyed except for the post, from which an Indian ruse had drawn many of the defenders into an ambush. Warwick, Rhode Island, was all but destroyed on March 17, and Marlborough on March 26. A small party attacked Bridgewater on April 9. Taunton is supposed to have been spared under orders from Philip, because of his friendship for the Leonard family of that place. A part of Sudbury was fired, April 18, and of Scituate, April 20. A severe attack was repelled at Bridgewater May 8. On the Connecticut, Hatfield was attacked in May and Hadley in June, the defense of the latter place being directed by Goffe, one of the judges who had sentenced Charles I and had been in hiding in the colony for many years.

English Defensive Operations (1676)

Meanwhile, in late February or early March, the redoubtable Capt. Church conferred with the Plymouth Council of War respecting their proposal to send 60 or 70 men to protect Rehoboth "or some other of their Out-Towns. . . He told them, That if the Enemy returned into that Colony again, they might reasonably expect that they would come very numerous; and that if he should take Command of the Men, he should not lye in any Town or Garrison with them, but would lye in the Woods as the Enemy did: And that to send out such small Companies against such Multitudes of the Enemy that were now Mustered together, would be but to deliver so many Men into their hands, to be destroyed, as the worthy Capt. Wadsworth and his Company were. His advice upon the whole was, That if they sent out Forces, to send not less than 300 Souldiers; and that the other Colonies should be asked to send out their Quota's also; adding, That if they intend to make an end of the

War, by subduing the Enemy, they must make a business of the War, as the Enemy did. . . . He told them, That if they would send forth such Forces as he should direct to, he would go with them for Six weeks March, which was long enough for Men to be kept in the Woods at once; and if they might be sure of Liberty to return in such a space, Men would go out chearfully. And he would engage 150 of the best Souldiers should immediately list Voluntarily to go with him, if they would please to add 50 more; and 100 of the Friend Indians; and with such an Army he made no doubt he might do good Service. . . ."

There was an objection on the ground of cost, and a feeling that the employment of any Indians was a doubtful expedient. But in June Plymouth decided to send out 150 English and 50 Indians, "expecting *Boston* and *Connecticut* to join with their *Quota's.*" By the terms of the order, this force was to be "sent forth towards the frontiere p'tes of this collonie, to be vpon motion to scout to and frow for the safety of the collonie."

The tide was turning in defensive operations. Aside from the instances in which they were hopelessly outnumbered, the colonial forces inflicted much heavier losses than they suffered, due to their better judgment and marksmanship under fire. The apparent victories of the Indians brought them no substantial advantage; their plunder served them little. They, on the other hand, had no resources adequate to a long campaign, and began to suffer for want of food. Some of the lesser tribes, deprived of their customary fields and impressed with the futility of further warfare, began overtures for peace before their great leader was killed.

Death of King Philip (1676)

August 11, Capt. Church learned that King Philip was at Mount Hope Neck, and arranged to be guided to him by an Indian who held Philip responsible for his brother's death. Church threw his force around the place, "and took care to place them at such distance as none might pass undiscovered between them, charg'd 'em to be care-

ful of themselves, and of hurting their friends: And to fire at any that should come silently thro' the Swamp." The Indian camp was aroused, and "They were soon in the Swamp and *Philip* the foremost, who starting at the first Gun threw his Petunk and Powder-horn over his head, catch'd up his Gun, and ran as fast as he could scamper, without any more clothes than his small breeches and stockings, and ran directly upon two of Capt. *Churches* Ambush; they let him come fair within shot and the English mans Gun missing fire, he bid the Indian fire away, and he did so to purpose, sent one Musket Bullet thro' his heart, and another not above two inches from it; he fell upon his face in the Mud and Water with his Gun under him." The body was quartered and the head sent to Plymouth on a day of thanksgiving. Cotton Mather said, "God sent them in the head of a Leviathan for a thanksgiving feast."

Cost of the War

The war was a terrific drain on the colonies of New England. Their total white population at its outbreak was probably between 30,000 and 40,000, of which perhaps 6,000 to 8,000 were men of fighting age, which in those days was between 16 and 60. Channing says, "Of the five thousand men of military age in Masachusetts and New Plymouth, one in ten had been killed or captured." The chroniclers of the time estimated a total English loss of 600 to 800 in the course of the war, which would sustain this proportion.

It is not easy to accept estimates that the Indian population in the region affected by the war was as large as the white. The native death rate in the plague that preceded by a few years the arrival of the Plymouth colonists had been very high. A careful computation accounts for about 10,500 Indians, a few hundred of whom, however, professed Christianity; and a few hundred others saw the wisdom of friendship with the English, though without the religious formality.

At the outbreak of the war there were in Massachusetts 64 towns; in Rhode Island, 6; in Connecticut, 23;

in New Hampshire 4; and in Maine, 13. Half of the 80 or 90 towns within the field of hostilities suffered more or less severely from the torch; and a dozen were wholly destroyed. The colonists spent £100,000 on their military defense, an amount in excess of the value of their entire personal property.

It was a long and peculiary terrible war, its issues vital to both parties. Notwithstanding the heavy losses in property as well as lives the settlers staunchly held their own, courageously retrieved their homes. Numerous chronicles exist of the greatest personal bravery in the defense of frontier homes. The burning of whole towns did not prevent the reconstruction of those in which enough of the inhabitants remained alive. The growth of the frontier was blocked—it was even thrust back—for a time, but for a time only. The question of English supremacy over the Indians in New England had been decided in a fashion which made it unnecessary ever to settle that particular matter again.

End of the War (1678)

With the death of Philip, the power of the Indians of southern New England was destroyed. The Wampanoags, Narragansets and Pequods and their lesser allies were all but wiped out, and some terrified remnants of the enemy tribes fled westward beyond the Hudson. Nevertheless the death of King Philip did not immediately end Indian attacks, which continued intermittently for as much as two years, quite as fiercely as during the time when Pometacom was supposed to be personally directing the war. Massachusetts forces played a part, and Capt. Church continued his military services until 1704.

The remainder of the fighting, however, was almost all in the North and East, within the present boundaries of Main and New Hampshire. Indian raids in all their accustomed horror ravaged the coast settlements east of Massachusetts until the winter of 1677-1678 settled over that country. The local colonists, aided by a force of 200 English and 40 Natick Indians from Massachusetts,

accomplished such execution and destruction among the enemy than when cold weather came they were ready to ask for peace. The English, worn with a hard campaign, were not in a position to insist on severe terms, so an agreement to let bygones be bygones was concluded February 12, 1678. Thus ended King Philip's war.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies following Chapters ii (Geography); iv (Plymouth); vi (Indians); viii (Sister Settlements); ix (New England Confederation); xviii (External Relations); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

ABBOTT, John C.—*History of King Philip* (N. Y., Harper, 1857).—Well oriented account of the war and its preliminaries.

ADAMS, James Truslow.—*The Founding of New England* (Boston, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921).—Fair account of English treatment of Indians.

APES, William.—*Eulogy on King Philip* (Boston, 1836).—Defense of Philip by a Christian Indian of some education.

BARBER, John Warner.—*Massachusetts Historical Collections* (Worcester, 1839).—Comprehensive gazetteer of Massachusetts; quotes extensively from local histories which, however, must be used with it to assure full information.

CALLENDER, John.—*Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island* [Rhode Island Historical Society *Collections*, Vol. IV] (Providence, 1838).—Reprint of an account first published in 1739; helpful on social development of the time and relations with the Indians.

CHANNING, Edward.—*History of the United States* (6 vols. published, N. Y., Macmillan, 1905-1925). See especially: Vol. I, Chaps. xi, "The Coming of the Pilgrims"; xii, "The Great Emigration"; Vol II, Chap. iii, "Virginia and New England".

CHURCH, Benjamin.—*History of King Philip's War* [Edited by Henry Martin Dexter] (2 vols., Boston, Wiggin and Lunt, 1865).—Account by one of the outstanding participants in the Indian wars, dictated to his son, Thomas Church, some years after the events described.

DEARBORN, Henry A. S.—*Sketch of the Life of the Apostle Eliot* (Roxbury, Norfolk County Journal Press, 1850).—Pamphlet.

DRAKE, Samuel Gardner.—*Book of the Indians* (9th ed., Boston, Mussey, 1845)—Most elaborate secondary book; careful; extensively documented.

EASTON, John.—*Narrative of the Causes Which Led to Philip's Indian War* [Edited by Franklin B. Hough] (Albany, Munsell, 1858).—Contemporary and first-hand account by a Rhode Island Quaker; notable for its freedom from prejudice against the Indians.

FORBES, Allan.—*Towns of New England and Old England* (2 vols., Boston, State Street Trust Co., 1920-1921; also N. Y., Putnam).—Correlation of New England settlements with those in the mother country; splendidly illustrated.

GOOKIN, Daniel.—*Historical Collections of the Indians of New England* (Boston, 1792).—Principally valuable for its account of the Christian

Indians, by a contemporary and neighbor of John Eliot. Gookin was appointed Magistrate of the Indians under an order of the General Court.

HAYWARD, John.—*Gazetteer of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1849).—Much of this is Barber's book, *vebatim,* but there are some additions. Must be supplemented by town histories.

HODGE, Frederick Webb.—*Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907).—Good material on outstanding individuals among the Indians, and on the wars.

HOYT, Epaphras.—*Antiquarian Researches Comprising a History of the Indian Wars* (Greenfield, 1824).—A secondary work with much detail on the outrages.

HUBBARD, William.—*History of the Indian Wars in New England* [Edited by Samuel G. Drake] (Roxbury, 1865).—Story by a contemporary; first published in Boston, 1677.

LOVE, William DeLoss.—*Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England* (Boston, Pilgrim Press, 1900).—Bibliography of a native missionary; includes an account of Eliot's work and its development.

MATHER, Increase and MATHER, Cotton.—*History of King Philip's War* [Edited by Samuel G. Drake] (Boston, 1862).—Reprints in parallel the contemporary account in Increase Mather's *Brief History* and that in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia,* written twenty years subsequently and taken in large part from Hubbard.

MORTON, Nathaniel.—*New England's Memorial* (Boston, Congregational Board, 1855).—Originally published at Cambridge, 1669.

ORR, Charles.—*History of the Pequot War* (Cleveland, Holman-Taylor, 1897).—Also in Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections.*

ROWLANDSON, Mary.—*Narrative of Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (Cambridge, 1682).—First-hand story of the life of a prisoner among the Indians.

SYLVESTER, Herbert Milton.—*Indian Wars of New England* (3 vols., Boston, 1910).—Very detailed and exhaustive; numerous notes.

WINSOR, Justin.—*Memorial History of Boston* (4 vols., Boston, Osgood, 1880-1881).—See pp. 311-328, 465-481, by Edward E. Hale and J. Hammond Trumbull.

CHAPTER XX

GOVERNMENTAL CRISIS
(1664–1686)

By Sherwin Lawrence Cook*

Boston Review

The Attitude of Massachusetts in 1665

The failure of the Commission of 1664 to bring Massachusetts into a tractable state was only a temporary check. King Charles and his capable minister Clarendon were entering on a vast colonial policy. Charters and grants were made in Jersey and the Carolinas. A royal government was provided in New York and the philosopher, John Locke, was called upon to draw up an elaborate project for reviving in America the feudal system which had practically ceased to exist in England. Another step in this general colonial policy was the renewal of the attempt to harness the "Bay mare."

The economic development in the southern and island colonies made them fit naturally into England's scheme for controlling colonial shipping, products and markets. It was no hardship for them to send their staples to England or English colonies and to receive in return English manufactures. It is quite otherwise with the northern colonies of which Massachusetts was the commercial center.

Having no staple product for exchange in England these colonies naturally turned to commerce and by the time the Navigation Acts were passed had developed under

*This chapter and the following have been rearranged since reception by the editor so as to allow a consecutive treatment of the constitutional episode from 1665 to 1689. Hence, both authors participated in both chapters.

the leadership of Massachusetts a network of routes spreading out in every direction. This prosperous trade was perhaps the greatest impediment in the way of England's new commercial policy.

The independent attitude of Massachusetts is the greatest testimony to the strength and power which she had developed in the *laissez faire* period of the Puritan Revolution. The Confederation of the United Colonies removed some of the interior strains. Commercial prosperity contributed an economic self-reliance. The colony was in everything except name a self-sufficient independent commonwealth. The founders felt little or no concern that the colony was fast deviating from the path mapped out in the charter of 1629, justifying all doubtful innovations in the greater law, "Salus populi est suprema lex." Massachusetts felt no hesitation over usurpation of prerogative powers when the growing trade of the colony demanded the coining of money, and no sense of patriotic disloyalty when the proposition of a commercial alliance with the Dutch colonies was favorably entertained.

Nor were the terms of the charter any impediment to the territorial expansion in every direction, including the appropriation of the lands belonging to the Mason and Gorges families. Trade routes had developed in every direction with the aid of Dutch shipping, and promised increasing prosperity. By hard labor and industry and by letting nothing interfere with her will, Massachusetts had become the most powerful of all the English overseas possessions; and now contemplated making a stand for her hardwon autonomy, possibly with force if necessary.

English authorities were at a loss to know how to handle this recalcitrant colony. John Evelyn who was a member of the Council for Plantations in 1671 noted in his diary the concern over the Massachusetts situation, saying that what the Council "most insisted on was to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or his Maty, rich and strong as they now were, there

were greate debates in what style to write them, for the condition of that Colony was such that they were able to contest with all other Plantations about them, and there was feare of their breaking from all dependence on this Nation; . . . some of our Council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood ye peevish and touchy humor of that Colonie, were utterly against." These latter had their way, and a tactful letter was dispatched to Massachusetts. This year and the next (1672) the Council frequently discussed the advisability of sending a commissioner to investigate conditions and see first if it were really true that the colony considered or was strong enough actually to attempt breaking away from the mother country, but nothing definite was done.

Continuance of Theocracy (1665–1670)

The magistrates having fought off the King's commissioners in 1665 probably felt easier. So far as immediate circumstances went, they were justified in this; but they had seen their standing and official actions attacked as never before. The theocracy had been jostled. There must have been a sense that in England the General Court was in as doubtful repute as the charter, and the murmur from a voteless majority was growing more distinct. The colony's agent in London kept the magistrates informed of what was done and said in these complaints about them; but it is clear that the Massachusetts government counted on the King's preoccupation with European affairs and the inference was correct.

In the summer of 1669 appeared a division in ecclesiastical affairs which showed as Hutchinson says, that the close union between magistrates and elders was not indestructible. The First Church in Boston, at the death of Wilson, invited Davenport of New Haven, a man much more rigid than the majority of the members of the Boston Church. Opposition arose and two parties defined themselves not only in the Church, but in the State. A group of seceders formed a separate society (the later Old South) and seventeen ministers hinted that three

elders of the first church in Boston had garbled letters received from New Haven. At first it was an affair of teeth and claws among the clergy and church-members; but by May, 1670, the House of Deputies took sides with the First Church.

At the next session of the General Court, some of the ministers petitioned it for a convention to clear up the dissensions, and the complexion of the House having changed since the last election, the General Court sided with the clergy and the practice of the churches "in their purest constitution." It was a good specimen of the way the magistrates and the elders, found it to their interests to work together. Stipends to ministers were lessened, but, says Hutchinson, "as long as the charter continued, their influence in the affairs of government continued." Whenever the magistracy disapproved the clergy's proceedings, the ecclesiastics yielded more or less. When the magistrates stood in the annual elections the clergy's influence with the electorate of church members was something to propitiate.

How far did the theocracy touch the non-member population? That large part of the people might not think much about independence from England, but it did know it was taxed and had no vote. If many admitted being "gospel-glutted" in 1687, they must have been so in 1675. The mass of the people must have felt that the time for a change was coming.

The merchant class was divided in opinion; they did not wish to see the Navigation Acts enforced, but they did not wish any group, lay or clerical, to interfere with business. It is safe to say that while they were good Yankees they were prepared to offer no such excruciating testimonies as the extremists demanded. A merchant knew well enough, through the channels open to merchants, that England could crush Massachusetts and the rest of New England. On the other hand both politicians and merchants knew that England needed this bulkhead on the northeastern Atlantic coast against the French, who, were it removed, could sweep down on New York and the southern colonies.

The Randolph Episode (1675-1677)

By the year 1675 the throne was completely reestablished in England. The ecclesiastical status of the nation was settled by the various Conformity Acts which revised the national Episcopal Church, and definitely created the large non-conformist group which was to be so imporant a political force for two centuries thereafter. For the time being this element, which was in sympathy with the extreme Protestantism of New England, was not in a position to aid the colonists. On the other hand, from 1675 to 1677 Massachusetts was engaged in the fiercest Indian war of the colony's history.

It cannot be seriously argued that the Crown made no efforts to come to terms with the Bay Colony. The Crown acknowledged large and distinct rights in Massachusetts under the charter; but Massachusetts, while crying "Charter" with all its might, insisted throughout on interpreting it in one way while the Crown from which it originally sprang, interpreted it in another way.

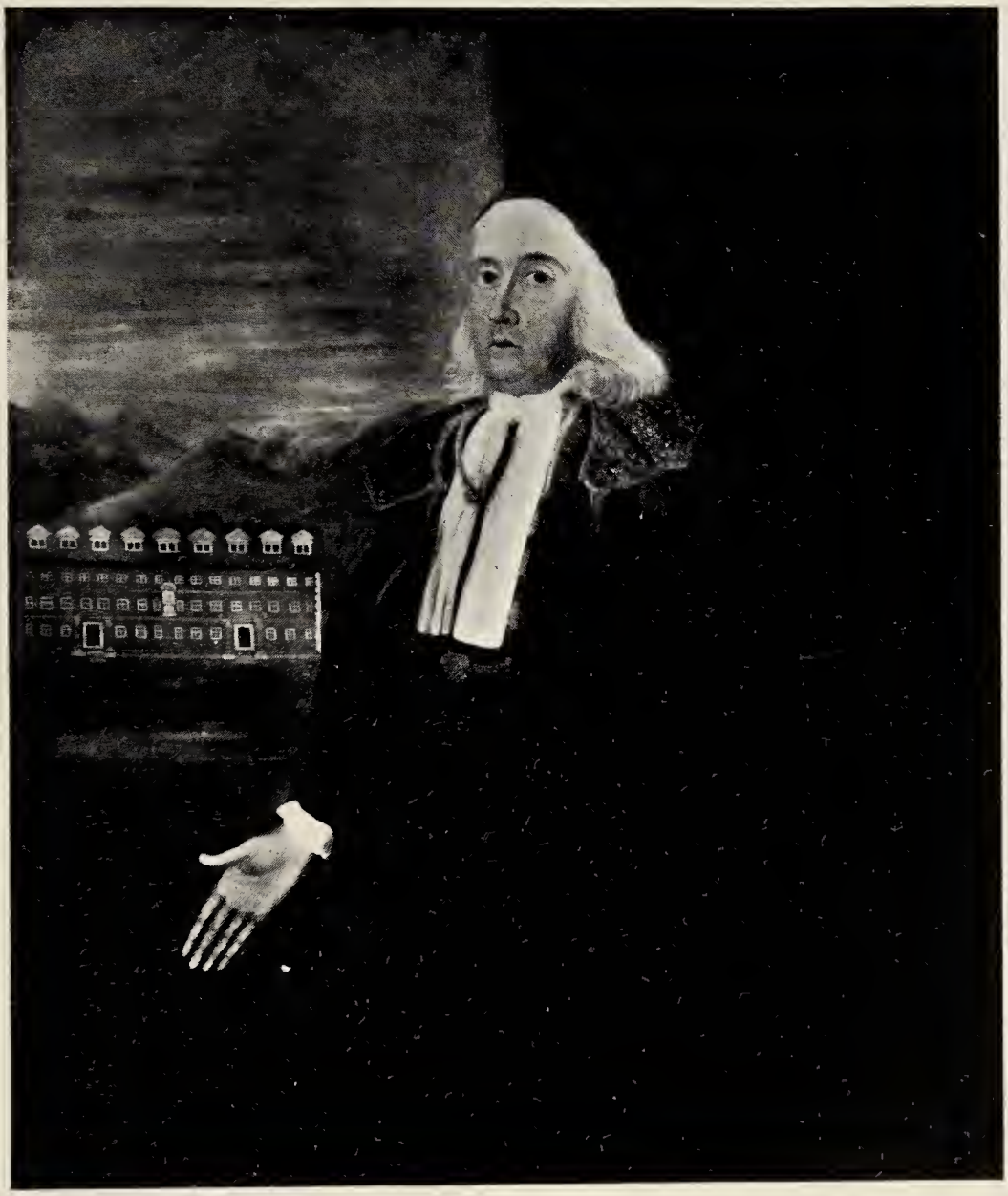
After England made peace with Holland in 1674, the King abolished the old Council Committee; and in February, 1675, he established the Committee of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, commonly called the Lords of Trade, that operated until 1696. One of the immediate results of this new activity was that New England took an outstanding position in their scheme of work. In July, 1676, Edward Randolph arrived in Boston with a letter from the King, demanding that agents be sent to England to answer questions about infractions of the Charter. Randolph had been instructed also to report on affairs in the colony in general. He was a type of Englishman with whom America was to become fully acquainted; of ability, great industry, very zealous, honest on the whole for a man with prejudices, yet wholly unaware that in the new world had been developed a character and mode of thinking quite different from any in the old. Holding a succession of royal and colonial offices, he was a sort of unofficial general adviser and counsellor of the Royal interests. His public virtues were not many. He was

scrupulously honest. In all the offices he held no money stuck to his fingers. He was a thorough-going small politician, quite willing to exaggerate facts in his reports and make half truths serve his purpose. He did not seek facts for their own sake. He set up the fact for himself; and, true partisan that he was, put all his efforts, some of them specious, into establishing it. Like the class with which he was most in sympathy he had no toleration for the Puritan system. That men arduously should make a home for themselves to preserve a spiritual or governmental ideal, meant nothing at all to him. The King's subjects were the King's subjects, no more nor less.

Randolph believed that the rulers persisted in one equivocation after another about the franchise, religious toleration, allegiance, the Navigation Acts, sovereignty. On the other hand, he managed to make himself generally and thoroughly disliked, and was obliged to pocket insolence on the magistrates' part that hurt the English authority and name.

He reported that having presented himself before Governor Leverett and the council (July, 1677), he read to him the King's letter. Leverett remained covered and when Randolph had finished told him these matters were of small moment. No answers were given him, such as the King's letter demanded; and after a long waiting and observation of the lay of the land, he received a list of 23 changes of notation of the Navigation Acts, and 6 changes of other subjects. Randolph went back to England with a copy (not the original) of a letter from the General Court to the King. It answered nothing and merely rendered Randolph's report more interesting to the Lords of Trade.

He stated that Governor Leverett declared that Parliament's laws did not apply to Massachusetts, and that the colony was to decide in controversies between it and England. Apparently the ruling group in Massachusetts had already taken an irreconcilable stand. The less prejudiced minutes of the English Calendar of State Papers also show that merchants trading with New England testified to flagrant breaches of the Navigation Acts



From the portrait owned by Harvard University

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR WILLIAM STOUGHTON

on the part of the Massachusetts traders. The colony had worked itself into a position where it sought to pick and choose among Parliament's laws applying to it. What displeased it, were to be disregarded; what helped it, were obeyed heartily enough.

Preparation to Withdraw the Charter (1671–1680)

Stoughton and Bulkeley went over as agents in 1677, their errand being to make the best of a bad job. Their powers were limited and they had to reckon with the activities of Randolph. Some of his charges would not hold water; but it was clear that the colony had violated the Navigation Acts, had denied appeals to England, had refused to administer the oath of allegiance to the mother country as directed while ordaining the local oath, and that most conspicuously it had put English subjects to death for their religious opinions.

Nevertheless negotiations with the agents were so hopeful at the time that the Lords recommended to the King the issue of a supplementary charter granting to Massachusetts many of the powers she had usurped, if in turn the Colony would recognize the controlling authority of king and parliament. To their great annoyance the colony again hedged about complying. Still denying the legality of parliamentary jurisdiction, the General Court would go no further than to reenact the Navigation Acts as laws of the colony, thereby intending to indicate a cooperative spirit and at the same time not to surrender the principle. The colony would almost certainly have lost its charter at this juncture but for the intervention of the Popish Plot of 1678. In England the Judges and Privy Council respectively were now deliberating on the validity of the charter and the legislation of the colony. The judges decided that the charter was valid and Mason's title was confirmed, but his rights to govern in the territory were denied. On his part, the Attorney General criticized many of the Massachusetts laws. Stoughton and Bulkeley were told that boundaries must be respected, that Massachusetts must obey the Navigation Acts, prepare to receive a supplementary

charter and repeal the laws repugnant to those of England.

All this left the General Court where it must do something and it now passed a half-way provision for obedience to the Navigation Acts but nothing was done to meet the charges made by the Crown. The oath of allegiance was not enforced, the franchise remained as it was. Massachusetts protested and persisted. A letter to the agents from the Court about the Navigation Acts, speaks of them as "an invasion of the rights, liberties, and properties of the subjects of his Majesty in the colony, they not being represented in parliament, and according to the usual sayings of the learned in the law, the laws of England were bounded within the four seas, and did not reach America."

The time came when the Lords of Trade decided that the matter must be examined from top to bottom. This meant but one thing, to raise the question of the cancellation of the charter on the ground of violation of its terms by Massachusetts. In 1681 it was advised that *quo warranto* proceedings be taken and Randolph was appointed collector of customs in New England. In the meantime, the Massachusetts agents made a private deal with Gorges and bought Maine at a bargain from him. Though Gorges had no legal power to sell his rights of government, Massachusetts proceeded to execise them. These facts did not help matters with the English authorities. Massachusetts by 1678 did agree to administer the oath of allegiance and pass a law against treason, but that was all.

In 1679, Charles sent with the returning agents a letter to the General Court, in which he touched again on the subjects of religion, the franchise and the exercise of sovereignty. He again ordered the Court to send over agents. Agents were not sent over for three years and the difficulty went on fermenting. In 1681, Randolph presented a letter from the King to the General Court containing an intimation that he might take steps "to preserve our royal authority from being neglected." The agents were at length appointed, but had no power to

handle any matters the issue of which might impair "the liberties and privileges" of the colony. "Avoid and protract" was in full vigor.

The Quo Warranto (1683–1688)

The instructions for the agents (Dudley and Richards) contained this clause: "4. Whereas, in our commission and power sent to you, one general limitation is the saving to us the main ends of our coming over into this wilderness, you are now principally to understand our liberties and privileges in matters of religion and worship of God, which you are therefore in nowise to consent to any infringement of."

Again, it is unwise to jump to conclusions. The clause certainly meant the retention of an illegally limited franchise. But it is just as plain that the determination to abide by the principles on which the colony had been founded is that idea which permeates the present United States to this day. The method adopted by these starched New Englanders was often quite wrong; their own people rebelled at it, and the method itself developed some of men's most pitiful weaknesses.

The King had made up his mind and the charter was to be cancelled, though when Randolph went over to Massachusetts with notice and the writ of *quo warranto* (in 1681) he had power to offer a withdrawal if the colony would submit. Nothing came of this, however, and the first *quo warranto* proceedings fell through from defect of parties. The proceedings had been in the King's Bench, and the next time the Crown moved it was by way of the stronger writ of *scire facias* and in chancery.

Here the Crown did what in the New Englanders it would have loudly condemned as pettifogging. It made the return to the writ so short that it was impossible to appear and plead. Hutchinson concisely puts the position of the General Court as to the writ, "The time for their appearance at Westminster was over before it was received in Boston." When the agents of the colony represented that they were without power of attorney to plead and so save a default, the Lord Keeper answered

that all corporations ought to have attorneys in court at all times. This was nonsense and moreover the Lord Keeper was well aware of what was toward. To be sure, in those days, a "corporation" did not mean what it does now, but Francis North, a brilliant and able man, knew well enough that Massachusetts lay over the water and had a royal patent.

Judgement was handed down against Massachusetts in 1684 that "the aforesaid Letters Patent so as aforesaid to them the said Governor and Company made and granted and the Inrollment thereof be Vacated Cancelled and annihilated and into the said Court restored there to be cancelled." Charles died soon after and in 1685 James II caused an exemplified copy to be served on the General Court.

Such were the obsequies of the charter of 1628-9 and of the project for Massachusetts isolation. Charles had some good qualities; James, for all practical purposes had none and was without his brother's wits. Under the fourth Stuart King, as under the third, the progression both of the empire and of the colony of Massachusetts was not to be arrested. It cannot be said that the colony had not received in all these years full warning that it could not be independent and protected at the same time. Years earlier the Puritan, Lord Say and Sele, wrote Winthrop, "The Church being wholly spiritual, can subsist with any form of outward government;" and in one form or another, such warnings had been repeated. But the group in power was stubbornly resalved to abate not a jot more than they were forced and the consequences were what we have seen, a loss of what they might have preserved. At the last, the magistrates were for surrender according to Randolph; and it was the deputies who stood out for resistance. At last what had been an over-seas theory was now become a condition; and Massachusetts for seven years more must make the best of it.

The Colonist Point of View (1685)

It is not difficult, looking through a vista of more than a quarter of a thousand years, to find reasons to sympa-

thize with those who supported the old regime and those who supported the new. The Puritan Commonwealth had been built by the sacrifices and vigor of the pioneers. The original emigrants had not all left the scene and the bulk of the freemen had been born into these families at a time when the foundings of Massachusetts were realities and not traditions.

These fathers had crossed the sea to make what they could not build at home, a government for themselves in which the Puritan Church should have a dominant part. If any men by blood and sinew had earned a right to carry on under the form of government they wished, it seemed as if they had. They had not sought liberty for others, but for themselves. Yet they could not claim to be independent of the nation they had left. The English flag was their flag. If England had claimed no rights in their colony or had been unwilling to protect those rights some other nation undoubtedly would have filled the vacancy. The Puritans knew that they could claim that English protection in any time of stress.

The commercial Englishman could not be expected to be satisfied to yield entirely to the Puritan yoke in questions either of trade or government; and sometimes it was a yoke indeed. It is never easy to live among God's anointed when they take themselves with bitter seriousness, or to bear the insolence of office and the assumption that despite the same racial heritage, you are a lesser man. Though one's ventures may be entirely commercial and not at all altruistic, still one must fret under such conditions even as did the traders.

One circumstance must always be considered, upon which hinge practically all the struggles since the Reformation down to what, in the vista of history, is comparatively recent time. That was the belief of sincere religionists that theirs was the only path to Heaven and that all other paths led directly to Hell—a very literal and terrible Hell of unceasing torments. When this belief is honestly held toleration is impossible. Nay, toleration becomes a crime, a yielding of one's fellow to a fate more terrible than the human mind can comprehend. What

was the brief suffering in this world even of lash or flame compared with that of eternity? The history of religious persecution cannot be comprehended without taking into account the stern honesty of these beliefs.

With due allowance for racial characteristics and slow progress toward civilization, one may justly say: "As in the days of Torquemada so in the days of the Mathers." The Puritan church-civic authorities would permit no other church than theirs. Not with their consent would a broad gateway to perdition be maintained in Boston. On the other hand the commercial class including some established churchmen were unable to open their own gateway to Heaven for their children.

Plan of Consolidation (1684–1686)

The Lords of Trade would doubtless not have entered on the controversy with Massachusetts at this time had they not believed the downfall of the theocracy would be welcomed by large numbers of people in the colony who would be glad to throw off its yoke. On this class the Lords counted for support of the royal government which must now take the place of the old. Prominent men in all the New England colonies had for a long time believed that for purposes of defense, a comprehensive trade policy and settlement of intercolonial disputes, a governor general was needed. Their reports to the Lords of Trade were perhaps the strongest factor in the decision of that body to clear out the underbrush of conflicting institutions in New England and train colonial government in the right direction. Investigation revealed that the complaints of these pro-English colonists were founded in fact, and since they petitioned for a royal government, the time seemed propitious for its establishment.

Royalizing Massachusetts was not, however, completely a satisfactory solution of the problem, for there were still three almost independent little colonies on the South which could not be counted upon to cooperate in the interests of imperial trade and defense. New England was a natural economic unit and any attempt to control commerce in Massachusetts would be difficult as long as

these colonies were unrestricted. They could not be forced to share in the defence of the frontier unless their own towns were actually menaced. Nor would there be any arrangement for the settlement of intercolonial disputes.

The Lords of Trade decided that a better solution would be to consolidate all of the New England colonies into one large royal province. Nothing stood in the path of such a scheme except the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Maine, purchased by Massachusetts from the Gorges heirs was forfeited to the King upon the dissolving of the corporation. New Hampshire had been a royal province since 1679. Plymouth although an independent colony, had no patent except the New England Council grant. As for Connecticut and Rhode Island, it was not difficult for the eagle eye of Randolph to detect wherein they had violated their charter terms. When threatened with *quo warranto* proceedings, foreseeing the outcome, they voluntarily submitted to regulation.

Theocracy and Business (1684)

This period of governmental conflict was not only a battle for supremacy between England and a stubborn colony, but also a party contest in New England between the champions of the old order of things and the advocates of a rapprochement toward the mother country. Many of the pillars of the theocracy had at the outset of the colony's career been very dubious over the democratization which they seemed unable to prevent. Men of godly lives but very little estate had been made freemen and were as proud of their power of voting as any arbitrary ruler. These were enthusiastic supporters and willing followers of the clergy who were increasingly interested in building a theocratic state, and who thought the patent of Charles I of less importance as a basis of government than the "Grand Charter in Genesis."

At the same time that one element in the colony was growing more rigid, another was becoming more moderate in politics and religion. These latter were chiefly the sons and grandsons of those who had prospered in com-

merce and landed estate. In the early days of the colony the government had often rewarded the public-spirited office holder with gifts of land, at first worth very little but by the latter part of the seventeenth century of considerable value. The heirs receiving these properties were developing them with an eye to profit. Many such landholders were also merchants on a large scale, owning their own ships, their wharves and warehouses, their business backed by security in land. Between these men and the petty shop keeper, there was a great social gulf, yet all were interested in the commercial development which was bringing prosperity to the colony and to them.

There was little besides background to distinguish these large-scale native merchants from the English gentlemen who came across the sea to make their fortunes in trade. That background however, played its part in guiding the interests of each. For the English-born the home ties were very much stronger and the appreciation of the imperial problems greater. Their methods of business were those of the Restoration merchants at home, as is seen by their interest in trading companies and monopoly grants. These men made a real contribution to colonial development because they brought to regions not yet awakened from frontier provincialism, visions concerning expansion of trade and its organization on a large scale.

A typical example of this class was Richard Wharton, who had migrated to Boston early in the Restoration Period, and was chief promoter of most of the big mercantile and land enterprises of his age in New England. He first tried to organize a company for evaporating salt out of sea water, which should have monopolistic privileges of production in Massachusetts. Next he founded a company for developing naval stores and sought from the Confederacy of the United Colonies exclusive privileges of production in all New England. His most important venture was a mining scheme whose stock was subscribed in England as well as in New England. For this enterprise he petitioned the King for a charter incorporating the investors into a joint stock trading com-

pany. That these schemes did not succeed was due largely to the fact that New England was not yet ready for such elaborate business organization.

Wharton, after building up a considerable fortune at commerce, proceeded to establish for his family a landed estate. He purchased large tracts from the Indians in the Nipmuck country and in Maine where he hoped to establish a colony. He was a member of the Atherton Company and of the "Million Purchase" schemes for land speculation, the one in the Narragansett country and the other on the Merrimac. He was a typical promoter, a man with business vision who saw in the colonies, as he himself expressed it concerning New York, "a fair foundation . . . to build a most glorious empire upon."

The Moderates (1684)

These two groups, the English colonial and the moderate native New Englander found the narrow local policy of the theocracy somewhat cramping. To neither group was religion the most important thing in the life of the colony. One evidence of this is the actual existence of their alliance, for the Englishmen were usually Anglicans while the native moderates, though not so warmly interested in the Congregational Church were either within the fold or at least not defiantly out of it. This moderate party, if one might so call these two groups which merged because of similarity of interests, preferred a more intimate and amicable relationship with the mother country because thereby trade would be promoted. Without the support of this party England would doubtless never have considered the drastic reforms now attempted.

In spite of the fact that only the church members among them could be freemen, this group often controlled the majority vote in Council, as the theocrats dominated the House of Representatives. A typical example of the deadlock often produced by party conflict was shown in 1683 upon arrival of news of the King's order in council for issuing a *quo warranto* writ. The moderates wished to surrender the charter peacably since the King had promised in such case to respect private interests

and regulate the charter liberally. The theocrats under the guidance of the clergy voted against it and employed an agent to defend the charter at law.

President Dudley (1685–1686)

While plans were being completed for the final establishment of Dominion government, the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay continued to rule as formerly. Edward Randolph, indefatigable in the King's interests, protested against the delay because until a royal government was established, he was powerless to enforce the Navigation Acts. At his suggestion a commission was issued to Joseph Dudley, (May 1686) one of the moderate party, for the administration of a temporary government over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Plymouth and the Narragansett Country.

Randolph thought such an arrangement would have the advantage not only of ending charter rule, but also of bridging over the gap from theocracy to royal province under an English governor. Contrary to his suggestions the new commission delivered the entire power to a President and Council. One unfortunate result of this consolidation of power was the immediate alienation of many who might otherwise have supported the new administration. Among these were Simon Bradstreet and his son Dudley who were named members of the council but refused to serve. Stoughton, Winthrop and others of the immediate party accepted.

Joseph Dudley was the son of the sturdy old Puritan, Thomas Dudley, who had been Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on five different occasions, first succeeding John Winthrop in 1629. The elder Dudley, a member of the famous English family, first settled in Ipswich and soon moved to Roxbury where the son was born. He was an old man of seventy at the birth of Joseph and died when the boy was five years of age.

The second Dudley was therefore one of the old stock but he had become impregnated with the new ideas. He was a man of more than average ability. His private morals were impeccable and he had considerable personal

From the portrait in the Massachusetts Historical Society

PRESIDENT JOSEPH DUDLEY

charm of manner. It is certain that in spite of his heritage, he had little attachment to the theocratic Puritan Commonwealth. Fiske tells us that his suppleness and sagacity went along with a moral nature that was "weak and vulgar." Be that so or not he certainly had the disposition of courtier, perhaps a throw-back to his English ancestry, a famous kinsman of the previous century being the Earl of Leicester. He had moreover an almost uncontrollable avidity for office holding.

Dudley's presidency stands at the inauguration of the effort by the English government to institute a centralized province out of the contiguous colonies, which was later to be more definitely established for a short time. It marked the centralization of the government as well as enlargement of territory. While the President and the Council had in this temporary scheme no powers to enact laws or provide for taxation, they were comparable in their other functions to the former Governor and Assistants. But they were all appointive; their responsibility was to the King and not to the people; the English theory being that the colonies as mere Crown lands admitted of no other sort of government than his Majesty's pleasure vouchsafed.

The Council (1685–1686)

This Council was made up of representatives of the various provinces thus joined. It seems on the surface that the representation of the Massachusetts of the former charter by the former Governor and six former assistants, proved the policy to be conciliatory; the fact remains that they all were members of the moderate party and that only three of them had been returned at the last election under the charter.

The government took over its functions on May 17, 1686. Dudley with his councillors entered the chamber of the general court. He addressed the court civilly as "considerable gentlemen of this place and inhabitants of all parts of the country." He then exhibited the copy of the judgment against the charter and the commission for the new government. Danforth, the Lieutenant Gover-

nor replied that he supposed Dudley expected no reply from the Court, to which Dudley made answer, in effect that no Court now legally existed.

When he and his councillors retired the members had opportunity to consider what they ought to do. Some were for protest, others for passive acquiescence in present conditions. Finally, three days later, the Court resolved on its reply. It stated that the commission made no adequate provision for the administration of justice and that the colonists were abridged in their liberties as Englishmen, being denied a voice in legislation and in levying of taxes; and that all their privileges as subjects were taken from them and put into the hands of the President and the Council.

The Court asked if such a commission was safe, either for them or for the members of the present administration, a question sufficiently open to sinister interpretation to anger Dudley; "but," continued the document, "if you are so sattisfied therein as that you hold yourselves oblejdged thereby, and do take vpon you the government of this people, although wee cannot give our assent thereto, yet hope we shall demeane ourselves as true & loyall subjects to his maj^{ty}, and humbly make our addresses vnto God, &, in due time, to our gracious prince, for our reliefe."

This was irritating if non-resistant; and it was ordered in the Council that Rawson who as secretary had signed the document, be examined concerning the "libellous paper." No record shows that this was done. It is probable that when wisdom ameliorated anger, Dudley was content to let well enough alone. Certainly from his standpoint it was well enough, for no other protest was made, no further action taken. The General Court ceased to function, and the former colonial governor took his quiet place as a councillor to his ascending brother-in-law. So, for the time, ended popular government in New England. It had ended with the assumption by Joseph Dudley of an executive office with which the popular will had nothing to do and the heirs of the Puritans never forgave him.

Reorganization (1684–1686)

Dudley had undoubted administrative talents and the government was not tyrannical. He soon came into Randolph's bad graces. With all the reprobation which has been poured on Dudley's head for his ambition and time-serving, it ought to be remembered in his favor that Randolph, the persistent Englishman who was largely responsible for Dudley's appointment, Randolph, who, with some reason esteemed himself, so far as the attitude of the King's government was concerned, a sort of unofficial overlord of the Provincial governments, now reported him a man of "base, servile, and anti-monarchical principle." The men of Massachusetts might have granted the President a little toleration for the enemies he had made.

The first duty of the new government was to organize a functioning judiciary. The former system was sustained as nearly as might be, the President and Council replacing the Governor and Assistants in the structure. But, and here again was bitterness for the former governing class, provision was made for appeals to England. This had been a specific mandate in Dudley's commission. That litigants should be subject to the delay in decisions coming from an appeal over-seas and that evidence for appellate proceedings, never easy of access here, should have to be presented on occasion in London was no doubt a great hardship.

The President and Council voted that it would be "much for his Majesty's service, and needful for the support of the government and prosperity of all these plantations, to allow a well-regulated Assembly to represent the people in making needful laws and levies." Whether this was for home consumption or whether the unsettled and brief tenure of the Government made it inexpedient to agitate the matter is a question. Certainly it does not appear in their report to the Lords of Trade.

Activities of the Temporary Government (1686)

H. M. S. *Rose* was dispatched to New England lest Massachusetts should offer forcible resistance to the in-

auguration of the President and Council. Upon hearing the commission read, the General Court protested that it was illegal, but did not oppose the establishment of government. The keys of the fort were surrendered and thus ended a thirty-six-year-long attempt to escape regulation by the mother country. The theocrats have often been criticized for their exasperating tactics of evading, temporizing and prevaricating, which ultimately prevented a settlement by conciliation. According to Puritan psychology these methods were not reprehensible when used in the service of the Lord. Their code of moral and religious ethics based on the Old Testament, led them to express themselves in Biblical language and to admire and imitate the trickery of Jacob and others of the chosen people. If God's will could be performed by cunning its use was justifiable when attempted in a good cause. What human strategy could not accomplish they hoped divine intervention would bring to pass. Consequently they were always looking for a miracle to happen, such as the Popish Plot, Monmouth's Rebellion and later the landing of the Prince of Orange, events which each time saved them from the "oppression" of the mother country, and which they believed to have been inspired for their special benefit.

Business Men (1686–1688)

President Dudley immediately announced that he would disturb existing institutions just as little as possible. Although he did not say so, business was to be the chief interest of his administration. At once there was a general quickening of the colony's commercial life. A general association of merchants in the large coast towns was formed for the furthering of trade in all possible ways. Each town was to have its committee of merchants whose duty it was to keep in touch with local conditions and report concerning them to the "grand and standing committee" of the whole. The President and Council sent petitions to England asking for the power to coin money and for a modification of the sugar impost, requests to which the Lords of Trade paid no immediate

From the portrait in the New England Historic Genealogical Society

EDWARD RAWSON, SECRETARY OF THE COLONY

attention. The administration also gave serious consideration to a banking scheme designed to supply a medium of currency then badly needed. It should be noted that it was the *colony's* trade which the new government stood for, not the sacrifice of New England's commercial life for that of England. In theory this party was quite in sympathy with the commercial policy of the mother country, providing the Navigation Acts were not too strictly enforced. They did not, like the old charter government, deny the power of Parliament to regulate the trade, but they preferred to keep the enforcing of those laws in their own hands. This fact is evidenced by the constant conflict between the native officers of government and Edward Randolph, the surveyor and collector of the customs, who seemed to them an intruding outsider.

The President and Council likewise championed the big land speculation schemes then being promoted, enterprises in which many of the councillors were personally interested. The Atherton Company whose claims to the Narragansett country had been long under dispute now expected a favorable settlement, since the region had been added to the new Dominion. The commission appointed to establish the authority of the President and Council there also tried to settle land title, but met with great opposition from squatters. The "Million Purchase" Company, seven of whose stockholders were councillors, received from the President and Council confirmation of its extensive purchases in New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

In spite of the great activity of its few short months (May 20 to December 20, 1686), the temporary government was able to accomplish very little before the arrival of the new governor-general. However, it had served the purpose for which it was established—bridging the gap between the old charter government and the royal rule which was to follow.

The Episcopal Church (1686–1689)

Important, nay vital, in the history of Massachusetts was the establishment of the Church of England. There

was undoubtedly a great demand for an Established Church in Boston. Randolph, with his customary exaggeration, estimated that four-fifths of the populace was disaffected. The rigid laws of church-going compelled all the populace to attend worship. Even Randolph and his lady attended the South Church. They might get what comfort they could out of their mental reservations and invisible conformation to old ways. Mrs. Randolph herself worshipped quietly in that old way; and whenever the Reverend Mr. Wilson mentioned the name of Jesus, made obeisance. But Randolph's estimate was absurd. If three-fourths of the population was against theocracy ,the English Church, gathered under authority, would not have had to struggle for its existence.

The ecclesiastical experiment, however, was not a failure. When Randolph first appeared with the commission of Dudley, he brought with him Robert Ratcliffe, ordained in the Episcopacy. With Mr. Ratcliffe he appeared before the council with a legitimate demand for the establishment of an Episcopal Church. First he proposed that the South Church should be used for that purpose. To this the President and Council dared not acceed. The theology of those days was not generous. The straight and narrow path was very straight and very narrow. Those who did not conform were considered worshippers of Baal in whatever guise they came. Dudley was still a Massachusetts man, the old spirit, diluted and ameliorated though it was, had not gone out of him nor out of most of his colleagues. Whether moved by reasonableness toward the new forms or by prudence based on his ambition, he was willing that the church should be established. It was one of the things he was in office to bring about.

However he and his councellors knew the temper of the people. Randolph with all his contacts seems never to have grasped it. Hence without the strong grasp of a tyrant (and that tyrant was impending) it was unthinkable that a Congregational Church could be commandeered, even for a part of the time, by a denomination whose practices its membership abhorred. Therefore, to

the discomfiture of Randolph and Ratcliffe, the east end of the town house was set apart for the new services. Randolph's proposal that funds raised for the support of the existing churches and for missionary purposes among the Indians should be shared with the new church was also negatived. In the town house, June 6, 1686, the first service was held. A movable pulpit was constructed and was carried back and forth to the small auditorium as the occasion required. While the English services attracted no such throngs as Randolph had predicted, it is not improbable that his private expectations were realized.

Of the first service Sewall writes, "It seemed that many crowded thither." June 15th the organization was completed "by the members of the Church of England, as by Law established, under the gracious influence of the most illustrious Prince, our Sovereign Lord James II, By the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King defender of the faith etc. . . . at Boston within said majesties territory and Dominion of New England in America." Massachusetts was not recognized in this declaration as a political entity, and few of the members who had chafed under the upright sternness of Puritan rule felt regret. Dr. Benjamin Bullivant and Mr. Richard Bankes were elected Wardens; and the first record book of King's Chapel, an old parchment bound volume, was opened.

Kirke's Appointment as Governor (1686)

At last another die seemed about to be cast. King Charles made known his choice for provincial governor. It made New England stand aghast. The Royal appointment was Colonel Percy Kirke. This gentle soul, destined to be damned to everlasting fame as the notorious head of Kirke's Lambs, soldiers, swashbucklers and rapacious rapscallions, had not at that time entered on the most notorious part of his career. Yet enough was known of him to make the colonists understand that here was a hard and violent man, an adventurer who would adopt a policy that Stratford years before called "thorough."

Kirke did not depart from England immediately, and

while he lingered at home news of great moment reached the colonies. King Charles, the most popular and the most worthless of his line died. Another Stuart succeeded him, an unconcealed Catholic. The outlook was still dubious but it seemed to the colonists that any change must be for the better. James, next to his father the most unfortunate of the Stuarts, seems to have been in some ways the best. He was gloomy but sincere. His life was impure but not flagrant. He did not hide his Roman Catholicism.

Papist though he was the New England leaders were prepared to accept him, if not with enthusiasm at least with relief. On his accession he had declared that he was no advocate of arbitrariness, that he would maintain Englishmen in their liberties and the government as he found it; and he ordered by proclamation that the officials not only in his kingdom but in the colonies should continue to exercise all their functions until further notice.

To the New England mind a Roman Catholic might be no further away from the true Congregational path than the English churchmen. The Puritans did not concern themselves about the degrees of distance of those outside the fold. Not one of them expected to wish to carry a drop of water to a Catholic King's parched lips in the next world; but if he would be fair to them they would accept him in this as a sovereign for the time being. There was a touch of enthusiasm, born of relief, in the reception of news of his accession. James was therefore proclaimed with pomp in Boston, with the blare of trumpets and the roll of drums and the presence of the Governor, Deputy and Assistants on horseback, with an escort of foot companies and a troop of horse.

Kirke's appointment was automatically cancelled. Randolph showed his best side in the advice he gave the King: "Whoever goes over Governor with expectation to make his fortune, will dis-serve his Majesty, disappoint himself and utterly ruin the country." He added that there was more need of "a prudent man to reconcile, than of a hot heady, passionate soldier to force."

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies following Chapters v (Charter and Colony); vii (Winthrop); viii (Sister Settlements); xv (Economic); xvi (Trade and Shipping); xxi (Revolution of 1689); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V.]

ADAMS, James Truslow.—*The Founding of New England* (Boston, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921).—Includes a well wrought account of the Dudley presidency and Andros government (Chap. xvi). Convinced that the Puritans have been over-praised. Good antidote for Palfrey and Fiske.

ANDREWS, Charles M., editor.—*Narratives of the Insurrections* (N. Y., Scribners).—Excellent selection of original narratives of the various colonial insurrections, including Massachusetts revolt of 1689, pp. 165–297. Andros' own report is included.

COOK, Sherwin Lawrence.—"John Wise, the Preacher of American Insurgency" (Bostonian Society, *Proceedings*, pp. 29-40).—A short account of the career of Wise with a list of authorities.

EVERETT, William.—*Lectures on six Provincial Worthies* (Manuscript in Boston Athenaeum, probably 1905).—The first lecture, "Gov. Joseph Dudley".

FISKE, John.—*The Beginnings of New England* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin 1889–1898).—A scholarly poular acount. See Chap. vi.

FOOTE, Henry Wilder.—*Annals of King's Chapel* (2 vols., Boston, Little, Brown 1882).—An excellent account of the planting of Episcopacy in Boston, and the organizing of King's Chapel. Chs. ii, iii.

FOOTE, Henry Wilder.—"The Church of England in the First Boston Town House" (Bostonian Society, *Publications* VIII, 1913).—A readable and particular account of the organization of the first Episcopal Church and some history of the town house.

KIMBALL, Everett.—*The Public Career of Joseph Dudley* (N. Y., Longmans Green, 1911).—The Presidency of Dudley and his career under Andros carefully and responsibly told. Chap. i, viii.

PALFREY, John Gorham.—*History of New England* (5 vols., Boston, Little, Brown, 1858–1890).—A careful detailed account of the government of Andros, sympathetic to the colonists in Vol. III, Chaps. xiii, xiv.

WHITMORE, W. H., editor.—*The Andros Tracts* (3 vols., Boston, Prince Society, 1868).—A full collection of pamphlets and official papers on both sides of the controversy. Includes one of the colonists, mostly made up of affidavits. See pp. 63–132.

CHAPTER XXI

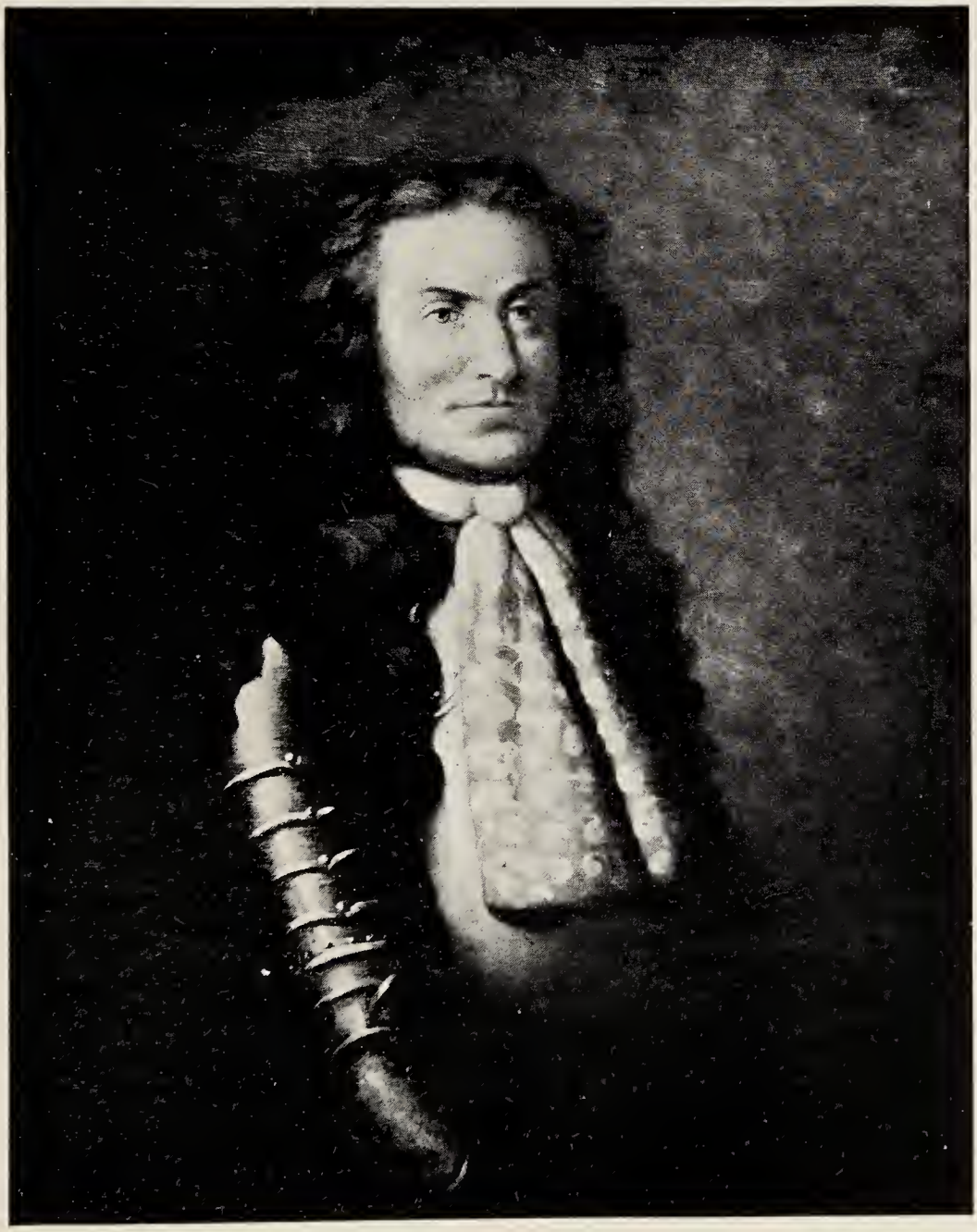
THE REVOLUTION OF 1689 (1686–1689)

By Viola F. Barnes
Professor of History, Mount Holyoke College.

Edmund Andros (1687)

In some respects it would have been better if the appointment of Dudley to the chief office described in the preceeding chapter had been a permanent one, because a native better understood New England conditions. The Lords of Trade however, thought that a military man was needed, for which reason Sir Edmund Andros was chosen. It may be well to notice what this gentleman was like, and why he seemed the best possible selection. First of all, he was a Guernsey man, not a native of the British Isles. His great-great grandfather had migrated from England to Guernsey and had married the daughter of the seigneur of Sausmarez, thus bringing the Sausmarez fief into the family. Andros's predecessors thus belonged to the small governing aristocracy of the island. While still very young Andros entered military life, serving first in Holland and later in the West Indies.

When the exceedingly aristocratic "Fundamental Constitutions" were first being applied to Carolina, he was nominated landgrave by his relative, the Earl of Craven, a position of honor and responsibility bearing with it the holding of four baronies. By this time he had established a reputation of being well acquainted with American affairs, a fact which made the Duke of York single him out as a man of the type he wished for governor of his province of New York. As is well known, the Duke of York was



From the portrait in the Rhode Island State Library

Sir Edmund Andros

not at all in sympathy with the democratic institutions in the English colonies and steadily refused to grant a representative assembly to the inhabitants of New York. In this policy he was upheld by his charter, which is the only one of the proprietary type wherein no mention is made of the right of the people to assent to laws.

The Duke in selecting Andros believed he had found a man who disapproved of democracy as much as he himself did. Doubtless this background of experience as well as his military skill was responsible for Andros' selection as governor of the Dominion of New England in 1686. There was no question of his ability and good intentions, but there was nothing in his experience which would give him any understanding of or sympathy for the pious democratic New England farmer or the fervent Puritan priesthood.

Inauguration of the Dominion (1687)

Andros took with him to Boston one hundred English soldiers, probably the first redcoats seen on the street of that city since the days of the royal commissioners. No wonder Andros seemed to the theocrats like a foreign conqueror and they, God's Chosen People, about to be led into captivity. He arrived on December 20, 1687, and was met at the end of Long Wharf by all the militia, and a large gathering of citizenry. Escorted to the Town House he caused his commission to be read, produced the great seal of his government, which together with a flag, both with new devices, he had brought with him. By the terms of his commission he was proclaimed Governor of all the New England colonies except Rhode Island and Connecticut. Rhode Island was almost immediately annexed (by additional instructions to Andros) and in the Spring Connecticut and the so-called County of Cornwall. Covering his head to show the superiority of his office, he administered the oath to eight councillors and ordered all civil or military functionaries to continue provisionally in office.

A meeting of the council was fixed for the ninth day after, so that councillors might be summoned from Plym-

outh and Rhode Island. Five councillors appeared from each of those colonies. Andros and twenty-eight councillors chosen by the King from the various colonies in the Dominion had the complete power. All of the Massachusetts councillors named in Andros' commission were of the moderate party and all except Richard Wharton and Wait Winthrop had been freemen under the old charter. Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton and John Pynchon had formerly served as magistrates and all were on Dudley's council. These men were among the most influential, socially and financially in the whole colony. They were either merchants or large land owners and some were both. Andros was just the angular-minded, honest, unimaginative soldier who should never have been selected for the work he was set to do. He had excellent military qualities. This he was to prove in his brief campaigns. As a routine administrator, vexed questions being out of the way, he would in all probability have proved at least tolerable. When he returned under duress to England there was no personal stain upon him.

Nevertheless he was temperamentally unfitted for the task in hand. It needed a man, wise, kindly, bent on giving the colony a government which would lead the opposed factions nearer together rather than to drive them together in opposition, one who might have convinced reasonable men that no sect had behind it a purpose, supported by the government, of maintaining itself by abuses. Andros was not such a man. He was sorely tried by the difficulties of his position and by the distrust of the leaders of the old regime. He met that feeling with honest and, for him, disastrous vigor.

Adjustment of Maine (1687)

The Andros regime separates itself into four episodes: one military, two civil, one religious. These are the campaign in Maine, the land disputes, the tax levying episode, and the advancement of the English Church.

The first may be treated briefly, for although it was a rather creditable adventure, it does not play any great part in the final catastrophe of the Andros government.

Andros left Boston in April, 1687, for Maine to frighten off the French who were encroaching south of the St. Croix river. From Casco Bay he went up the Kennebec and then proceeded to Pemaquid, where the *Rose* frigate awaited him. He purposed a conference with Castine on the Penobscot. This Castine was a Frenchman who maintained a little dominion of his own near the mouth of the Penobscot, in disregard of the claims of King James.

Castine was not at his house when Andros arrived. He lived among the Indians and had in a measure adopted their way of life. The Andros party found an altar in the common room, and though they refrained from molesting it they confiscated Castine's arms and ammunition and some other effects. The Governor inspected the English fort on the Penobscot and reconsidered his purpose to repair it, so entirely had it fallen into decay. He sent Indian messengers to Castine informing him that what his party had seized would be restored if he would come to Pemmaquid and profess allegiance to the King. He pacified the Indians with gifts and promises of protection from the French. The Governor had shown himself prompt and concillatory.

The Governmental Crisis (1688)

On his return, his promotion to the governorship of a wider territory having reached him, he went off on administrative business to New York and the Jerseys, returning by way of Albany where he tarried six months to establish friendly relations with the Five Nations. Indian restlessness now culminated in the killing of eleven Englishmen near Springfield and Northfield in the Connecticut Valley. On his way to Boston he held a conference at Hartford with the influential colonists and native chiefs. He visited Northfield as well.

On returning to Boston he found that the provisional government had sent an expedition to Maine to protect the settlers at Casco Bay, owing to disturbances in that region. This he recalled, discharged some Indians who had been taken prisoners and called upon the natives to surrender their captives and submit the participants in

the killing to the authorities. Failing in this he organized an expedition, marched into Maine and destroyed settlements and seized supplies and ammunition. His activities were prompt and as far as they went efficient. But they served as an excuse for the ridiculous charge that he was preparing to turn the colonies over to France; and most unreliable evidence of a renegade Indian was brought to maintain the existence of a plot to bring about a Mohawk attack on Boston. This charge fell of its own weight after being promptly faced by the Governor. If his success as a soldier was moderate, the time in which he might prove himself was brief and he seems to have been brave and on the whole competent.

The Land Question (1687–1689)

Andros was instructed to introduce into New England English land law, which the Puritans there had practically cast aside in spite of the English theory that the King was the ultimate owner of all land over which he had jurisdiction. The trend of legal development in Massachusetts away from English law was nowhere more pronounced than in the land law. Few of the titles in New England were legally correct. In the first place, the Governor and Company granted large tracts to groups of people for settling towns; and these groups instead of dividing the lands as mere trustees, had assumed the prerogatives of a corporation, holding and granting lands to the settlers. Most of the soil in Massachusetts was held in this way or by Indian title, which was equally imperfect.

Moreover the companies could only act under seals; seldom had the seal of the Massachusetts Company been used. Few owners had a title recognizable at law to the land which they had held by town grant, but which they had made theirs by the sweat of their faces. Carelessness in registration and appropriation of land by squatters added greatly to the confusion, so that oftentimes the same piece had several claimants, thereby causing litigation and riots. According to a Massachusetts law a squatter who had held possession for five years had the right to the property even before those who could show

a previous legal title of grant or purchase. Furthermore the general absence of any recognition of the King's ultimate ownership of the soil encouraged the development of an independent spirit incompatible, so thought the Lords of Trade, with colonial status.

By the annulling of the Masachusetts charter all ungranted territory became legally the property of the King, including the undivided lands hitherto in the possession of towns. The Lords of Trade left it to Andros' discretion, in settling defective titles, to determine whether anything more than a mere nominal acknowledgment to the King should be demanded.

When the land policy was made known a panic seized the New Englanders through fear of being dispossessed of their property. Andros tried to explain that their titles were defective and that their safeguard for the future was to have them validated. In most cases he succeeded only in adding to the terror. One man said that when he showed Andros an Indian deed for land Andros told him the Indian signature was "no more worth than a scratch with a Bears paw."

The "Grandees" as Randolph called them, had further cause for disliking Andros, for when the Lords of Trade asked him to investigate several large land speculation schemes he reported adversely. It was his opinion that the Rhode Islanders and not the Atherton Company had the better claim to the Narragansett country; and as for the "Million Purchase," he considered the titles for the most part worthless. Furthermore he expressed himself as strongly opposed to the "engrossing" of large tracts of land because it hindered settlement.

Quit Rents (1687–1689)

Andros' instructions were to dispose of all lands not yet granted. A large amount of land in Massachusetts was still ungranted. No man questioned the rights of the Crown in disposing of it. On this general issue there was no serious quarrel. Upon lands for which royal confirmation was wanting, a reasonable quit rent of not less than two shillings and sixpence for the hundred acres was to

be paid. These instructions also stipulated that no man's "Freehold or Goods" were to be taken away or harmed except by process of laws agreeable to those of England. The mass of land was held by innocent holders who believed that the government had not only a right to grant an estate in perpetuity but had known how to do it in a way that safeguarded the grantee. They had tilled the soil and by all fair reasoning had made it their own. If the rule of adverse possession could have been applied the titles of most holders would have been absolutely secure.

Emigrant after emigrant had come to America because of the opportunity to secure land in fee simple: let a concrete example show the methods adopted. James Russell, a joint owner with others of land in Charlestown, had not had his title confirmed by payment of quit rent. The Governor gave it to Colonel Lydgate, a member of the council. Russell's protestations were answered by a Writ of Intrusion, brought to eject him from a farm of which he was sole owner, and he was obliged to petition for a patent to stop the prosecution. This same Russell seems to have been very much in the Governor's bad graces. He owned an island in Casco Bay and a surveyor representing the Governor showed him a plan of it, informing him that if he wanted his patent he must satisfy the Governor with ready money. Failure so to do was to eventuate in the property going to Usher, the treasurer.

The significant basic political importance of the security of land titles is apparent. Statute after statute of historic moment in the English common law has testified to this through centuries. True the very small quit-rent, a third of a penny for the acre, seemed to the government only a small tax upon the land holders, a small price to pay for the legal confirmation of titles. Also it is true that not many titles were attacked, but the attack upon one man was an attack upon the security of all. It is tolerably certain that this moderate quit rent was manipulated to reach a much larger sum. The petty officers were poorly paid and they were obliged to make fees mount up into large amounts.

Protest Against Quit Rents (1687–1689)

The policy against which all classes made such protest was not in any way intended by the Lords of Trade as a measure of tyranny. It was to them merely the introduction of a system which was the only thing to which Englishmen in England were accustomed. They and not Andros were resposible for it. But as for Andros, one must not forget that he himself was accustomed to a system much more feudal in character than had survived in England; that he himself was seigneur of the fief of Sausmarez and had been landgrave in Carolina under that most feudal of all colonial projects, the Fundamental Constitutions.

As for the colonists it is easy to see how those who had battled with frontier conditions for possesion of a soil none too productive at best, without any outside aid, should feel now at the extension of the arm of English land law over their little properties, making them share the profits with a king who had not shared in the labor. Added to what seemed the general injustice and the danger of losing their property, was the economic hardship involved in paying quit-rents in money which was almost non-existent outside of the few commercial centers; and, of more immediate concern, the paying of fees involved in suing for new patents.

It was this economic obstacle which so alarmed the large landowners, who were required to take out a sparate patent for each county in which land was held. For this new land policy the great majority of people blamed Andros. It was doubtless the greatest factor in driving them ultimately to revolution. In the controversial *The Revolution Justified* it is stated: "Major Smith can tell them that an estate not worth two hundred pounds had more than fifty pounds demanded for a patent for it." Beyond question the demand for quit-rent passed into extortion in many quarters. Even in the matter of crown lands there was injustice. Most of the towns had commons for pasturage. The administration granted much of this land to private individuals.

Nothing in Andros' administration of much harshness

was so intolerable as its attitude on freehold of land. If the purpose had been to make the tenure unquestioned and not to put ownership in jeopardy, much could have been said in praise of the movement. This object was over-ridden by the occasional cases, not a great number, it is true, wherein holdings were unrighteously alienated and the fee-simple given to favorites. Andros was given to doing things in a harsh and blundering way; but in this instance the thing itself was a bitter blunder, made primarily by the Crown and so administered as to make things worse perhaps than was intended. Certainly Andros and his masters were equally blind to the security of the state and the citizen in this ill-considered action.

Freedom of Conscience (1687–1689)

England had no desire to uproot Puritanism, as the theocrats feared, but wished to establish liberty of conscience. Dissenters from the Congregational Church were no longer required to go to meeting, nor were they forced to contribute to the maintenance of the minister. Since the Congregational Church had been everywhere maintained by a compulsory rate on the inhabitants of the towns, its support was now generally undermined. The school system had been previously provided for in the same way, and that also for the time fell to pieces. The schools and Harvard College besides being educational institutions were the means of training men for the ministry, so that it was a great blow to the church to have the law supporting them abolished.

Probably for the theocrats the most bitter experience in the whole of Andros' administration came when he gave the Anglicans permission under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Ratcliffe, to occupy the South Meeting House for services at hours when the Congregationalists were not using it. Andros found the church services going on in the Town House. An immediate demand was made on him and then by him to give up certain hours for Episcopal services in the Old South Meeting House. Meanwhile the Governor maintained his purpose. Punctiliously he attended service on St. Paul's day. On the anniversary of the death

of King Charles, the Governor and his party solemnly took part in services instituted to lament what these rigid Bostonians had considered a great, a necessary, and a glorious act. No outward manifestation could have been more galling to the Puritan citizenship, no act more significant. March 25, 1688, he decided that he no longer would tolerate the contumacy of the Congregational church members. A second time refused accommodations, he summons the sexton of the South Church to deliver the keys and finds him fearful to withstand the executive authority. Without violence he makes what is constructively a forcible entry.

In his report of his administration Andros refers to the fact he "borrowed the new meeting house in Boston at such times as the same was unused until the churchmen could provide otherwise." It was not easy to regulate the length of the services, so that often the Congregationalists were put to the inconvenience of waiting outside their own meeting house until the Anglicans should come out. Sewall remarked on one occasion that one-thirty services were delayed until past two and "twas a sad Sight to see how full the street was with people gazing and moving to and fro because they had not entrance into the House." Andros in his report says that "understanding it [the occupation of the South meeting-house] gave offense they hastened the building of a church w'ch was affected at the charge of those of the Church of England."

Andros' wife, a gentle and charming lady died after only a few months' sickness. She was buried in one of the town burying grounds. And owing no doubt to this fact, when efforts were under way to build a church, it was the ground adjoining this burial place that was secured for the chapel of Establishment; and so the cemetery in which Lady Andros lies became King's Chapel Burying Ground. The first modest wooden edifice was not finished in time for Andros to worship there.

Andros was ready to maintain his fellow-churchmen at all times. He established kissing the Bible as the form of oath in the courts. He believed it the only binding form; but it affronted the great bulk of the citizenship and made

a valuable element of the community refuse jury service. He permitted festivities on Saturday night, a time reverenced by the Puritans as a part of their Sabbath. He abrogated their old law which forbade any celebration of Christmas, one of the great abominations of the Puritan.

The Tax Controversy (1688)

The new administration's first care was the revision and codification of laws. Andros' carefully worked out instructions directed him to proclaim the old acts in operation until new ones could be passed, and particularly to enact no new revenue measure until further instructions were given him. By a trick aimed to embarrass the royal government, the General Court, previous to its surrender of control, repealed all the revenue acts on the statute books. Andros' Council was therefore placed in the position of having to pass a revenue bill at once.

The new measure which combined two former Massachusetts acts entitled "Charges Publick" and "Imposts," provided for the raising of funds by an impost, excise, tonnage and an annual "country rate" on polls, and on real and personal property. As was customary under the charter, more rates could be voted if needed. The regular one fell due in July, at which time the Dominion treasurer, John Usher, sent warrants to the constables, but unfortunately used the old writs wherein was no mention of the King, or Governor and Council.

Essex County, with the exception of Salem, Marblehead and Newbury made immediate resistance. A few of the towns protested the legality of the form of the writs, but for the most part, the objection was made on the ground that a tax levied without an assembly was contrary to Magna Carta. There is much to be said on the side of the "insurrectioners" in their attack on the legality of this levy. First the English attorney general had in 1681 given his opinion that it would be illegal to govern New England without a representative assembly. In the second place, Andros' instructions bade him pass no new revenue law, but levy taxes according to the old laws. Unfortunately no such law was in existence. In passing the Do-

minion revenue bill based on the old Massachusetts act, Andros technically speaking violated his instructions. In the third place, using the old writ was contrary to instructions wherein it was stated that all writs must run in the king's name.

The Essex Result (1688)

According to the mandate of the government, each town was to appoint an agent to apportion and collect the tax. A town meeting was called in Ipswich to consider this particular business. On the night before, representative citizens of the town met to consider what action they should take on the morrow. Here enters into Massachusetts history one of the sturdiest and most remarkable of her sons.

John Wise was settled over the church in Chebaco, that part of Ipswich which has since become the town of Essex. He was absolutely a man of the people. He had been born in Roxbury and was the son of a serving man. He had graduated from Harvard, receiving his Master's degree in 1676, and was soon called to the pastorate he was destined to hold all his life. He was a sturdy, vigorous and kindly man, of great physical and intellectual strength, of whom his son-in-law said, in preaching his funeral sermon, that in his contentions he was actuated equally by charity to persons and severity toward policies.

The meeting decided if possible to influence the town meeting to resist the levy. On the next day Wise bore the brunt of the speaking and by a unanimous vote the town refused to choose a tax commissioner or to lay a rate until a general assembly should take action, "considering that said act doth infringe their liberty as free-born English subjects of his Majesty." Such was the purport of the so called "Essex Result."

Andros expected trouble on the issue of taxation and was prepared to meet it with severity, knowing that concession on this point would doubtless undermine his whole authority. He ordered arrested all who had been concerned in opposing the tax. Wise and five colleagues, John Appleton, John Andrews, Robert Kinsman, William

Goodhue and Thomas French, were carried under arrest to Boston and lodged in the common jail. It appears that in these instances prosecution and persecution were united. There was delay before they were brought before the Governor and Council for preliminary hearing; they were held for trial and remanded to jail, after the Governor had commented on the absurdity of expecting that "every Jack and Tom should tell the King what moneys he should have for the use of his government." There was a still longer delay before the trial. These men were citizens of repute and could have furnished satisfactory bail, but this opportunity was denied them.

The Ipswich meeting had been held on August 23; the trial was held on October 3. The judges were Dudley, Chief Justice; Stoughton, Usher the treasurer, and Randolph. At the head of the court sat Dudley the Roxbury autocrat, whose father had moved hither from Ipswich. At the head of the culprits stood Wise, the yeoman pastor. The jury—as Wise subsequently claimed,—was largely made up of non-freeholders and non-residents. The Ipswich worthies plead Magna Carta and the repeal of the law of Assessment.

In reply to this plea one of the judges declared: "You must not think the laws of England follow you to the end of the earth or whither you go." Again this judge said to the chief defendant: "Mr. Wise, you have no more privileges left you than not to be sold for slaves." The six from Ipswich who had been committed until their trial were convicted. Wise was suspended from the ministry and fined fifty pounds. His companions were fined various amounts from fifty pounds to fifteen pounds. Excessive costs were levied and they were all put under five hundred pound bonds for good behavior for a year. There was no further opposition to paying the rates.

The Legal System (1687–1689)

The most deplorable result of the Essex Result was the passing of the Local Government Act. Next to the revenue law it was the most objectionable in the eyes of the people because it abolished town meetings except for an-

nual election of officers. Since the Essex trouble was hatched in town meeting, Andros did not wish to tempt Providence by offering a second opportunity to the leaders to stir the people against the government. With no assemblies and no town meetings the rule of the theocracy was at an end.

The legal system of Massachusetts was based partly on English statute law and legal tradition and partly on the law of Moses. The colony had taken what it liked from both. One cannot therefore expect consistency from them in their protests against the new English rule. On the one hand they violently opposed being taxed without a representative assembly because they considered it contrary to Magna Carta; they charged Andros with denying an Ipswich "insurrectioner" the privilege of *habeas corpus;* and they declared the appointment of James Sherlock as sheriff contrary to a statute of the reign of Elizabeth.

On the other hand they protested at being made to conform to English law and practice in such matters as oath-taking and the marriage ceremony. Andros, not fully appreciating that the objection to swearing on the Bible was a matter of religious principle with the theocrats, had very little sympathy with their insistence on their own custom of holding up the hand. As for the marriage ceremony, both Dudley and Andros were instructed to confirm all marriages performed under Massachusetts law; but for the future to require that the ceremony be performed either by clergymen or by justices of the peace. It would seem then, that the theocrats considered arbitrary any disturbance of the legal system which they had developed, whether it brought change toward or away from English law.

Regulation of Trade (1687–1689)

It was not the intention of the Lords of Trade that the new Dominion government should cripple or destroy the prosperous trade which New England had by her industry developed, but that it should so regulate it as to bring reciprocal benefits to the Dominion and to the whole economic empire. Such a policy required great skill in

handling, for the encouragement of new and acceptable products and trade routes was as necessary a part of readjustment as restriction or elimination of the objectionable features of Massachusetts commerce.

Andros, a soldier and not a business man, better understood how to demand obedience to the Navigation Acts than he did how to quicken business. The President and Council had given it a great stimulus in the months just preceding his arrival, and the moderates on whom Andros relied for support expected that the good work would continue. Wharton in the interests of the merchants almost immediately presented a scheme for providing a medium of currency by regulating the value of foreign and domestic coins in such a way that money would be drawn into the colony. Andros after a thorough examination declared against the scheme and blocked all further progress along that line. Cutting off some of the most profitable currents of trade particularly with the continent and the foreign Indies and practically eliminating piracy not only hurt business but removed much needed sources of obtaining currency. At the same time Andros had nothing constructive to offer in the way of encouraging new products and industries. Hence there was much depression of business in this unavoidable period of readjustment. Many shops were closed and their owners bankrupt, for which Andros was blamed. Ten years before, a Massachusetts merchant had said that the Navigation Acts would have the effect on New England trade of cutting off its hands and feet. Now that those acts were enforced the truth of his prophecy was proven, for the province was soon drained of its money and its products, and its economic life was checked. The merchants who had at the outset supported the Dominion, realized their mistake too late.

Defense Controversy (1687-1688)

A tremendous advantage was gained by combining the resources and unifying the command of the militia of the New England colonies. Andros found much to be done, however, in putting the Dominion into a state of defense. The existing forts, insufficient in number to give adequate

protection on the frontier, were in a bad state of repair, and nowhere, not even in Castle William was there a sufficient supply of arms and munitions of war. Andros built many forts and placed in them and in the old ones, garrisons of men pressed from the militia, but usually officered by professional soldiers, the "redcoats" as they were called by the New Englanders. Under these officers strict military discipline such as they were accustomed to in England was introduced. Against this innovation the amateur militiamen made bitter complaint, but to no avail. Andros realized that without severity he would never be able to hold these men to the service necessary if there was to be stability in defense of the frontier.

The great danger was of course from the French and their Indian allies, and the New York frontier was most exposed to their attack. During the sixteen eighties the Five Nations had become restless because of the encroachments the French were making on their territory. As Governor Dongan complained, their confidence in the English was being shaken because they feared the English would not or could not give them adequate aid against their enemies. It was a most critical time, because as he pointed out, the control of the fur trade of North America was really at stake. If the French won over the Five Nations and pushed into the Ohio valley New York would be lost. Seeing what consolidation had done for New England he petitioned for the enlargement of New York by adding the Jerseys and Connecticut and possibly Rhode Island and Pennsylvania. Instead of following his suggestions, the Lords of Trade added New York and the Jerseys to the Dominion of New England in 1688. Except for defense, this enlargement was unwise, for it made an administrative unit too large and unwieldy for one governor to manage. Moreover, having men who seemed as foreign as did the New Yorkers, sit in the Council and vote on New England affairs added to the growing discontent.

Unpopularity of the Administration (1688–1689)

Although Andros was successful in quieting and securing the frontiers, he was failing in practically every other

policy of his administration. Instead of reconciling the theocrats he was alienating even the moderates who had at first supported him. It must be remembered that the theocrats, the moderates and England all had a totally different conception of the nature and purpose of the Dominion, and it was impossible to please all three. To the theocrats it was a sort of "captivity" which God inflicted upon them because the colony had grown lax and had lost its pristine piety. Much as they hated the Dominion they must endure it for a while, but in time God would restore their theocracy when he thought they had been sufficiently punished.

With this conception it is difficult to see how they ever could have been reconciled. To the moderates the administration was to be a means of their getting into power, in order that they might govern the colony in the interests of their class. To England the Dominion was an experiment designed to correct previous defects in the management of defense and commerce and to break the political power of a faction which was monopolizing religion and government. At the outset the Dominion had the support of the moderates, but in the course of time Andros' too vigorous enforcement of the Navigation Acts, his opposition to their schemes for land speculation and his introduction of English land law gradually alienated most of them.

Because they neither found Andros a benevolent despot nor were satisfied with their own share in government, they came in time to regard the absence of a representative assembly as seriously as the theocrats did. The gradual drawing together of the theocrats and moderates was a necessary prelude to action for a change of government. As for England, the Lords of Trade viewed with satisfaction the formidable frontier defense and the reports on the decrease of illegal trade and piracy; but they failed to appreciate the full significance of the frequent complaints concerning the great falling off of trade, a condition the moderates could not remedy because they had too little voice in government.

Mather in England (1688–1689)

It was only a question of time until some modification would have to take place or trouble ensue. Government was becoming intolerable to all parties and factions. Signs of general dissatisfaction in the summer of 1688 made many of the theocracy believe that the old charter would soon be restored by divine intervention. Increase Mather expressed these hopes to his congregation and in order to "discern the Mind of God" left to its members the decision as to whether or not he should go to England on a mission for relief. They voted favorably and he took his departure.

Mather found a number of New Englanders in London, all seeking redress for some personal or group grievance. Among them were Sir William Phips who was much disgruntled because Andros and his council refused to let him exercise the full prerogatives of his office of provost marshal general; Richard Wharton, formerly a bitter opponent of the theocrats, now seeking support for his land schemes and selling stock in his mining and naval stores company; Samuel Sewall who had fled to England when the writ of intrusion was issued out against his lands; Elisha Hutchinson, also on matters of business; and many others. Under Mather's leadership these men apparently acted as a sort of informal consulting committee.

A petition was sent to the King asking for a representative assembly based on freehold suffrage, in return for which concession, a fixed sum of five thousand pounds should be established for support of government. As redress for the land grievances a plea was made for confirmation of old titles and recognition of the rights of common in the towns. In religion the petitioners asked only for liberty of conscience for each denomination and security of control of Harvard College. When informed that adverse action was taken on this memorial, Mather and his colleagues asked that the Council be made territorially representative, each county having at least one member who must be a considerable proprietor of lands. This too was

refused. All that could be obtained was the promise of liberty of conscience and of property and confirmation of the government of Harvard. At this juncture the Revolution of 1689 took place.

From this time on, the agency really centered on Increase Mather and Sir William Phips. Immediately upon the landing of the Prince of Orange they made a direct appeal for the recall of Andros and for the restoration of the old charter. At the same time, the Lords of Trade were urging William to preserve the Dominion because by so doing the northern colonies could best defend themselves against the French in the war which had broken out. In the meantime, while investigating New England conditions, the Lords "upon the application of Sr. William Phips and Mr. Mather" withheld from Andros the general instructions which they were sending. The lack of this notice placed Andros in the embarrassing position of appearing to align himself with James II. It would have been much fairer to him to have removed him at once.

Revolution of 1689

Revolt against the Dominion had been often suggested long before news came of the change of dynasty in England, for the conviction was firm in the minds of the theocrats that the time of deliverance was at hand. It is difficult to determine exactly what was the immediate cause, but it seems probable that Increase Mather suggested it as a means of pushing King William to a decision. Randolph positively states that Mather was responsible and that he urged Bradstreet to "go cheerfully to so acceptable a piece of service to all good people." Gershom Bulkeley, a Connecticut moderate asserted that the theocrats of his colony were told in a letter from England that "they were a company of hens" if they did not assume their charter government. There were also many hints that encouragement to depose Andros was given by "the Authority of England."

News of the invasion of the Prince of Orange, brought to Boston by John Winslow on April 4, 1689, almost precipitated revolt. Boston continued so restless that the

The Present State of the

New-English Affairs.

This is Published to prevent false Reports

An Extract of a Letter from Mr. Mather, *To the Governour, Dated* Sept. 7. 1689 *from* Deal *in* Kent.

THe House of Commons Ordered a Bill to be drawn up for the Restoration of Charters to all Corporations. Some Enemies of *New-England* did bestir themselves on that Occasion. But it has pleased God to succeed Endeavours and Sollicitations here so far, as that *N. E.* is particularly mentioned in the Bill.

It has been read twice, and after that referred unto a Committee for Emendations. What concerns *N. England* passed without any great opposition. The Bill has been in part read the third Time, and the Charters of *N-Eng.* then also passed without Objection. Only some Additional Clauses respecting Corporations here, caused Debates; so that the Bill is not as yet Enacted.

In the latter end of *June*, a Vessel from *Mount Hope* arrived here, which brought your Declaration of *April* 18. with an account of the Revolution in *New-England*. The week after I went to *Hampton Court*, and had the favour to wait on His Majesty, who told me, *That He did accept of, and was well pleased with what was done in* New-England, *and that he would order the Secretary of State to signifie so much, and that His Subjects there should have their Ancient Rights and Privileges restored to them.*

The King has sent a Gracious Letter (which was delivered to me, and if I return not my self, I shall take care that it be sent to you) bearing Date *August* 12. *Wherein He signifies His Royal Approbation* of what has been done at *Boston*, and assures you that the Government there shall be settled, so as shall be for the Security and Satisfaction of His Subjects in that Colony, and in the mean time bids you go on to Administer the Laws, and manage the Government, according as in your Address you have Petitioned.

My Lord *Mordent* (now Earl of *Monmouth*) bade me assure you that He would be your Friend, and he bade me tell you from him, *That your Charters should be restored to you by Act of Parliament.*

I have been with most of the Kings most Honourable Privy Council, who have promised to befriend *New-England* as there shall be occasion for it. The like I may say, of all the Leading-men in the Parliament.

I have been in the *Downs* a fortnight, and Aboard Mr. *Clark*, several Nights, but the Wind has been against us. And we now hear that the *New-found Land* Convoyes (on whose Assistance we had a Dependance) are gone.

Superscribed To the Honourable
Simon Bradstreet, *Esq;*

Governour of the *Massachusets Colony* in *N. England.*

A Passage extracted from the publick News-Letter, Dated July 6. 1689.

The people of *New-England* having made a thorow Revolution, and secured the publick Criminals. On *Thursday* last, the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Mather*, President of the *College*, and Minister of *Boston*, waited on the King; and in a most Excellent Speech laid before His Majesty, the State of that People; saying, *That they were sober, and Industrious, and fit for Martial Service; and all with their Lives and Interests were at His Majesties Command, to tender the same unto His Majesty: That they desired nothing but His Majesties Acceptance of what they had done, and His Protection; and that if His Majesty pleased to encourage and Commission them, He might easily be Emperour of* America. His Majesty assured him, that He was pleased with what was done for Him, and for themselves in the Revolution, and that their Privileges and Religion should be secured unto them.

Extracted from a Letter of Mr. Mather, *to his Son, Dated* Sept. 2. 1689.

On *July* 4. The King said unto me, *That He did kindly Accept of what was done in* Boston. *And that His Subjects in* New-England *should have their Ancient Rights and Priviledges Restored and Confirmed unto them.* Yea, He told me, *That if it were in his power to cause it to be done it should be done*, and bade me rest assured of it.

The *Charter-Bill* is not finished, because some Additional Clauses respecting Corporations here in *England* caused a Debate; and the Parliament is for some weeks Adjourned.

Besides the Letter from the Kings Majesty, whereof we have notice as above; there is now arrived, an Order from His Majesty to the Government, bearing Date, *July* 30. 1689. Requiring, *That Sir* Edmund Andros, Edward Randolph, *and others, that have been Seized by the people of* Boston, *and shall be at the Receipt of these Commands, Detained there, under Confinement, be sent on Board the first Ship, bound to* England, *to answer what may be objected against them.*

Boston, Printed and Sold by *Samuel Green*, 1689.

From the original in the Massachusetts Archives

BROADSIDE NEWS OF 1689

more cautious made their plans as to what they would do in case trouble broke out. The crisis came on the morning of April 18 with the arrival of mutinous troops from the frontier. Immediate action was necessary on the part of their friends to save them from arrest. It happened also that Cotton Mather was that day to be apprehended for incendiary writings unless such action could be forestalled.

In some way the alarm was given and armed people began to swarm the streets intent upon seizing the Dominion officers. Andros was not taken entirely by surprise and was in the fort on Fort Hill. Captain Hill and his company soon marched up King Street escorting the venerable Bradstreet and others of the old magistrates who set up a *de facto* government in the Town House. Randolph, Justice Bullivant, the Sheriff and others of the Andros party were apprehended and taken to the jail. The jailor himself became an inmate and was superceded by a worthy bricklayer named Scates.

At noon the old magistrates read their declaration from the Town House gallery. They stated their grievances, acquitted a minority of the Council and embraced the Orange cause. Andros from the fort sent young Edward Dudley with a message asking a conference. It was declined. He was summoned to surrender. The English frigate in the harbor sent a boat to take off the governor, but it was intercepted. By this time twenty companies were under arms in Boston, and several hundred soldiers were on the Charlestown side ready to cross over. Siege was laid to the fort. Cannon were brought up. Then the Governor capitulated. He went proudly and without personal protection to the Town House; thence he was taken under armed escort to the house of Usher the treasurer. Next day the castle capitulated and the frigate was made impotent, though it was not formally surrendered, in order that the sailors should not be deprived of their pay.

Two days later a Council of Safety was formed which called a convention to settle the government. The great question was whether to install the officers who were elected in 1686 or to call a new election. The latter was preferred by many theocrats because they hoped an elec-

tion would eliminate the moderates. The assumption of charter government as it had been when interrupted was determined upon as the safer method. The leaders of revolt realized that the best chance of permanent success for the revolution lay in the colony's presenting a united front against the Dominion, for which reason it would be far better to keep in office such moderates as had been there in 1686 and win over the rest of the party by a liberal grant of the franchise.

Meanwhile revolution spread to other parts of the Dominion. Although opinion on such procedure was by no means unanimous in any of the colonies, the revolutionists finally prevailed everywhere, even in New York. Andros sent word to the New York councillors to demand of the Bostoners his release from prison, but they too were unable to stem the tide of revolution.

Andros and His Friends (1689–1690)

Owing to Increase Mather's encouraging reports, the rebels expected an immediate and approving response from William. His delay in sending it kept them for months on a nervous tension until the morale of the provisional government was almost broken. England's treatment of the New York rebels as traitors against the Dominion drove the Bostonians nearly to panic. Cotton Mather and others were preparing for flight when reassuring news came. The revolution was recognized as a friendly gesture toward the new dynasty by whose favor the theocracy was to have one more chance to re-establish itself.

The Governor was finally taken to the castle. There he had his choice of rooms, light, warm and dry, and was given the freedom of the island until he was discovered in an effort to escape. He lay in prison and was then sent home for trial. That he escaped further punishment is not a matter for regret. It was the system more than the man that was at fault.

Dudley experienced many vicissitudes. He was cherished as a renegade in the hearts of the colonists; bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, who had leagued with the oppressors. He was returning from holding court on

Long Island when the rebellion broke out. He sought refuge on Rhode Island but was detected and brought to Boston and lodged in jail. He was ill and was for this reason released on bond, on condition that he keep within his house and grounds. At Bradsteet's suggestion he voluntarily surrendered himself at the jail where for ten months his person was safe. Then the King ordered his release and transportation to England. He was destined to return as a Royal Governor thirteen years later.

Randolph shared the vicissitudes of Andros and returned to England with him. Like Andros he returned to America at a later day a provincial official but Massachusetts was to know him no more.

Dudley's friend Stoughton made his peace with the colonists, and his name on the summons of the provincial government to Andros shows how entirely the Governor had solidified the old element against him.

Outcome of the Contest

The Dominion of New England was the most complete expression of England's colonial policy in the seventeenth century; yet because of certain defects there was little chance for its success unless revised. In passing judgment on it one must view it not as a mere episode in New England history, but as the culmination of a slowly developing policy.

England has been often criticized for vaccillating and temporizing in dealing with Massachusetts in the first part of the Restoration Period, then later suddenly imposing an arbitrary government on the colony. For the early policy there was really no alternative, because severity would have driven the colony into open revolt. Pressure from without could not safely have been applied until change first took place within. England's hope of ultimate control of the colony lay in strenthening the moderate party by demanding that the colony grant the suffrage to propertied non-freemen. No governmental change could have been risked until the two chief groups were nearly equal in strength.

Down to the time when the Lords of Trade showed the

rough sketch of their Dominion scheme to Charles II about 1684, England's policy could scarcely warrant criticism. The new program was doomed to failure because of the King's stipulation that there be no representative assembly in the new Dominion. Such a decision ran counter to the best judgment and wishes of colonials and Englishmen alike. Even Edward Randolph never contemplated such innovation. The death of Charles in 1685 and the succession of James did not alter this feature of Dominion policy. Nor was the king willing to grant an assembly when in 1688 the coalition agency under the leadership of Increase Mather petitioned for it.

Viewed from England's standpoint, the Dominion toward the end of the reign of James doubtless appeared more successful than it really was. To be sure, the frontiers were well protected, liberty of conscience had been established and government was being administered according to English law. On the other hand, trade was at a standstill, there was a deadlock in the acceptance of the English land law, and the school system was falling to pieces. The real cause for alarm which England should have heeded, was the gradual alienation of the moderates and the consequent addition of their opposition to that of the theocrats.

One great gain from this strife was the enlargement of the administration of the great common law, the bulwark of order and liberty of all English speaking people. The theocracy based its government on what they thought the sufficient mandates of Genesis and Deuteronomy. They did not go further, to the New Testament, nor interest themselves in the injunction of Jesus to render unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's. The centuries had built up the system of common law, based on justice and, whatever its failures in individual circumstances, it had maintained the best approximation of that justice possible for fallible mankind and was the most stable of systems. Now it held out its strengthening arms and the body politic came to lean upon it.

The date of 1689 is momentous not only in colonial but in English history and world history. Whatever the weak-

nesses and deficiencies of the parliamentary system in England, it was the freest and broadest popular government of a nation then existent in the world. It was likewise fitted to the aristocratic, social and governmental ideas of that part of the English people who had the opportunity of forming and expressing judgments on questions of government. The Protestant revolution in England proved to correspond to the desires of the majority of the political forces in the kingdom.

In all these gains looking toward free thought and free government the colonies were bound to share and particularly the New England group, for the people of that region were rigidly Protestant, shared in the personal rights and privileges of English subjects throughout the empire, and insisted upon representative assemblies which moved in the same direction for local affairs as Parliament for England. The liberality of the colonial charters after 1689 and of the royal governments, created to take the place of surrendered charters, is in part due to the stubborn resistance of the Massachusetts people to arbitrary power.

For the special colony of Massachusetts, separated from the other elements of the Dominion of New England, the year 1689 marks the culmination of a great experience. The two great obstacles to progress in the colony were removed: the political power of a group of religious persons who were not a part of the constitutional government of the colony, and the religious qualification for the colonial and town suffrage. The removal of those two stumbling blocks could only be brought about by hard knocks; and the acceptance of those two reforms was a proof that they had long stood in the way of the prosperity and happiness of the people of Massachusetts.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[See also the bibliographies following Chapters V (Charter and Colony); vii (Winthrop); ix (Confederation); xvii (Controversies); xx (Crisis); and the General Bibliography at the end of Volume V].

BANCROFT, George.—*History of the United States* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1879).—See II, Cap. xvii.

ADAMS, James Truslow.—*The Founding of New England* (Boston, 1921).—See Chaps. xiii, xv and xvi for an account of the colonial policy under the English Restoration and a brief narration of Andros's administration.

ANDREWS, Charles McLean.—*The Fathers of New England* (*Chronicles of America,* VI; New Haven, 1920).— Chaps. i, vii, ix, and x cover more briefly, the same ground as in Adams.

BARNES, Viola Florence.—*The Dominion of New England* (New Haven, 1923).—An intensive study of the Dudley and Andros administrations.

BEER, George Louis.—*Old Colonial System,* II (New York, 1912).—Chs. xi and xii deal with the commercial aspect of the Dominion policy.

CHANNING, Edward.—*History of the United States* (Boston, 1905).—Volume I, Chs. iii, vi cover the period in this chapter.

MURDOCK, Kenneth Ballard.—*Increase Mather, the Foremost American Puritan* (Cambridge, 1925).—Chaps. xii, xiii and xiv contain a very interesting account of the agency of Mather in England.

OSGOOD, Herbert S.—*The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (3 Vols., N. Y., Macmillan, 1904).—See Vol. III, Part Fourth, Chap. vi, vii, x, xiii, xiv.

WINSOR, Justin.—*The Memorial History of Boston, 1630–1680* (4 vols. Boston, Osgood, (1880–1881).—See II. Chap. i, by William H. Whitmore.

APPENDIX

GOVERNORS AND DEPUTY GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTS (1620-1689) CHOSEN ANNUALLY BY THE PEOPLE

Governors of Plymouth Colony

1620 Nov. 11, John Carver
1621 April, William Bradford
1633 Jan. 1, Edward Winslow
1634 Mar. 27, Thomas Prence
1635 Mar. 3, William Bradford
1636 Mar. 1, Edward Winslow
1637 Mar. 7, William Bradford
1638 June 5, Thomas Prence
1639 June 3, William Bradford
1644 June 5, Edward Winslow
1645 June 4, William Bradford
1657 June 3, Thomas Prence
1673 June 3, Josiah Winslow
1680 Dec. 18, Thomas Hinckley.*

Deputy-Governors of Plymouth Colony

1680 Thomas Hinckley †
1681 James Cudworth
1682 William Bradford, to 1686
1689 William Bradford, to 1692

CHOSEN ANNUALLY UNDER THE FIRST CHARTER

Governors of Massachusetts

1629 Apr. 30, John Endicott ‡
1630 Oct. 20, John Winthrop ‡
1634 May 14, Thomas Dudley
1635 May 6, John Haynes
1636 May 25, Henry Vane
1637 May 17, John Winthrop
1640 May 13, Thomas Dudley
1641 June 2, Richard Bellingham
1642 May 18, John Winthrop
1644 May 29, John Endecott
1645 May 14, Thomas Dudley
1646 May 6, John Winthrop
1649 May 2, John Endecott
1650 May 22, Thomas Dudley
1651 May 7, John Endecott
1654 May 3, Richard Bellingham
1655 May 23, John Endecott
1665 May 3, Richard Bellingham
1672 Dec. 12, John Leverett (act'g)
1673 May 7, John Leverett
1679 May 28, Simon Bradstreet, to 1686

* Mr. Hinckley was Governor till the union of the colonies in 1692, except during the administration of Andros.

† Previously there was no Deputy-Governor, a Governor *pro tem.* being appointed by the Governor to serve in his absence.

‡ By the Royal Charter, which passed the seals March 4, 1628-29, Matthew Cradock was appointed the first Governor, and Thomas Goffe, Deputy-Governor, both of whom had held the same offices before the Charter was granted. On the 13th of the following May the same persons were re-chosen under the Charter; but they never came to New England. On the 20th of October, 1629, John Winthrop was chosen Governor, and John Humphrey, Deputy-Governor. On the 30th of April, 1629, John Endecott was chosen, in London, to be Governor of the Plantation in New England, and held the office until the arrival of the Governor (Winthrop) in 1630.

Deputy-Governors of Massachusetts

1629	Thomas Dudley§	to 1634	1651	Thomas Dudley	to 1653
1634	Roger Ludlow	1635	1653	Richard Bellingham	1654
1635	Richard Bellingham	1636	1654	John Endecott	1655
1636	John Winthrop	1637	1655	Richard Bellingham	1665
1637	Thomas Dudley	1640	1665	Francis Willoughby	1671
1640	Richard Bellingham	1641	1671	John Leverett	1673
1641	John Endecott	1644	1673	Samuel Symonds, to Oct.	1678
1644	John Winthrop	1646	1678	Oct., Simon Bradstreet	1679
1646	Thomas Dudley	1650	1679	Thomas Danforth	1686
1650	John Endecott	1651			

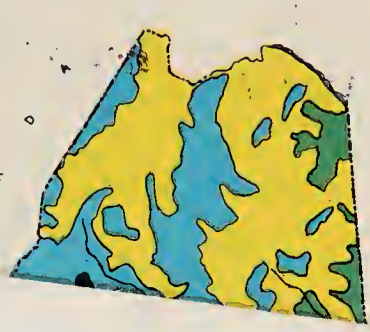
Note.—May 25, 1686, Joseph Dudley assumed the office of President under a commission of King James II., and, with a council, had jurisdiction over the king's dominion of New England. This office he held till Dec. 20, the same year, when Sir Edmund Andros appeared as Governor of New England, appointed by James II. April 20, 1689, Governor Andros was deposed by a revolution of the people.

§ Thomas Goffe, the first Deputy-Governor, never came to New England. John Humphrey was elected, but did not serve.

DATE DUE
DATE DE RETOUR

NOV 14 2001

F 64 .H32 v.1
Hart, Albert Bushnell, 18
Commonwealth history of Massac
010101 000
0 1163 0217522 3
TRENT UNIVERSITY



RELIEF MAP
OF
NEW ENGLAND

0-500 FT
500 1000 FT
1000 2000 FT
OVER 2000 FT

F64 .H32 v.1
Hart, Albert Bushnell
Commonwealth history of
Massachusetts

DATE	ISSUED TO 129243

129243

PREPARED . . . RSITY
SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY BY G... BURNHAM